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ARTICLES

COGNITIVE EXPLORATION OF 'TRAVELING' IN THE POETRY OF WIDAD BENMOUSSA

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Abstract. The concept of motion is central to the human cognition and it is universally studied in cognitive linguistics. This research paper investigates concept of motion, with special reference to traveling, in the poetry of Widad Benmoussa. It mainly focuses on the cognitive dimensions underlying the metaphorical representation of traveling. To this end, the research conducts a semi-automated analysis of a corpus representing Widad's poetic collections. MetaNet's physical path is mainly used to reveal the cognitive respects of traveling. The personae the poetess assigns are found to pursue a dynamic goal through activation of several physical paths. During the unstable romantic relations, several travel impediments are met. Travel stops and detours, travel companions, paths in journey as well as changing travel destinations are the most stressed elements of 'Traveling' respects. With such a described high frequency of sudden departures and hopping, the male persona the poetess assigns evinces typical features of 'wanderlust' or dromomania.

Keywords: *physical path, inner path, Traveling, conceptual metaphor, relativity, MetaNet.*

Енкарнацьйон Санчес Аренас, Ессам Басем. Когнітивне дослідження концепту «Подорож» у поезії Відад Бенмуса.

Анотація. Концепція руху є центральною для людського пізнання й сьогодні вона є поширеним предметом вивчення в когнітивній лінгвістиці. У цій статті представлено дослідження концепту руху, а особливу увагу приділено темі подорожі у віршах Відад Бенмуса, а саме: когнітивним вимірам, що лежать в основі метафоричного представлення мандрівки. Для досягнення цієї мети було проведено напівавтоматичний аналіз корпусу поетичних збірок Відад Бенмуса. Фізичний шлях MetaNet головно застосовано для виявлення когнітивних аспектів подорожі. Установлено, що персонажі, про яких пише поетеса, переслідують динамічну мету через активацію декількох фізичних шляхів. Під час їхніх нестабільних романтичних стосунків, трапляються перешкоди на шляху до подорожей. З'ясовано, що найбільш виділеними елементами аспектів «подорожі» є: зупинки й об'їзди під час подорожей, супутники, шлях в дорозі, а також зміна туристичних напрямків. Ураховуючи описану високу частоту раптових від'їздів і поворотів, можна стверджувати, що особистість чоловіка, про якого пише поетеса, характеризують такі основні риси, як «нестримний потяг до мандрівки» або дромоманія.

Ключові слова: фізичний шлях, внутрішній шлях, подорож, концептуальна метафора, відносність, MetaNet.

1. Introduction

Because motion is derived from universal bodily experiences, it is a well-established concept in the human cognition. Typically associated with the concept of space, motion takes an object, a displacement and a path. Whenever an object or an entity moves, there must be starting and ending points, in the space, the distance between which is a 'path'. Traveling represents a special case of motion in which a 'traveler' moves from a 'source' location to a 'goal' location and passes by a 'path'. 'Life' is conceptually considered a 'journey' in which 'people' are 'travelers'. This paper investigates the motion-related conceptual metaphors in Widad's poetry by using a list of motion representative words, retrieved from MetaNet and Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC), with emphasis placed on the physical path.

Widad Benmoussa published several collections of poems. Her books are entitled "*I Have A Root In The Air*" (2001), "*Between Two Clouds*" (2006), "*I Opened It On You*" (2007), "*A Storm In A Body*" (2008), "*I Hardly Lost My Narcissism*" (2010), "*I Stroll Along This Life*" (2014) and "*I Once Had A Heart*" (2017). Most of these books have been analyzed to conclude about the psycholinguistic signature of the poetess (Arenas, 2018). Postulating that Widad's poetry reflects a unique case of 'travel' realization, we analyze the metaphorical usage of paths to retrieve the deeper orientation in the poetess' cognition of the spatiotemporal elements of the world. This implicates on using the source-path-goal combination. Section 2 introduces the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008), MetaNet, and the basic of LIWC-2015 (Carey et al., 2015; Pennebaker et al., 2015). The methodology is explained in section 3. The next sections view and discuss the findings before conclusions are drawn.

2. Theoretical Preliminaries

2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Space, motion and time are identified as universal domains in the human cognition because they are physically experienced, very often, across cultures and languages. Thus, any linguistic realization relevant to these domains is a reflection of a universal cognitive pattern. The linguistic instantiations of these domains, be they lexemes, argument structure or grammatical constructs, were studied under the theory of domains, image schema, frames, prototypicality, mental spaces and conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008). Evidence from neurolinguistics supports that the left anterior inferior parietal lobe and the left amygdala are activated more by metaphorical sentences than by literal ones. The left amygdala is a structure known to be involved in the processing of emotions and emotional language while the inferior parietal lobe is concerned with language, mathematical operations and body image (Goldman, 2014; Santarpia et al., 2006).

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposed that the most central metaphors are grounded in bodily experience. The classic conceptual metaphor LIFE

IS A JOURNEY, for instance, has a source domain which is an emergent product of various bodily actions whereby people start from a point, travel along a path, and reach a destination, called the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema. This scheme reflects not just what happens when people move their entire bodies from point *A* to *B*, but whenever people reach out to grasp an object, or move their eyes from one location to another. It might be expected that these metaphors would be shared by different languages and that abstract concepts are represented by image schemas from concrete domains (Forceville, 2016; Gibbs, 2011; Lakoff and Johnson, 2008).

CMT, within the original Lakoff-Johnson framework, emphasizes concepts instead of words. CMT emphasizes the universal, mechanical, and monolithic aspects of embodiment and stresses the role of universal bodily experience. Identification of such conceptual metaphors adopted, at the very beginning, a top-down approach through using quantitative and intuitive qualitative metaphor analysis. This approach populated a list of general metaphors tenets, which can be expanded further, to include specific ones. Given that the bottom-up approach of metaphor analysis entertains the assumption that metaphors at the linguistic level are characterized by irregularity attributed to many subtle differences in meaning, computational detection of metaphors, and their constituents, enabled this approach. Recently, mapping metaphor and metaphoricality have been applauded in megaprojects such as MetaNet, CogMod, and VisMet (Baicchi, 2017; David et al., 2017; Lakoff, 2014). MetaBank (Martin, 1994), ATT-Meta system databank (Lee and Barnden, 2001) and the Hamburg Metaphor Database (Lönneker-Rodman, 2008) are other examples of projects which commensurate with the cognitive linguistic perspective of conceptualizing metaphors. All the aforementioned projects adopt a top-down approach, through the use of a manually collected and annotated Master Metaphor List. Metaphors, in MetaNet, are, however, meant to be formalized in a scalable network by enabling a bottom-up data-driven approach to avoid much of the criticism leveled at the basics of the CMT (Kövecses, 2008; Stickles et al., 2016).

2.2 MetaNet

MetaNet, a large structured repository of conceptual metaphors, has integrated CMT and Frame Semantics in a single language resource to facilitate larger-scale, finer-grained corpus approaches to analyzing metaphors. MetaNet (MN) has developed formal representations of metaphors as mappings from the *Source* domain (based in shared embodied experiences) to the *Target* domain (more conceptually abstract and viewpoint-dependent). Both the *Source* and *Target* domains are represented as frames, which are schematic representations of different kinds of experiences, objects and events. The MN repository represents the complex conceptual network that speakers of particular language have as comprising interconnected *frames* and *metaphors*.

Frames, in MN, are further divided into two types of conceptual structures: Scenes and Perspectives. Scenes provide structural and semantic information (i.e. roles and processes) while perspective frames specify the values of the x-schema role of the related scenes, which constitute the possible additional temporal and causal values of the state dynamics of an eventuality. The hypothetical model of the relationships between conceptual structures in MN draws upon the Cascade Theory (David et al., 2016; Stickles et al., 2016).

Frames are composed in a network with hierarchical, structure-defining and non-hierarchical relations to define frame-frame relations. Structure-defining relations are the ontological relations that constitute the hierarchy among frames (e.g., inheritance and composition). In MN, these relations are 'is subcase of', 'make use of' and 'is a subprocess of'. However, MN assigns several variants to 'makes use of', which are 'incorporates as a role', 'has affordance of', 'is a process that makes use of' and 'is a subscale of'. The non-hierarchical relations exist between sister frames with a common parent; indicating that the interacting relation is suggestive of a causal or temporal manner. These relations are 'is a subprocess of', 'is a perspective on', 'is in causal relation with', 'precedes', 'mutually inhibits', and 'is in scalar opposition to'. Therefore, MN further divides the representation of frames into two types: Scenes and Perspectives. Scenes provide structural and semantic information (i.e. roles and processes) while perspective frames specify the values of the x-schema role of the related scenes, which constitute the possible additional temporal and causal values of the state dynamics of an eventuality. For any particular scene, a frame's structure must include particular structural components: entity role(s); non-entity role(s); an executing schema, or x-schema (a process frame) and Inferences. Perspectives include x-schema stages as well as causal variants of those stages (Stickles et al., 2016).

Similar to the organization of frames, the internal structure of a metaphor constitutes its source and target domains (which add up to a linguistic metaphor), relations between two metaphors and characteristic are informed by the relations between their respective frames. Metaphors are composed in a network with hierarchical, structure-defining, and non-hierarchical relations similar to the network governed by relations between frames. Linguistic metaphor (LM) is a linguistic expression that instantiates a conceptual metaphors linguistically, to be distinguished from visual metaphors. Lexemes evoking theft, such as in *stealing* time, *robbed* me of my health, and *poached* his idea, may entail that time, health, and ideas are valuable things that can be 'taken'. LMs constitute three different grammatical constructions: subject-verb construction, passive construction and adjective noun construction (Stickles et al., 2016).

Metaphor-to-metaphor relations do function to link individual metaphors for effectively defining larger metaphor networks. By adding inferential structure to either domain, additional entailed metaphors of increasing specificity are produced. Metaphors relation types are: 1) 'is both a source and target subcase of' 2) 'is a source subcase of' 3) 'is a target subcase of' 4) 'is a mapping within' 5) 'makes use of' 6) 'has as transitive subpart' 7) 'is an entailment of' 8) 'is in a dual relationship with.' When in doubt as to which of the above specific relations applies, one of the following relations may be used: 9) 'is in some source relation to' 10) 'is in some target relation to' and/or 11) 'is in some way related to.' (MetaNet Official Website).

2.3 Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) and Poetic Stylometry

Poetic Stylometry is the study of the authorial style of poets. Psychometrically speaking, the individual usage of pronouns, prepositions, articles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and a few other esoteric categories can be reflective of personality and psychological features. Although corpus tools have been used to conclude

psychological attitudes of poets, results have been improved when LIWC's categorized dictionary was applied. LIWC is introduced to analyze texts for concluding about the psychological signature of the writer via utilizing 120 lexica, categorized and validated on the principles of social psychology. By analyzing the writing content, LIWC measures algorithmically four perspectives: analytical thinking, clout, authenticity and emotionality (Pennebaker et al., 2015; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010). We use LIWC-2015 to analyze the general psychological profile of Widad Benmoussa and the main personae she creates.

3. Methodology

This study conducts quantitative and intuitive qualitative metaphor analyses of motion-related conceptual metaphors in the poetic collections of Widad Benmoussa. To do so, LIWC-2015 is, first, used to measure and define incidence of motion and space in Widad's poetry. Much as the internal lexica of LIWC-2015 were used to conclude the stylometric signature of the poet, the relativity-based lexica were used to generate seeding lexemes for computationally retrieving travel-based metaphorical phrases from Widad's poems. Second, the travel-expressing poetic lines are annotated for the identification of traveler/journeyer, travel_event, travel_stops, locations_along_journey, travel_difficulties, travel_companion, manner_of_journey, travel_destination, path_traced_by_sequence_of_motion and vehicles_in_journey. An intuitive qualitative metaphor analysis was then conducted to define the parameters and perception of traveling in Widad's metaphoric conceptualization.

4. Results and Discussion

Related to the metaphor of "Human Life Is A Journey", for instance, it is rational to expect "Romantic Relationship Is A Journey" as a metaphor-to-metaphor target relation. Travelers are conceptually mapped to Lovers while a vehicle is conceptually mapped to Relationship. *Common Destinations* is conceptually mapped to *Common Life Goals* while Impediments to Travel is conceptually mapped to Relationship Difficulties.

Applying frame-to-frame relations to the "physical path" frame, it makes use of 'Source-path-goal' landmark, which is a subcase of Trajector landmark, Figure ground and spatial relation respectively. This denotes partial information of frame structure among the above mentioned frames. 'Maze', 'circular path' and 'paths out of a locations' are subcases of the frame "physical path" itself via inheritance. Although both frame-frame relations demonstrate structure-defining relations, inheritance encodes a full incorporation of the parent frames (figure 1). Within this network, several conceptual metaphors are populated. As a frame, its lexical units are path, route, way, pathway, bridge, passage, road, trail, street, avenue, highway, track, aisle, bridge, fast track, freeway, toll road, superhighway, slow lane, fast lane, byway. These nouns can define the entity relation(s) a frame scene possess while verbs, in the retrieved metaphorical sentences, can define the dynamic x-schema of the scene structure. The superordinate words of these lexical words are used to define the conceptual metaphors they might generate. All these items conclude the linguistic metaphors and their role type constraint violation.

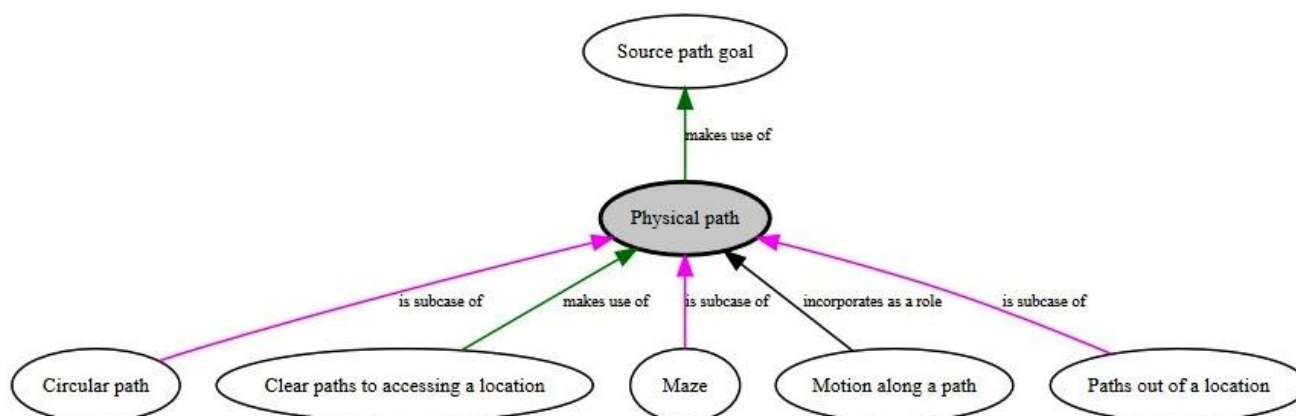


Fig.1. *Frame-to-frame relations of “physical path” in MetaNet*

Extraction of the literary devices and words which denote explicitly and/or implicitly reference to travel as a concept, traveler/journeyer, travel event or destination was conducted. Widad’s usage of physical paths was annotated and analyzed. Representations of LIWC-driven results of relativity-expressing words in Widad’s poetry are shown in the appendices. The following excerpts are concordanced examples of path and travel demonstration in Widad’s poems.

As if I had inspired from you
Furtively, the virtue of detachment
And started merging all rivers
To collect the reflected envisage
Of our faces within a single frame.
As if I cursed all women who had mingled
Some of their lipsticks into your cells.

In these poetic lines, published in Widad’s book “I Stroll Along This Life” (2014:103)”, the female persona expresses her reaction to the desire to leave of her beloved. Therefore, she had inspired from him, furtively and cunningly, the virtue of detachment too. She weeps her fruitless attempts for being reunited with him by attempting to merge rivers all over the world to collect the envisage of their faces, reflected within a single water page. This departure inclination, in her opinion, is attributed to the mundane womanizing nature of her beloved who consumed tons of women’s lipstick into his lips by virtue of free kissing. Thus, the traveler is the male lover and travel destinations are women lips.

The poetess continues in “I Have A Root In The Air” (2001:62), page 62, to extend the voice of the female lover, who invites her beloved not to postpone his plans of travel, back to her, over the wing of nostalgia. She encourages him come to her with a moon face carrying, with him, the thrilled mountains which used to shake jubilantly for her.

Don’t postpone your traveling plans
Over the wing of nostalgia
And come to me with a moon face

Carrying, with you, the thrilled mountains
Which did shake jubilantly for me

Thus, the travel vehicle is the wing of nostalgia while the female lover herself is the travel destination and stop. The travel companions are, however, the longing thrilled mountains of the poetess' lover. Although the metaphoric reference to the bodily robust or muscular masculine parts of her beloved is unclear, phallic reference to their history of their play-off, which aroused them adequately; causing erection and pleasure is probable.

Widad Benmoussa carries on, in "I Have A Root In The Air" (2001:118) extends this metaphor from a persona's point of view. The female persona asks, rhetorically, about whom she may address to get her lover not to postpone his traveling plans, back to salvation, immortality and liberation while her destiny is to live on a butterfly wing; traveling to every corner of the world without any signs of tiresomeness or boredom.

To whom I draw salvation,
Immortality and liberation,
On a butterfly wing; traveling
To every corner of the world
Without any signs of boredom?

The poetess enhances her desire to reach her departing lover by composing, in "I Have A Root In The Air" (2001:98):

I am the one who never
Get bored of traveling to you
There lives a rose which keep
On counting my steps. Shall
Its hopes of seeing us be
Also dashed?

Her searching journeys, over the physical and metaphysical paths, to reach her ex-lover continues in "I Have A Root In The Air" (2001:111-112)".

I collect my soft whine
To travel after your shade
In every stop for reaching you

The poems seems to be spoken by a female traveler who wishes to cut a journey to reach her ex-lover, she admires ironically the consistent response of her companions: the butterflies. The poetess composes in her book "I Stroll Along This Life" (2014:105)",

If I were to choose from the beings,
Which accompanied me on the travel path,
I will definitely choose the butterflies,
They were clapping
For every dreadful mistake I had made
On the vehicle of love

All in all, the decision of the poetess' lover to run away from her and jump into the world of the unknown is attributed to his 'wanderlust'. The female persona enumerates her endless trials to keep their romantic nest warm and captivating and to eradicate any push factors that might repel him. She also questions the originality of the pull factors in the external world that he prefers. Throughout her poetic lines, the physical and virtual paths taken are all natural elements of which butterfly's wings, rivers, skies and winds are most tracked in their re-espousing journey.

The traveling path, which is consistently described, is the oft-visited road most taken by the two lovers towards and away from each other. However, the poetess is the punctual journeyer who traces back the steps of her ex-lover. The other physical paths her ex-lover takes is hovering and hopping for other womanly pleasure sources. This back and forth motions along circular and linear paths create a maze, which detracts the two lovers away from each other and adds up to the pronounced difficulties of traveling. Impediments to travel are conceptually mapped to relationship difficulties. The companions of 'travel' in the poem are roses and butterflies.

The poetess thus enables the "ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY" as a metaphor-to-metaphor target relation. *Travelers* are conceptually mapped to *Lovers* while a *Vehicle* is conceptually mapped to *Relationship*.

5. Conclusion

The poetess creates male and female personae that pursue a dynamic goal by using several physical paths. Through their unstable romantic relation, several travel impediments are met. Travel stops and detours, travel companions, paths in journey as well as changing travel destinations are the most stressed elements of 'Traveling' respects. With such a described high frequency of sudden departures and hopping, the poetess' lover is implicitly diagnosed with 'wanderlust' or dromomania.

The decision of the poetess' lover to run away from her and jump into the world of the unknown is attributed to his 'wanderlust'. The poetess enumerates her endless trials to keep their romantic nest warm and captivating and to eradicate any push factors that might repel him. She also questions the originality of the pull factors in the external world that he prefers. Throughout her poetic lines, the physical and virtual paths taken are all natural elements of which butterfly's wings, rivers, skies and winds are most tracked in the re-espousing of their journey.

Much as we recommend the usage of psycholinguistic tools and CMT framework to re-read literature, the metaphorically rich poetic discourse is encouraged to be used as a source for identification and detection of metaphorical mappings.

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Appendix 1

LIWC-2015's identification of relativity-expressing words in Widad's poems

Category	Representative words
Relativity	sun, coming, remote, land, on, off, leave, in, inferior, out, come, back, whenever, moment, remotely, spring, long, edge, always, days, deeply, climb, surface, world, flight, fly, infinity, filled, flow, morning, small, escape, into, under, away, after, still, room, distant, far, dance, up, danced, little, while, intersection, walk, link, goes, never, eternity, end, travel, until
Motion	coming, leave, come, climb, flight, fly, flow, escape, dance, danced, walk, goes, travel
Space	remote, land, on, off, in, inferior, out, back, remotely, long, edge, deeply, surface, world, filled, small, into, under, away, room, distant, far, up, little, intersection
Time	back, whenever, moment, spring, always, days, infinity, morning, after, still, while, never, eternity, end, until
Religion	spirit, hell, paradise, angels, prayer
Past-focus	lost, were, remember, did, danced, knew, told
Present-focus	is, leave, watch, come, are, hope, be, do, live, lives, realize, tell, thinks, see, have, ask, am, flow, cannot, understand, looks, look, does, knows, walk, goes, am, travel
Future-focus	coming, will, hope, prayer

Appendix 2

Book Title	I Have a Root in the Air	Between Two Clouds	I Opened It on You	A Storm in a Body	I Hardly Lost My Narcissism	I Stroll Along This Life
Publication year	2001	2006	2007	2008	2010	2014
Word count	5532	2449	1381	3500	750	4518
Psychological attribute						
Analytic	84.04	80.27	68.11	76.47	62.96	75.34
Clout	53.11	51.96	65.22	68.63	67	44.29
Authentic	69.72	74.71	39.05	65.73	80.38	75.75
Tone	20.56	22.6	19.3	29.1	55.96	22.01
Stylistic features						
Focus past	2.02	2.49	4.06	2.23	1.33	2.99
Focus present	9.16	9.76	7.68	9.11	10.27	8.01
Focus future	0.56	1.1	0.43	1.71	0.67	1.68
Relativity	14.41	13.88	13.83	15.09	13.2	13.75
Motion	2.89	2.94	1.74	2.66	2.8	2.21
Space	8.15	7.8	7.53	8.83	7.73	8.43
Time	3.47	3.39	4.63	3.83	2.67	3.32

LANGUAGE COMPLEXITY, NARRATIVES AND THEORY OF MIND OF ROMANI SPEAKING CHILDREN

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Abstract. The paper presents research findings with 56 Roma children from Macedonia and Serbia between the ages of 3-6 years. The children's knowledge of Romani as their mother tongue was assessed with a specially designed test. The test measures the children's comprehension and production of different types of grammatical knowledge such as wh-questions, wh-complements, passive verbs, possessives, tense, aspect, the ability of the children to learn new nouns and new adjectives, and repetition of sentences. In addition, two pictured narratives about Theory of Mind were given to the children. The hypothesis of the authors was that knowledge of the complex grammatical categories by children will help them to understand better the Theory of Mind stories. The results show that Roma children by the age of 5 know most of the grammatical categories in their mother tongue and most of them understand Theory of Mind.

Keywords: Romani, language assessment, Theory of Mind, language complexity.

Кючуков Хрісто, де Віллерз Джіл. Мовна складність, наративи й «теорія розуму» ромських дітей.

Анотація. У статті представлено результати досліджень, проведених за участі 56 ромських дітей з Македонії та Сербії у віці від 3 до 6 років. За допомогою спеціально розробленого тесту було оцінено знання дітьми ромської мови як рідної. Завданням тесту було визначення рівня розуміння мови у дітей, а також їхнє володіння різними видами граматичних знань, таких як: wh – питання, wh – доповнення, пасивні дієслова, присвійний відмінок, час, граматичний аспект, здатність опановувати нові іменники та прикметники, а також повторення речень. Крім цього, діти отримали два ілюстрованих наративи про «теорію розуму». Гіпотеза авторів полягала в тому, що знання дітьми складних граматичних категорій допоможе їм краще зрозуміти розповіді про «теорію розуму». Результати довели, що ромські діти у віці до 5 років знають більшість граматичних категорій рідної мови, і більшість з них розуміють сутність «теорії розуму».

Ключові слова: ромська мова, мовна оцінка, «теорія розуму», мовна складність.

1. Introduction

1.1. Triple Jeopardy

The Roma children in Europe all too often grow up in poverty, marginalization and stigma. From the point of view of the language they speak – Romani - they grow up in a kind of triple jeopardy compared to other children in the world:

a) Their families are often poor and in most of the cases grow up in families where the parents are uneducated.

b) From a very young age they become multilingual, learning other dialects of Romani and/or other minority languages, but in most of the cases not learning the state language from birth.

c) They are part of a stigmatized group, a group that is often subject to discrimination in housing, employment and education (Vassilev, 2004; ERRC, 1999, 2015; Kyuchukov, 2005, 2010). Since the status of a language is perfectly predicted by the status of the people who speak it, Romani is often regarded as a deficient or degraded language.

Consider first the impact of socioeconomic status (SES) on language in the US and in West Europe, SES is blamed for the word gap (Hart & Risley 1995), in research that has demonstrated that lower class children are exposed to 30 million fewer words spoken to them than are spoken to middle class children between 2 and 5 years. In the US this lack of exposure has been linked to poorer performance in the early grades of schooling, and a large gap in achievement in education. However, many psychologists and linguists are not convinced that the count of words is the best index of rich language exposure, it is merely a proxy for conversational attention. More recent research findings show that it is not the count of words that matter, but conversational turns, and rich conversations that acknowledge the child as a participant (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2015).

Kyuchukov (2014) has studied the language in the home of Roma families in Eastern Europe, and draws the conclusion that their style of interaction is in fact conducive to rich language learning despite the lack of material wealth and parental education. Although the Roma families are poor and the parents are uneducated the children grow up in an emotional and loving environment, which supports their language and cognitive development. The Roma children learn Romani in a way that is not traditional for educated families in the West. The Roma culture being an oral one is rich with anecdotes, songs, lullabies, fairytales, and folkloristic language games. From a very early age the children get exposed to complex grammatical structures and different registers, because living in extended families the care of the growing child is a responsibility of the whole family and very often of the whole community. Everyone in the family (and community) is free to talk and to play with the child. In Roma culture if a neighbor speaks to your child, makes jokes, sing songs to him or her, this is considered to be a sign of respect to the family. This is not the modern West European culture and style of communication, where the children get knowledge about the world through books and conversations in a nuclear family. The young children learn from everyone: from older brothers and sisters, grandparents, cousins, neighbors.

The expectation for the young children is that by the age of 2 years they should have not only enough lexical knowledge but also they should understand more complex sentences in instructions such as “Bring me X, which is in Y”. The child might be in a situation such that s/he never before saw, heard or used that word or knew about the object (Kyuchukov, 2005). The parents expect that the child will have enough knowledge of the language and enough experiences to find the object they are asked

for, by making inferences for example about what is new, or what the parent might need to complete a task. If the child cannot find the correct object and s/he brings another one, then the parent does not continue by showing the correct object and naming it, but rather the parent will repeat the request until the moment the child by himself finds the object the parent needs. The child is given autonomy to work things out, and so learning takes place in a quite different style. All these actions of the adults towards the children in Roma communities show the expectations of the parents that their children can master the language within communicative situations from an early age. They have to get the knowledge about the surrounding world through actions, and they have to repeat the activity until they are successful, until that moment they learn the new words and start to use them. (Reger, 1999; Reger & Berko-Gleason, 1991; Kyuchukov, 2015)

Nevertheless, differences in a style of language development do not necessarily result in the same readiness for Western schooling. Heath (1982) and others have shown that schools tend to represent the learning styles and conditions of Western middle class families, and coming to that by a different route can leave a child ill equipped to fit in the culture of school (Hoff 2013). In the famous study by Heath, lower class White and African American children were taught within their families in different ways than the middle class White families, despite all living in the same state (North Carolina) in the US. When they arrived at school, the middle class children's preparation with connecting the content of books to events in their lives, ostensive naming of objects, and "test" questions from their parents all placed them in an advantageous position with regard to school practices. That is not to say that the other groups experienced a less rich language environment, but the skills they acquired were at variance with the school's demands.

The Roma children thus face the same problems from their different style of language development when it comes to readiness for schooling as do other socioeconomically disadvantaged children from different cultures and children at risk (Merz et al., 2015; Landry et al., 2013). Even growing up in rich language circumstances, the disparities between school and parenting style reduce the probability of academic achievements of the children with low socio-economic status (Heath, 1981).

Turning to the second jeopardy, the multilingualism among the Roma children is considered to be a problem. It is widely acknowledged that learning several languages at once slows children down *in mastering each language* relative to a monolingual for about the first 7 years of learning (though of course there are individual differences) (Hoff & Elledge, 2005). However, when one counts the knowledge that is *distributed* across the languages, then bilingual children are just as linguistically competent as monolinguals (Bedore, Peña, Garcia & Cortez, 2012). And the advantages of bilingualism are everywhere promoted. Multilingualism can help a child cognitively even before the languages reach mastery, in areas such as executive function and metalinguistic awareness in which a bilingual advantage has been found (Bialystok, 2001; Bialystok & Craik, 2010; Carlson & Meltzoff, 2008). Millions of dollars are spent on higher education to teach second languages to monolingual high school

students, college students and adults so they can be functional in the modern world. Recent research has documented the protective effects of multilingualism on the aging brain, with reports of a two-year lag in the onset of senile dementia in people who speak more than one language (Bialystok, Craik & Freedman, 2007). It is important therefore to put the Roma child's bi- or multilingualism in perspective. The child may not be as competent in each of the languages as a monolingual peer at the younger ages, but it is important that this must not be judged as a problem in the early grades. By age 8 or 9 years, bilingual children typically catch up to their monolingual peers in their languages, unless there is an additional factor that comes into play, namely, the status of their home language. When there is stigma attached, as with African American English in the US, or even Spanish in some regions of the US, then a third source of jeopardy comes into play.

Usually the Roma children speak Romani, which commonly does not have prestige in the societies in which they live. Given their socio-economic circumstances, they often speak language(s) and dialect(s) of other minority groups who also are without respect in their societies. Some European researchers even consider that the greatest problem of the Roma children is their knowledge of Romani as a mother tongue, and that is seen as an obstacle for better acquisition of the official language of the country (Bakalar, 2004). In several European countries, if the Roma children do not have mastery of the official language of the country by the age of 6 when they have to enter primary school, they are considered to be cognitively impaired and are sent to special schools (ERRC, 1999; 2015; Fremlova & Ureche, 2011). For example, in Slovakia up to 65 % of the Roma children are in special schools because of lack of knowledge of Slovak language (Lajčáková, 2013). Some of the Roma children who speak Slovak to some degree, or who know a dialect variety of Slovak, are still treated as needing special schools designed for children with serious mental handicaps (Friedman, Gallová Kriglerová, Kubánová & Slosiarik, 2009; Kyuchukov, 2013, 2014)

The stigma against the Roma people (and therefore against their language) can be a major risk factor, just as with children who speak the stigmatized dialect of African American English in the US. That's why it is vital to make sure people do not consider differences as deficits, that educators and policy makers must acknowledge their prejudice and clear it away for fair testing. In the US, the second author has been involved in creating fair language tests for children who speak African American English, to demonstrate their competence in their home language (e.g. the DELV test: Seymour, Roeper & de Villiers 2005). However, there are no linguistic or psychological tests in Romani. In order to reduce the prejudice and discrimination against the Roma children, a first important step would be a test of the Romani language for children. If it can be demonstrated that the children have adequate mastery of their mother tongue there is less likelihood that they will be seen as needing special education, and appropriate provision can be made for introducing them to the language of the state without denigrating their home language. This is why we have developed such a test and we are trying to answer some important questions with it. Before we describe the test, it is necessary to situate the research we report within the special circumstances in Sweden.

1.2. Research Questions

How much do the children know of the Romani language by the age of 3–6 and which grammatical categories do they know? These are some of the research questions which we try to answer. However, the test we have developed is far from standardized yet. In some recent publications we have looked at how much the Roma children in Bulgaria and Slovakia know of the grammar of their mother tongue using this specially designed and developed test on language assessment. The first results on small samples (30 at a time, ages 3 to 6) show that most of the Roma children by the age of 5 perform at about the 80 % level on most of the grammatical categories of their mother tongue. Not only that but they can transfer the knowledge, e.g. applying the new rules to brand new words given to them in the test (Kyuchukov, 2013; Kyuchukov & de Villiers, 2014a, b).

Though we are encouraged by these initial results, we need ways to validate the test against other indices of the child's language competence. It is usually the case that a new language test is compared to linguistically sophisticated analyses of the spontaneous speech of the child, to ensure that it reflects the real life language the children can produce (Pearson, Jackson & Wu, 2014). But there are hazards here too, in that some young children may be shy or timid and not speak much, and a long transcript might not contain much of anything for the linguist to analyze. More fruitful might be to use more controlled circumstances to obtain some elicited speech, and then the use of a wordless picture book is helpful to have the child create a short narrative (Berman & Slobin, 2009). Therefore, another research question to answer is: can the same Roma children create a narrative looking at a series of pictures? We recognize that most of them do not have experiences creating a coherent and cohesive story looking at pictures. Children of this age often produce narratives that are barely describable as such, often being incoherent, and lacking any plot or connecting devices. Before age 5 or so, children are prone to tell stories using what Bruner calls "the landscape of action", in which they simply recount or name the actions that happened. But true stories require integrating this language of events with the landscape of consciousness: who were the characters, what were their intentions, goals and beliefs? Only older children can do this with some competence. It has been argued that narratives that include such mentalistic themes reflect the children's growing understanding that others have minds, with contents that may be different than their own, i.e. Theory of Mind. In fact, in the case of African American children studied by Curenton (2004), the children showed competence in their narratives even when they were not performing as well as their white peers on standardized tests of Theory of Mind reasoning.

The inclusion of a narrative task with specific questions relating to Theory of Mind was therefore justified on two grounds: one, to offer some convergent validity to the language test, and second, to investigate the relationship between language competence and Theory of Mind, both in the linguistic test and in the narrative itself. Until now in the scientific literature there is no information about the connection between language complexity, narrativity of Roma children and their Theory of Mind. This is a first attempt to give an answer to such a research question.

1.3. Design of the Test

The language test is composed of ten subtests (Table 1). Taking note of recent recommendations in the field of assessment for language, we measured not only what a child knows (*language products*), but also their ability to learn (*language processes*) (Hirsh-Pasek, Kochanoff, Newcombe, & de Villiers, 2005; de Villiers et al., 2014).

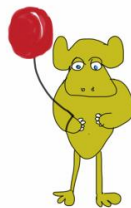
Table 1

Components and modules of Romani test

Test type	Subtest	Skill tapped
Language Processes	Possessive	Production
	Tense	Production
	Aspect	Comprehension
	Fast Mapping nouns	Comprehension
	Fast Mapping adjectives	Comprehension
Language Products	Passives	Comprehension
	Wh complements	Comprehension
	Wh paired questions	Comprehension
	Sentence Repetition	Production
	Number Repetition	Production

As examples of language processes tests, the *possessive* and *tense* subtests were based on the “wug” test developed by Jean Berko Gleason (1958). The wug test was designed to see if a child could apply a rule of the language, such as plural morphology, to a new lexical item: “Here is a wug, here is another one, there are two ... (wugs)” using a cloze-test. This research demonstrated how children learn productive rules. For Romani we elicited from the children the possessive forms, which are complex, as the form is contingent both on the gender and number of the subject and object of possession. In the *tense* subtest, children have to apply the tense to a *novel* verb.

Here is an example from the *Possessive* Test. The child is shown a new unknown character. We name him Kobo (a word which does not exist in Romani). We use the new character with the masculine article *o* which gives the child a signal that the used possessive ending should also be masculine.



Example:

Romani: *Akava si o Kobo. Si les jekh baloni. Akava nanaj tiro baloni, akava si ... (Kobo-sko baloni)*

[English: This is Kobo. He has a balloon. This is not your balloon, this is ... (Kobo's balloon)]

The *Aspect*, *fast mapping nouns* and *fast mapping adjective* subtests were inspired by research on children's use of a sentence context in word learning (Gleitman, Cassidy, Nappa, Papafragou & Trueswell 2005). A very sophisticated test of aspect morphology asked the child to pick out which picture depicted an *ongoing* versus *completed* novel action, named by a novel verb inflected with that morphology. The fast mapping tests are designed to reveal whether a child can learn new nouns and adjectives by exploiting the morphological cues such as gender in Romani.

Here is an example from the *Aspect* Test. The child is shown a picture and introduced to an unknown verb in ongoing or completed aspect and the child has to produce the other form when prompted.

Example:

Romani: *Akate i daj sar kerla zumi, i čhaj trampela pe papuske bala.*

Akate i daj sar kerla zumi, i čhaj.....(trampedas) pe papuske bala.

[English: Here, while the mother was cooking the girl was TRAMPELA (X-ing, ongoing) the hair of the grandfather.

Here, while the mother was cooking the girlTRAMPEDAS (X-ed, completed action) the hair of the grandfather]



The language product subtests reflect general principles for grammars for children in this age range. *Questions* prove revealing in many languages (Roeper & de Villiers 2011; de Villiers, Roeper, Bland-Stewart, & Pearson 2008), as do *passive* sentences (Deen, 2011), both of which involve movement of words from their original places in the sentence. The *passives* subtest was designed to test whether in Romani also, children at younger ages and less ability treat a passive sentence as if it were an active form, reversing the meaning. As in previous research we designed it to test whether children have greater difficulty with passives when the verbs are about states rather than actions, such as “seeing”, or “wanting” (Maratsos, Fox, Becker, & Chalkley, 1985).

For the *Wh-complements* subtest, embedded sentences are the topic of interest. Children in the preschool years must learn to interpret recursive structures in which one sentence is embedded in another. In this questions subtest, children must remember the content of an embedded clause that differs from what actually happened (de Villiers & Pyers, 2002). Mastery of these types of clause has been correlated with children's ability at false belief reasoning, or the ability to understand that the contents of

someone else's thoughts might be different than their own (de Villiers, & Pyers, 2002; de Villiers, 2005; de Villiers, 2007).

The *Wh-questions* subtest was chosen because it has been used across many European languages to show whether children have grasped the semantics of grammatical forms (Schulz & Roeper, 2011). The child is asked a very simple question such as “who ate what?”, but the answer requires pairing two *sets* with one another: the set of subjects must be paired one-to-one with the set of objects to give a complete answer. Here is an Example:

Romani: *Kon, so xal?*

[English: Who eats what?]



Finally, we have a *sentence repetition* task in which several sentences that the child must repeat are quite complex. Problems with sentence repetition are reported to be indicators of language impairment (Conti-Ramsden, Botting, Faragher, 2001; Stokes, Wong, Fletcher & Leonard, 2006), as children generally can repeat sentences adequately only if they understand them (Lust, Flynn & Foley, 2006).

Examples:

Romani: *Giljabel i Maria ando škola* [English: Maria sings at school]

Romani: *O dad dikhljas e čhaves thaj dijias les jekh lil.* [English: The father saw the boy and gave him a book]

Romani: *Palal i škola o čhavo keldas e aver čhavensa futboli* [English: After school the boy played football with other children]

2. Methodology of the study

2.1. Participants

The participants consisted of 29 children from Roma communities in Tetovo and Kumanovo in Macedonia, and 27 children from Roma communities in Kruševac in Serbia. The Roma communities in Macedonia are multilingual. Together with Romani and Macedonian, they also speak Albanian and Turkish. The Roma children who attend kindergarten also learn Albanian together with Macedonian. They belong to two main groups of Roma: *Arlija* and *Kovači* in Macedonia. The Roma children in Serbia are bilingual. They speak Romani at home and learn Serbian at kindergarten. Most of the children belong to the Roma group called *Timarja*, and a small part of the children belong to the *Arlija* group. The *Arlija* and *Kovački* dialects belong to the so-called non-Vlax dialects and the *Timarja* speak a dialect which belongs to the group of Vlax dialects.

The communities in both countries are segregated. They live in ghetto types of settlements. Most of the families have access to the internet and they have TV sets in their households, but very few families have books or journals at home. Most of the parents are unemployed and specially the Serbian Roma very often go to work in Austria or in Germany and the children are left with the grandparents. Most of the parents have only basic level education, and very few of them have gymnasium level education.

Some of the children grow up in extended families where two or three generations live together. During different activities parents and family members use different registers and languages in their communication with the children. There are situations where Romani as a mother tongue is used, but there are other situations where the official language of the country is used or other minority languages such as Albanian or Turkish (among Macedonian Roma) are used.

In the next Table 2 we show the number of the children in the study by age group, by gender, and by country.

Table 2

The number of the participants in the study by gender, age and country

Country	Macedonia		Serbia	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
3 year olds	5	5	5	3
4 year olds	4	6	5	4
5 year olds	6	3	5	5

2.2. Procedure

After a parent gave consent for the child's participation, the child's birthdate and gender were recorded. Then each child was tested by a main researcher in the presence of a community member, who helped with the introduction and explanation of the whole procedure.

The test was shown on paper and the answers of the children were written on special paper protocols. Part of the test was tape-recorded for later checking. In some cases, two or three short sessions were allowed to finish the test, particularly with younger children. After the test, the child was shown the two picture sets to elicit narratives. The procedure was as follows.

Narrative

The children were shown two series of pictures which can be used to develop a narrative. The narratives are roughly modeled after a traditional Theory of Mind task in which an item is moved from its original position and one character does not see that move (Wimmer & Perner, 1983). The last pictures are used for probe questions to see if the child understands the Theory of Mind question, such as “why is the boy looking *there?*” One such story was published in the DELV (Seymour et al., 2005), the other was modeled closely on it. The Stimulus Book was set between the researcher and the child.

The child was then told: *“Now I'm going to show you some pictures and ask you to tell me a story. Make sure that you look at all of the pictures before you tell me the story. (The researcher turns the page and pauses). Here is a story. Look carefully at each picture to see what happened. (The researcher pauses then shows the child his page.) I can't see the pictures, so tell me the whole story.”*

Then the Stimulus Book was repositioned. The researcher pointed to the first picture and said: *“Now start at the beginning and tell me the story”*. When the child is finished, the researcher said: *“Is that the whole story?”* If the child did not respond, the researcher said: *“Remember, I can't see the pictures. Start at the beginning and tell me the story.”*

The final test administered was a digit span test, as a rough index of nonverbal intelligence. Forward digit span is measured by asking the child to repeat a series of numbers spoken at a steady pace. The test begins with a sample trial and then proceeds to longer and longer strings until the child fails at some level or length of string. In this case two examples were given at each level of length 2 through N until the child failed both examples at one level. The final level at which the child *passed* both examples was considered the digit span. The digits were chosen to avoid repeated digits and to avoid any string of numbers that might be meaningful. We also took account of the number of syllables for Romani numbers (some are one, some are two syllables) and balanced the test so that the total number of syllables was the same for each member of the pair at a level.

3. Results

The first question to be asked when comparing the performance of two different populations is how well matched are they in background measures? There are well-known dimensions that can have an effect on performance on a language test, and one of them is social class (Hoff, 2013). But that is typically indexed in the West, especially the US, using parental education, because it is argued that it is not wealth or possessions *per se* that makes a difference, but the quality of child care and language interactions, not to mention opportunities that wealthier children have for enriched experiences. All the children in this study were from homes where parents had a low level of education, and almost all were living in at most, working class communities.

A second known contributor especially to such measures as accumulated vocabulary is the child's intelligence, indexed by a standard IQ test. For this purpose, we used the most culture-fair test we could find, namely digit span, which measures short-term memory for known verbal items. We used a statistical procedure of analysis of variance to compare the two groups of country of residence (Serbia and Macedonia) with age as an additional factor (3, 4, 5 year olds). There were no significant differences by country ($F(56,1)=1.46, p=.989$) nor interactions with age. However age as expected was massively significant ($F(56,2)=38.7, p<.001$): the children could remember more digits as they got older.

Given the close matching in socioeconomic status, parent education and digit span performance, it is now possible to compare the children's performance on the Romani tests without fear of confounds. Figure 1 shows the means by country of residence

averaged across age group. On every subtest the children improve with age in both languages. However on some subtests, country of residence make a significant difference too. Inspection of the means reveals that for the three subtests Passive, Tense, and Possessives, the Serbian Romani speakers outperform the Macedonian Romani speakers. On all other subtests, the two groups behave equivalently.

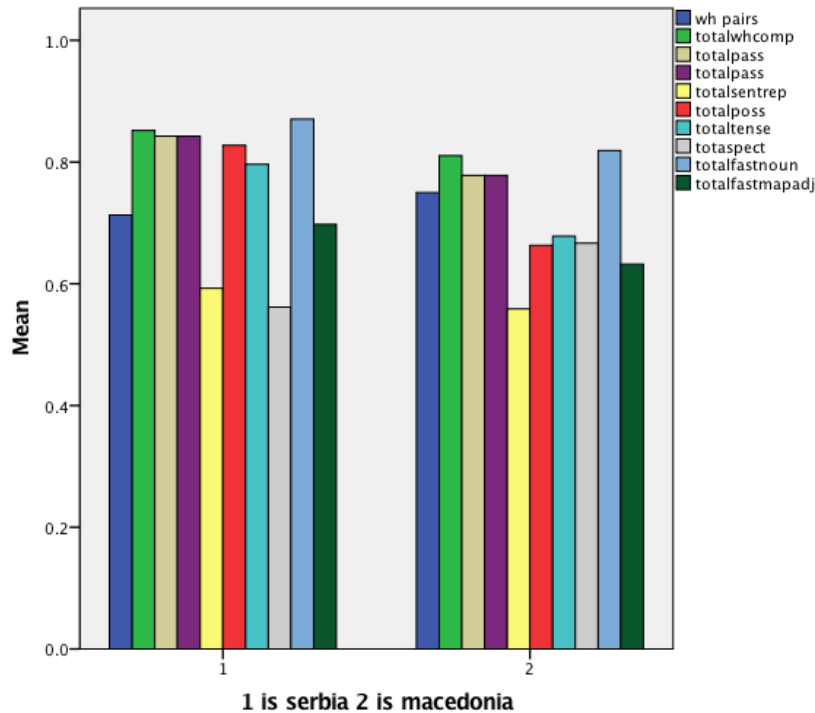


Fig. 1. Performance on the Romani Language Subtests by Country of Residence

If one takes the groups together, the 98 different items on the test have a very high interrelationship, namely Cronbach's alpha. Taken as two separate groups, the Cronbach inter item reliability is also high and equivalent. For each group the test appears to have high internal reliability, that is, the items hang together as measuring a similar trait of language competency. This is a good feature of a test. Fig. 1 illustrates well the findings of the two groups.

The narratives have not yet been fully analyzed, so we cannot yet provide evidence as to the validity of the test from the narrative measure. However, we can look at the questions about Theory of Mind at the end of the two narratives were summed, to give a score out of 4. If we take this ToM score as the dependent measure, there is an expected effect of age group ($F(56,2) = 23.68, p < .001$ in the analysis of variance with country of residence and age group as grouping variables), that is, the children get steadily better at answering the questions by age. However there is also an unexpected effect of country of residence ($F(56,1) = 8.15, p < .006$ in the analysis of variance with country of residence and age group as grouping variables). In contrast to the findings on the language measures, the Macedonian Roma children outperform the Serbian Roma children. The means by age and country are shown in Fig. 2. It is evident that the Serbian Roma children appear to have an early disadvantage at the tasks but they catch up by age 5 to the

Macedonian Roma children. This interaction by age and country of residence does not quite reach significance.

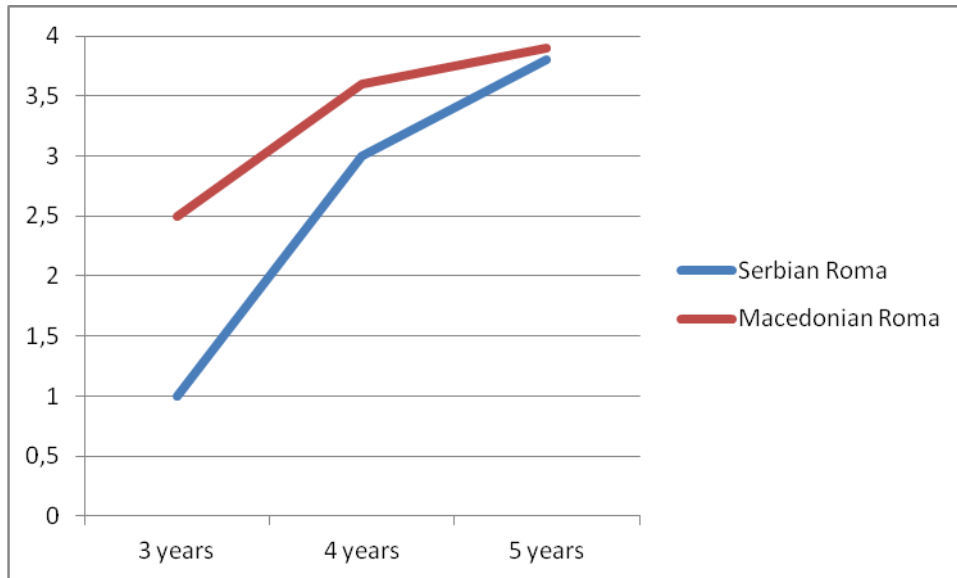


Fig. 2. Performance on the Theory of Mind task across age by country of residence

Furthermore, there is evidence that the better the children do on the language test, the better their performance on the Theory of Mind questions. If we consider all the children together, the correlation (the degree of association) between the language scores and the Theory of Mind scores is very high. Interestingly, it is less high for the Macedonian Roma ($r=.570$) than for the Serbian Roma ($r=.886$), though both are highly significant statistically.

4. Discussion

Our goals have been to explain the difficulties that Roma children have in gaining access to a good early education, given the fact that they are often from lower SES backgrounds, often multilingual, and their native language is not only not the State language, but is even regarded as defective. This is an important policy issue emphasized by many official groups in Europe (e.g. ERRC, 2014).

Our research is still underway, but some of the results are striking. At variance with the low regard for the Roma children's intelligence usually held by educational establishments, we draw attention to the children's scores on two well established types of test in early childhood - digit span and Theory of Mind. Their scores are perfectly in line with those of children of their age from many different cultures, including middle class children in the US (Chen & Stevenson, 1988; Wellman, Cross & Watson, 2001). The tests of language challenged them to show not only what they know already but also what they could do by extension to learn new things. The children proved proficient in most aspects and with sensible growth curves in the 3 to 6 age range. Despite their impoverished circumstances, these children are good language learners, well launched in their native language.

The differences between the two groups are tantalizing. The Romani-speaking children from the two countries are very well matched in background and digit span.

Their skills are also fairly similar across the test as a whole, and very close on the tests of process. Three particular subtests stand out as different: Passives, Possessives and Tense. It can be argued that these are challenging in different ways: Passives because they are rare, Possessives because the paradigm is so complex, and Tense perhaps because Romani also marks Aspect. In each of these cases it could be argued that enough input must be present for the child to form the appropriate morphological paradigms, and that with multiple languages in the environment the exposure to enough Romani is compromised. The difference between Serbian and Macedonian Roma children goes along those lines, with Macedonian Roma having demands on them to learn more languages for everyday use than the Serbian children. These particular subtest tap phenomena that may be particularly sensitive to input frequency, and there is good reason to suppose that the Macedonian children need more time to hear enough.

Given the slightly better performance of the Serbian group on the language test, what can we make of the superior performance on Theory of Mind by the Macedonian children? Researchers have previously argued that Theory of Mind may be advantaged by having two languages, just like executive function is (Goetz, 2003; Kovacs, 2009). In particular, these researchers argue that the requirement to assess whether a listener should be addressed in one language or the other attunes the child to other minds, and the switching required of them enhances executive function skills. In this study almost all the children are bilingual, but the Macedonian group may be in an even a richer set of language circumstances. Alternatively, the linguistic skills needed to solve the task may be distributed across their several languages, but we assessed only their Romani. There may be truth in both accounts, but the data are insufficient to settle the matter. The Macedonian Roma children begin at a higher point in Theory of Mind, but the Serbian group catches up by age 5.

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KASHMIRI: A PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

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Abstract. Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken predominantly in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, India and in some parts of Pakistan. Some phonological and morphological features of this language make it peculiar among Indo-Aryan languages. This write-up provides a phonological sketch of Kashmiri. The description of Vowels and Consonants is given in order to build a general idea of the phonological system of the language. The process of nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. The aim of this write-up is to describe and show all the phonological features of the language, particularly those that are uniquely found in this language. In addition, an attempt has been made to describe and explain the various phonological processes such as Palatalization, Epenthesis and Elision, which occur in Kashmiri. All such processes are described with appropriate examples and the data comprising of lexemes and sounds for examples is primary data used by the author who is a native speaker of the language. Given to the peculiar features of this language, the process of homonymy, which is homographic in nature, is described with appropriate examples.

Keywords: *Kashmiri language, vowels, consonants, nasalization, phonological processes, homonymy.*

Мір Фарук Агамад, Гаснаїн Імтіаз, Хан Азизуддин. Кашмірська мова: фонологічний нарис. Кашмірська мова – це індоарійська мова, якою здебільшого розмовляють у штатах Джамму й Кашмір у Індії, а також в деяких регіонах Пакистану. Деякі фонологічні та морфологічні відмінності цієї мови роблять її особливою серед індоарійських мов. У статті подано фонологічний нарис кашмірської мови. Опис голосних і приголосних представлено з метою побудови загального уявлення про фонологічну систему досліджуваної мови. Процес назалізації в кашмірській мові є фонемним. Метою цього дослідження є опис і відображення всіх фонологічних особливостей мови, особливо тих, які є унікальними в цій мові. Крім того, здійснено спробу опису й пояснення різних фонологічних процесів, таких як палаталізація, епентеза й елізія, які трапляються в досліджуваній мові. У цій статті всі згадані процеси описані з наведенням відповідних прикладів, а дані, що складаються з прикладів лексем і звуків, є первинними даними, які використані одним з авторів – носієм мови. Враховуючи особливі риси цієї мови, процес омонімії, який має гомографічний характер, описано за допомогою відповідних прикладів.

Ключові слова: каширська мова, голосні, приголосні, назалізація, фонологічні процеси, омонімія.

1. Introduction

Kashmiri is one of the twenty-eight Dardic languages of Indo-Aryan language family (Fussman, 1972; Grierson, 1973; Kachru, 1969; Koul & Wali, 2006a; Mir, 2014a). It is the mother tongue of at least 65, 54,369 people in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, India (Census, 2011) and nearly 1,30,000 people speak it in Neelam and Leepa valleys of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan (Shakil, 2012). The natives of Kashmiri language call it /kə:ʃur / or /kə:ʃir/. Kashmiri is specified in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India as one of the scheduled languages and is also listed in the VI Schedule of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (Kak, 2002a; Mir, 2014b).

The general word order of Kashmiri is SVO. However, it is the only language among Indo-Aryan languages that possesses verb-second (V2) word order also (Koul & Wali, 2006b). Kashmiri has been reported to have many dialects based on social and regional classifications (Grierson, 1919; Kachru, 1969; Lawrence, 1895). Grierson (1919) however, claims that the true dialect of Kashmiri is Kistwari and other dialects such as Poguli, Siraji, Rambani are mixed dialects. Kashmiri is written in persio-arabic script. Earlier in ancient times it was written in Sharda script (Kak, 2002b; Koul, 1996).

2. Phonological Sketch

The phonemic system of Kashmiri has sixteen vowel sounds and twenty-eight consonant sounds. Vowels exhibit the process of Nasalization, which is phonemic in nature i.e. changes the meaning of the word (Grierson, 1919; Kak, 2002c).

2.1. Vowels

Vowels in Kashmiri are oral as well as nasalized. Koul (2002), reports that Kashmiri vowel system contains four peculiar vowel sounds, which are uniquely present in Kashmiri among other Indo-Aryan languages. These are the central vowels /i/, /i:/ and /ə/, /ə:/. However, /i/ are /i:/ are particularly found in Kashmiri but /ə/ and /ə:/ are found in other Indo-Aryan languages also. Among these central vowels, the vowel /i/ contributes to the phenomenon of Palatalization. The Oral vowels are articulated by change in tongue position, tongue height and rounding of lips.

In total, there are sixteen (16) Oral vowel phonemes in Kashmiri that are given below in Table 1.

2.2. Consonants

There are (31) thirty-one consonants in Kashmiri. All the consonants, except palatal consonants, can be palatalized. The process of palatalization in Kashmiri is phonemic and not phonetic. The dental affricates /ts/ and /ts^h/ are not found in Hindi, Urdu and many other languages in India. There are no voiced aspirated stops in Kashmiri. The consonants are given below in Table 2.

Table 1

Oral Vowels in Kashmiri						
	Front		Central		Back	
	Unrounded		Unrounded		Rounded	
High		i:		ɨ:		u:
Lower	i		ɨ		u	
High						
Mid	e	e:	ə	ə:	o	o:
Lower			ɑ		ɔ	ɔ:
Mid						
Lower			ɑ:			

Table 2

Consonant Sounds in Kashmiri							
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar-dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops							
Voiceless	p		t	ʈ		k	
Unaspirated							
Voiceless	p ^h		t ^h	ʈ ^h		k ^h	
Aspirated							
Voiced	b		d	ɖ		g	
Affricates							
Voiceless			ts		ç		
Unaspirated							
Voiceless			ts ^h		ç ^h		
Aspirated							
Voiced					ʃ		
Unaspirated							
Nasals							
Voiced	m		n			ŋ	
Fricatives							
Voiceless		v	s		ʃ		h
Voiced			z				
Lateral			l				
(Voiced)							
Trill			r	ɽ			
(Voiced)							
Flap			r				
(Voiced)							
Approximants							
(Voiced)	w				j		

2.3. Nasalization

The process of Nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri (Kak & Ovesa, 2009; Koul & Wali, 2006) and the presence of a nasal vowel changes the meaning of an entire

word. All oral vowels can be nasalized in Kashmiri except /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/. The process of Nasalization is shown below in Table 3 with appropriate examples.

Table 3

Oral and Nasal Vowels in Kashmiri with Examples and Gloss					
Oral Vowel	Example	Gloss	Nasal Vowel	Example	Gloss
/i/	miš	tooth pick	/ĩ/	hĩz	hindu woman
/i:/	ti:r	Arrow	/ĩ:/	pĩ:ts	minute
/e/	kel	Banana	/ẽ/	kẽh	some
/e:/	le:k ^h	Write	/ẽ:/	tsẽ:m	feel
/ɪ/	sɪ:t	With	/ĩ:/	kĩ:z	buttermilk
/ɪ/	tɪts ^h	dusting cloth	/ĩ/	nĩz	house
/ə/	gəɖ	Centre	/ẽ/	gẽɖ	knot
/ə:/	lə:r	Cucumber	/ẽ:/	ẽ:t	drupe
/a/	kar	Job	/ã/	kãgɪr	fire pot
/a:/	ɑ:ləv	Call	/ã:/	kã:ɖur	baker
/u/	puz	Truth	/ũ/	pũz	monkey
/u:/	lu:t ^h	Loot	/ũ:/	lũ:t ^h	knot on a scarf
/o/	god	Hole	/õ/	gõɖ	bouquet
/o:/	bo:j	Brother	/õ:/	bõ:j	chinar tree

3. Phonological Processes

Phonological processes in Kashmiri have not been studied much. However the process of palatalization, which is a modification process, has been reported as one of the important and distinguishing feature of Kashmiri phonology (Bhat, 2008a; Bhaskararao, et al., 2009). But there are also whole segment processes found in this language such as Epenthesis and Elision.

The phonological processes that occur in Kashmiri are discussed as follows:

3.1. Palatalization

Palatalization is one of the types of Modification Processes. The process of palatalization changes the manner or place of articulation of consonant sounds. In case of vowels, fronting or raising occurs due to the phonological change by palatalization. Bhaskararao, et al. (2009:5) quotes Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:363) while defining the process of palatalization as "... the superimposition of a raising of the front of the tongue toward a position similar to that for /i/ on a primary gesture. Like labialization it is often more apparent at the release than at the formation of a primary constriction". In case of Kashmiri, the palatalization occurs at the word initial, medial and word final positions (Bhat, 2008b) and is prominently observed in speech. The palatalized forms are vivid at the word initial or final positions and at the word-medial positions it is often observed as the sound /j/. Moreover, the central unrounded vowel /ɪ/ which is particularly found in

Kashmiri and the approximant /j/ contributes to the process of palatalization in Kashmiri.

The process of palatalization induces inflectional changes in palatalized word forms for number and gender. For example:

- a) kuʈ^h (singular) room
- b) kuiʈ^hi (plural) rooms
- c) ko:n (Masculine) one-eyed
- d) kə:nɪ (Feminine) one-eyed

The phenomenon of total palatalization is also observed in Kashmiri. For example:

- e) miət (singular/feminine) round or ball shaped
- f) meči (plural/feminine) round or ball shaped

Also, some examples of palatalization contributed by /j/ are as follows:

- g) p^jən (for plural) will fall
- h) djəl (plural) barks of trees
- i) b^jul (singular) earthquake
- j) par^jun (singular) sieve

In some cases, the process of palatalization is phonemic in Kashmiri and may inflect a noun for plural number and or gender. For example:

- k) miəl (appetite) miəl^j (fathers)
- l) bəd (big/ singular/ feminine) bəd^j (big/plural/masculine)
- m) t̪iat^h (dear/ singular/ feminine) t̪iat^{hj}

It needs to be noted that the process of palatalization is same for all regional varieties of Kashmiri. There will be pronunciation differences among the regional variants of a word but the place and manner of palatalizing vowel or approximant remains the same.

3.2. Cluster Reduction

Cluster Reduction is the phenomenon of simplifying a consonant cluster by deleting one of the immediate consonants. It means that the number of output segments in a speech shall differ from the input segments (Wheeler, 2005). In Kashmiri, the cluster reduction helps mark the regional dialectal variation, which gives rise to prestigious and non-prestigious language forms also. In all southern parts and some upper reaches of the northern parts of the valley of Kashmir, the consonant cluster is retained in speech where as cluster reduction is observed in central parts of Kashmir. For example:

- a) /br^jə:r/ becomes /b^jə:r/ (cat/feminine/singular)
- b) /tsrə:r/ becomes /tsə:r/ (prop.N/ singular)
- c) /trəkur/ becomes /təkur/ (hard/masculine/singular)
- d) /dror/ becomes /dor/ (run/singular)

Thus, the CCVC pattern is reduced to CVC pattern. This type of cluster reduction can be also referred to as diachronic situation. It is often observed in Kashmir that if there is cluster reduction in a Kashmiri speech act, it is called prestigious form and the one which retains the consonant cluster is non-prestigious.

3.3. Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis is the phonological process in which a vowel sound is inserted in a word. It is the part of the process of Epenthesis (Crowley, 1997a; Pandey, 2018a). It is one of the common features of Kashmiri that a vowel is inserted between two consecutive consonants. Most often the vowel insertion occurs in a consonant cluster. This phenomenon is prominent in borrowed words where /i/ is generally inserted between two consecutive consonants at the beginning of a word. For example:

- | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|
| a) /sku:l/ | /siku:l/ | (school) |
| b) /plan/ | /pilan/ | (plan) |
| c) /stɔ:l/ | /sitɔ:l/ | (stall) |

Interestingly, if the insertion of /i/ is replaced by /ə/ in above examples then it will give rise to a diaglossic variety called /pəhɑ:ɾikosur/ e.g:

- | | | |
|------------|----------|----------|
| d) /sku:l/ | /səku:l/ | (school) |
| e) /plan/ | /pəlan/ | (plan) |
| f) /stɔ:l/ | /sətɔ:l/ | (stall) |

This variety is called /pəhɑ:ɾikosur/ which means the Pahari version of Kashmiri and the Pahari version is treated as the lower variety of the language. Although there exists nothing like /pəhɑ:ɾikosur/ in Kashmiri but the variety is purely diaglossic.

The insertion of the vowel sounds in Kashmiri occurs mostly between the initial consonants of a word and at the word-final positions but not in the word-medial positions. The insertion or addition of vowel at the end of the word gives rise to another epenthetic process called Paragoge which is discussed below.

3.4. Paragoge

Paragoge is realized as the phonological change in at the end of the word due to the insertion of a vowel. It is also part of the process of Epenthesis. It is found in Tamil and Kashmiri. In Tamil it is /u/ that is added to the word final position and in Kashmiri /i/ is being added to word final positions. The insertion of /i/ at the word final position in Kashmiri is specifically inflectional in some cases and inflects a noun for number.

For example:

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|----------|---------|
| a) /əl/ | (singular) | /əli/ | (plural) | pumpkin |
| b) /əč ^h / | (singular) | /əč ^h i/ | (plural) | eye |
| c) /kɪtab/ | (singular) | /kɪtabi/ | (plural) | book |
| d) /nɑ:w/ | (singular) | /nɑ:wi/ | (plural) | boats |

Apart from being inflectional in function the process of addition of /i/ at the word-final position can be seen in most of the words in Kashmiri where it is not inflectional and is added as such. e.g:

- | | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| e) /bət̪i/ | (cooked rice) |
| f) /pat̪i/ | (afterwards) |
| g) /gots̪i/ | (shell of silk worm) |
| h) /dost̪i/ | (friend) |

- i) /ə:ji:nɪ/ (mirror)

3.5. Deletion or Elision

Deletion or Elision is the process of deleting a phoneme or sound segment from a word. The deleted sound segment can be a vowel or a consonant. Depending up on the type of phoneme deletion, the phonological process of Elision can be Procopie or Aphesis, Syncope, and Apocope. In Kashmiri, the Elision occurs more at word initial positions followed by word final positions. The elision in the middle of a word is also found in certain cases in this language. Following is the description of Aphesis, Syncope and Apocope in Kashmiri.

3.5.1. Aphesis

The process of Aphesis is commonly related to historical change of a language (Crowley, 1997b). It occurs at word-initial position, when a phonemic segment is deleted or omitted at the beginning of a word. Some examples from Kashmiri are as follows:

- | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------|---------|
| a) /ələm/ | (flag) | /ləm/ | (heap) |
| b) /ələg/ | (separate) | /ləg/ | (fine) |
| c) /tso:r/ | (four) | /o:r/ | (there) |
| d) /mo:l/ | (father) | /o:l/ | (nest) |

In Kashmiri the process of Aphesis occurs mostly in nouns. It retains the word category in most of the cases.

3.5.2. Apocope

Apocope is the deletion or omission of a sound, usually an unstressed vowel, segment at word-final position (Chomsky & Halle, 1968; Pandey, 2018b). In Kashmiri, this type of Elision occurs for consonants. Following are the examples from Kashmiri:

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------------|----------|
| a) /ə:nɪk/ | (spectacles) | changes to /ə:nɪ/ | (mirror) |
| b) /dɑ:nd/ | (bull) | changes to /dɑ:n/ | (oven) |
| c) /dənd/ | (tooth) | changes to /dən/ | (handle) |

Kashmiri retains the word final vowel sounds however, drops or deletes the word-final consonants in the process of Elision. This is also called as final phoneme deletion.

3.5.3. Syncope

Syncope is the phonological process where a sound, which can be a vowel or a consonant, is omitted from the middle of a word. Usually, the process of syncope does not occur in Kashmiri. However, some instances of deletion of glottal /h/ are found in Kashmiri speech that can be treated as the process of syncope. For example:

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------|
| a) /pəʈʃan/ | (for fifty) | /pəʈʃan/ |
| b) /badʃahɪs/ | (king's) | /badʃais/ |
| c) /ʃahzɑ:d/ | (prince) | /ʃazɑ:d/ |

It needs to be mentioned here that the process of syncope usually does not occur in Kashmiri however, the examples given above are often observed in

children who omit the glottal fricative /h/ in word-medial positions. This is referred to as their developmental error.

4. Homophony

Homophony is said to occur in a group of lexical items when they share the same morphological and or syntactic specifications (Leech, 1974). This means that these words may belong to similar or different word categories. These words have same pronunciation but different meanings. Interestingly, in Kashmiri this variation is opaque therefore the phenomenon of Homophony is Homographic. For example:

- a) /ʃɑ:l/ (fox/ shawl)
- b) /poʃ/ (flower/ help)
- c) /k^hər/ (donkey/bug)
- d) /k^hur/ (undesirable / bald)
- e) /və:r/ (vegetable garden / pot)
- f) /də:r/ (window / beard)
- g) /sum/ (hair style / bridge)
- h) /sɔn/ (gold /deep)

Such homophones are same in spelling and pronunciation but differ in meanings.

5. Conclusion

This write-up introduces the Kashmiri language as a language of Indo-Aryan family. It describes the basic phonological sketch of this language. The vowels and consonants present in the phonological system of this language has been shown. It has been described that this language contains a peculiar unrounded central vowel /ɨ/ which contributes to the process of Palatalization. The process of Nasalization which is phonemic in Kashmiri has been described with appropriate examples. Certain phonological processes in Kashmiri are described with appropriate examples. The phonological processes, which occur in Kashmiri have not been studied much however, the process of palatalization has been worked upon by many researchers. Palatalization is one of the important features of this language. The other processes such as Epenthesis and Elision have also been discussed.

Moreover, the process of Homonymy, which has been described in the write-up, is homographic i.e. a group of same pronouncing words have same spellings too.

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THE LINGUISTICS OF IMAGINARY NARRATIVE SPACES IN DAPHNE DU MAURIER'S *REBECCA*

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Abstract. Daphne du Maurier's 1938 novel *Rebecca* provides rich opportunities for the study of imaginary narrative spaces and the language associated with such spaces. The present study explores the linguistics of the imaginary narrative spaces in *Rebecca*, drawing upon three lines of linguistic research consistent with a Cognitive Linguistic approach: (i) an interest in understanding and appreciating ordinary readers' actual responses (rather than merely relying upon "expert" readers' responses), (ii) the construction of worlds or "spaces", and (iii) the application of ideas from Cognitive Grammar. The study reveals a surprisingly intricate interplay of linguistic devices used in the construction of imaginary narrative spaces and the maintenance of such spaces in extended discourse.

Keywords: *imaginary narrative space, du Maurier, cognitive linguistics, cognitive grammar, stylistics, repetition.*

Ньюман Джон. Лінгвістика уявних наративних просторів у романі «Ребекка» Дафни дю Мор'є.

Роман «Ребекка» Дафни дю Мор'є 1938 року надав великі можливості для вивчення уявних наративних просторів й мовлення, яке прийнято асоціювати з ними. У цьому дослідженні увагу приділено лінгвістиці уявних наративних просторів у романі «Ребекка». Автор розглядає три лінії лінгвістичних досліджень у річищі когнітивно-лінгвістичного підходу, а саме: а) зацікавленість у розумінні та оцінці реальних відповідей читачів (замість того, щоб просто покладатися на «експертні» відповіді читачів); б) побудова світів або «просторів»; в) застосування ідей когнітивної граматики. Дослідження виявило доволі заплутану й складну взаємодію мовних засобів, які використовує автор роману для побудови уявних наративних просторів й утримання таких просторів у подальшому дискурсі.

Ключові слова: *уявний наративний простір, дю Мор'є, когнітивна лінгвістика, когнітивна граматика, стилістика, повторення.*

1. Introduction

Among the more recent developments in the field of linguistics and the many attempts to strike new paths in linguistic theorizing and new methods of linguistic analysis, Cognitive Linguistics stands out as one of the most successful. Cognitive Linguistics is characterized in broadest terms as an approach to the study of language that is concerned with general principles that provide some explanation for all aspects of language, consistent with what is known about human cognition generally (Dancygier, 2017a; Evans & Green, 2006). While the study of literature has hardly been a primary focus within the Cognitive Linguistics movement, it is nevertheless an area of growing interest (cf. Dancygier, 2017b; Harrison & Stockwell, 2014; Stockwell, 2002). A very obvious area in which Cognitive Linguistics has contributed to the study of literature is metaphor, understood as a

conceptual mapping from a source domain to a target domain (see especially Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Turner, 1996). There are, however, numerous other ways in which a Cognitive Linguistic orientation may inform the study of literature and the present study is intended as an example of how the study of a literary text can profitably draw upon various ideas current in Cognitive Linguistics.

The primary goal of this study is to explore, from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective, the range of linguistic devices associated with imaginary narrative spaces in one particular novel *Rebecca*, written by the English writer Daphne du Maurier, and first published in 1938. As explained below, the novel is particularly relevant to the study of imaginary spaces in literature and is a very suitable object of study for linguists with an interest in the role of language in the construction and maintenance of imaginary spaces. A secondary goal of the study, following from the findings relating to the first goal, is to add to our understanding of the aesthetics of repetition of form, or alternately, variation in form in literary writing.

I introduce the Cognitive Linguistic orientation of the paper, the novel that is the source of data, and the notion of imaginary narrative spaces in Section 2. Section 3 presents the analysis and discussion of results and Section 4 is the conclusion.

2. Methods

2.1. Cognitive Linguistic Perspectives

Three Cognitive Linguistic strands of research relevant to the present study are: (i) readers' actual responses and cognitive processes, (ii) the construction of worlds or "spaces" within the novel, and (iii) the application of ideas from Cognitive Grammar. Each of these aspects of the present approach is briefly elaborated below.

The consideration of readers' actual responses to a literary text, as opposed to responses of purely "expert" readers (academics and professional literary critics), is consistent with an interest in Cognitive Linguistics in the cognitive experience associated with the use of language. The study of the mental processes associated with reading literature, the study of the actual aesthetic experiences associated with reading literature, etc. are all of interest from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective, however difficult it might be to establish appropriate experimental methods. The present study is not an experimental study, but nevertheless it does turn to the responses of ordinary readers (as evidenced in online reviews) to confirm certain qualities of the novel (in Sections 2.3 and 2.3), rather than relying exclusively upon my own reading of the text or that of expert readers. In this way, the analysis offered here incorporates aspects of the experienced reality of readers of the text, rather than being a purely textual analysis without reference to cognitive realities.

The construction of mental spaces has been a continuing area of interest in Cognitive Linguistics, following in large part from the work of Fauconnier (1985). This work has also informed subsequent research on metaphor and 'conceptual mapping', i.e. the mapping from one conceptual domain to another conceptual domain and the manner in which new understandings emerge from the blending of elements in a unified domain (Turner, 2015). In the case of the present study, the

interest lies in imaginary narrative spaces, i.e., passages of text within the narrative of the story that take the reader mentally to imagined scenes and events.

I draw upon Cognitive Grammar, especially as presented by Langacker (1991), in order to better understand the conceptual dynamics associated with imaginary narrative spaces in the novel. The Cognitive Grammar framework provides an intuitively satisfying approach to understanding the functions of linguistic forms in language and communication. It is a key theoretical framework and source of inspiration for many researchers in the field of Cognitive Linguistics (see Harrison et al., 2014, for a selection of studies of literature grounded in Cognitive Grammar specifically). Many of the psychologically grounded concepts of Cognitive Grammar have natural applications to literature (figure vs. ground, summary vs. sequential scanning, a stage model of conceptualizing our observation of external events, etc.). In the present study, the Cognitive Grammar notion of a cognitively grounded epistemic model is incorporated into the analysis of imaginary narrative spaces in Section 3.

2.2. *Rebecca, the Novel*

The novel under discussion in the present study is *Rebecca*, written by the English writer Daphne du Maurier and first published in 1938¹. The novel proved popular at the time it was published and has remained popular ever since, available in translation in many languages. It was also made into a highly successful film directed by Alfred Hitchcock, in 1940, adding to the reputation of the novel and its author².

My concern here is not with the development of the plot or characters, and it is not necessary to explain these aspects of the novel in any detail. Nevertheless, a short summary of the novel at this point may be useful. Very briefly, the novel takes the form of a recollection of (usually distressing) events surrounding the marriage of the narrator, who remains unnamed, to a widower Maxim de Winter. The narrator meets Maxim as a young, naïve woman and soon finds herself having to contend with the strong memory of Maxim's first wife, Rebecca, on the part of Maxim and his friends, family, and servants, especially the housekeeper Mrs. Danvers. In time, it is revealed to the narrator by Maxim that he had killed Rebecca and had made it look as though Rebecca had died in a boating accident. Most of the events of the novel take place in and around Maxim's mansion in Cornwall, Manderley, which is burnt to the ground as the final climax of the novel.

The reception of the novel among literary critics has not matched the popular success that the novel has enjoyed, though there has been some change over the years in how the novel is viewed in academic and literary circles. Earlier critics tended to dismiss the novel as a romance, a category of writing that is supposedly common, mundane, and without special interest for serious or sophisticated readers (cf. Beauman, 2003, p. 431; Kelly, 1987, pp. 62-63). In an overview of English

¹ Citations of the novel in this study are taken from the Virago Press edition of *Rebecca* published in 2012.

² *Rebecca* is one of three published works by du Maurier that were made into films directed by Hitchcock, the other two being the novel *Jamaica Inn* and the short story *The Birds*.

novelists, Winifrith (1979) does consider the novel to have risen above simply a “period piece”, but still draws attention, negatively, to the “romantic settings and Byronic heroes without any corresponding exploitation of human motivation or ordinary life” present in this and other novels by the author (pp. 355-356).

This earlier view has since been fiercely contested in some quarters. Kelly (1987, p. 54) for example, considers the novel to be “a profound and fascinating study of an obsessive personality, of sexual dominance, of human identity, and of the liberation of the hidden self”. And the same author considers the neglect of the novel in some circles to be due to “literary saints”, snobbery, and sexism (p. 63). Beaman refers to the novel as “strange, angry and prescient” in the reflection on its critical history in (1):

- (1) *Rebecca*, from the time of first publication, has been woefully and wilfully underestimated. It has been dismissed as a gothic romance, as ‘women’s fiction’- with such prejudicial terms, of course, giving clues as to why the novel has been so unthinkingly misinterpreted. Re-examination of this strange, angry and prescient novel is long overdue. (Beaman, 2003, p. 429)

An earlier view of the novel as simple romantic fiction has been replaced by a view of the novel as having considerable more substance and relevance, especially with respect to the psychological complexity of characters, including the female characters and their relationships with one another (cf. Armitt, 2000, p. 104; Hadiyanto, 2010; Horner & Zlosnik, 1998; Margawati, 2010). Any idea that du Maurier is a writer of typical romantic fiction has long since disappeared – Birch (2003), for example, refers to du Maurier’s “refusal of romantic comforts” in her writing. Interestingly, the change in the status of the novel among literary and academic writers is mirrored to some extent in the change of opinion that particular readers have expressed. The comments in (2) are taken from the online reviews of the novel by one reader to be found at “goodreads.com”³. The writer reports her change in the evaluation of the novel as a love story (when she was a very young girl) to a “gorgeously intense psychological thriller” now.

- (2) ...I read this novel as a very young girl, and remembered it as a love story. ...However, as life tosses and turns one around, I felt compelled to reread it on a too hot, oppressive summer day. And I was captivated, quite despite myself. What a gorgeously intense psychological thriller this is! (From “Lisa”, goodreads.com reviews)

2.3. Imaginary narrative spaces

In the present study, the text passages of interest are those where the narrator takes herself and the reader into realms of imagination far removed from the immediate reality surrounding the narrator at that point in the story. These passages vary from relatively short (a few sentences) to relatively long (a whole chapter).

³ See <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/17899948-rebecca>

There have been various analytical frameworks and accompanying labels proposed to describe the form and content of passages such as these. In particular, appeals to 'worlds' and 'spaces' have become common. Werth's (1999) notions of 'text world' and 'sub-worlds' as applied to texts has been influential and informs Stockwell's (2002) discussion of worlds in the analysis of literary texts, which include fantasy worlds as a sub-class of a more general category of discourse worlds (pp. 91-96). Fantasy worlds, by his definition, refers to the "the worlds of characters' dreams, visions, imaginations or fictions that they compose themselves" and this characterization does seem appropriate for the content we encounter in the relevant passages in the novel (see also the discussion of text-worlds by Gavins, 2007). A different tradition relying upon the notion of 'spaces' has also evolved, originating in Fauconnier's (1985) study of 'mental spaces'. Dancygier (2012, p. 36) relies upon the idea of 'narrative spaces' to refer to these sub-parts of a text that take the reader to different kinds of realms. While 'worlds' or 'spaces' might seem equally apt as ways of capturing the passages being studied below, I adopt Dancygier's terminology of 'narrative spaces' in order to indicate a closer connection of the present study to Dancygier's overall approach than to, say, Werth's approach. Two aspects of Dancygier's approach apply, in particular, to the present study: "Narrative spaces are defined in parallel to and in correlation with lower-level linguistic phenomena participating in meaning construction, and, while they may apply to 'worldlike' constructs, they do not apply to texts in their entirety" (Dancygier, 2012, p. 36). This explicit interest in lower-level linguistic phenomena associated with narrative spaces and the interest in narrative spaces as smaller parts of an entire text can be seen also in the approach I adopt here. It is fitting therefore to situate the present study in a tradition of studying narrative spaces, here *imaginary narrative spaces*, rather than text worlds.

The decision to focus attention on imaginary narrative spaces in the novel is grounded in a perception that these spaces, taken together, are highly effective devices in constructing the character of the narrator, the key player in the drama of the novel. But, importantly, these spaces are also a highly salient aspect of the whole novel and are pointedly commented upon both within the novel and by readers of the novel. The extracts in (3) illustrate some of the explicit references to dreams and dreaming within the novel. In (3a), Mrs. Van Hopper, the American woman for whom the narrator in the early part of the novel works in the capacity of a companion, addresses the narrator and refers to the 'dreaming' that she supposes the narrator has been absorbed in. In (3b), the narrator identifies herself as a dreamer as part of the retelling of the extended dream that makes up Chapter 1. In (3c) the narrator describes herself on one occasion as being in "a sort of dream" in the company of her husband. Even though words like *dream*, *dreaming* etc. are explicitly used in these and other passages in the text, one might well question whether *dreaming* and its related forms are in fact accurate descriptions of what has transpired. (3b) is part of the narrator's retelling of a dream that came to the narrator the preceding night. Here there is no question that a dream, as usually understood, is being described and that the narrator was the dreamer. In (3a), however, Mrs. Van

Hopper assumes the narrator has been ‘dreaming’ when in fact the narrator has been experiencing something more like a neurotic episode, crouched on the floor by herself in the bathroom (see Section 6 for more discussion of this scene).

- (3) a. “You can't afford to dream this morning, you know, there's too much to be done.” (p. 53)
- b. Then, like all dreamers, I was possessed of a sudden with supernatural powers and passed like a spirit through the barrier before me. (p. 1)
- c. I had sat there on the floor beside Maxim in a sort of dream, his hand in mine, my face against his shoulder. (p. 319)

Apart from these explicit references to dreaming within the novel, readers of the novel have drawn attention to such passages as part of their general commentaries on the “goodreads.com” website. While I have not attempted to sample these commentaries in any systematic way, the examples of commentaries in (4) are sufficient to illustrate a range of ways in which ordinary readers react to the imaginary narrative spaces in the novel, all taken from “goodreads.com”. The “Navessa” reader in (4a) refers to the narrator as a dreamer and how any number of events can “send her mind spinning, as she plays out the infinite consequences of these things”. Clearly, “Navessa” had a relatively negative view of these qualities of the novel, and found the novel more difficult to read because of them. The readers making the comments in (4b-c) are also struck by passages of the text, referred to as “daydreams”, “ruminations”, and “naïve neurotic thoughts” (cf. also Naszkowska’s (2012, p. 133) reference to *Manderley*, the setting of most of the novel, as a ‘dreamscape’).

- (4) a. What made it that much more difficult to read was the MC [Main Character]. [The narrator] is a dreamer; she lives largely inside of her head, and the smallest thing, from her companion choosing to host a cocktail party, to the rising of the sun, can send her mind spinning as she plays out the infinite consequences of these things. This tendency becomes obsessive when Maxim enters the picture. (“Navessa”, rating of 2/5 where 5 is the most positive score, goodreads.com reviews)
- b. I have to say that the second Mrs. de Winter's paralyzing lack of self-confidence and her gaucherie, even though integral to the plot, was really irksome to me. And every time she'd start off into another daydream, which she did *All. The. Time.*, imagining conversations and events out of whole cloth, I would mentally roll my eyes at her. But once I realized that this is not to be read as a romance novel (really, the relationship here is pretty unhealthy on both sides), I was free to appreciate the characters' shortcomings (instead of being frustrated by them) and to see how those shortcomings and their past experiences combine to bring them together,

but pull them apart at the same time. It's a fascinating psychological study. ("Tadiana", rating of 5/5, goodreads.com reviews)

- c. Oh my... how I fell in love with this classic novel, I adored the main protagonist and felt she was fully developed as a character. Her constant ruminations and daydreams really set the tone it's a real trip getting to be inside her head with all her naive neurotic thoughts, which often get carried away and make for a compelling read. ("Vanessa", rating of 5/5, goodreads.com reviews)

This propensity of the narrator towards flights into realms of imagination reflects, too, an aspect of du Maurier's own childhood experiences. Forster (1993, p. 8) refers to the "marvellous imaginative games" that du Maurier's father played with his daughters and how the du Maurier daughters "were encouraged, even expected, to use their imaginations" (p. 10). In fact, du Maurier has been characterized as an "addict of fantasy" in Birch's (2007) appreciative re-appraisal of the author.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Establishing imaginary narrative spaces

We will take a close look at six examples of how imaginary narrative spaces are created in the novel, illustrating the types of spaces imagined and the variety of linguistic means used⁴ (5) is an example of an imagined reality using the present perfect. The use of *I think* makes it explicit that this is an imaginary space. The parenthetical use of *I think* in this example helps to background the role of the narrator in thinking these thoughts, giving more immediacy to the experience of the narrated events (someone telling her, someone seeing us together, etc.). There is, furthermore, an effect of hurriedness, almost of uncontrollability, in the quick succession of verb phrases lacking any unnecessary elaboration. It is not until we reach *and I waited for her attack* that the imagining of events comes to an end and the narrator returns to present reality.

- (5) Someone **has told** her, I thought, someone **has seen** us together, the tennis professional **has complained**, the manager **has sent** a note, and I waited for her attack. (p. 46)

The excerpt in (6) is similar to (5) in that it involves an explicit *I thought*. Here, the *I thought* introduces the sequence of imagined scenes, positioned at the beginning of the sequence. (6) concerns an imagined future, rather than an imagined past, with simple future modal auxiliaries *shall/will* throughout. As in (5), there is an effect of hurriedness in the juxtapositioning of the clauses.

⁴ I use bold style to draw attention to particular linguistic features of interest.

- (6) I thought, I **shall never drive** with him again. To-morrow he **will go away**. And Mrs. Van Hopper **will be up** again. She and I **will walk** along the terrace as we did before. The porter **will bring** down his trunks, I **shall catch a glimpse of them** in the luggage lift, with new-plastered labels. (p. 41)

The excerpt in (7) takes the reader to an alternative imagined space through the *I saw myself V-ing* construction. The time in which the imagined events in (6) take place is neither past nor distant future, but rather an alternative to now or the immediate future. Here there is more intervening text between the verb forms that describe the actions of the narrator, compared with (5) and (6). Altogether, the effect is of a more leisurely imagined space.

- (7) I saw myself **strolling** into Mrs. Van Hopper's bedroom rather late for my bezique, and when questioned by her **yawning** carelessly, **saying**, "I forgot the time. I've been lunching with Maxim." (pp. 45-46)

In (8), the imaginary space is introduced through an *if..., then...* construction in which the past tense form appears in the *if*-clause, indicating here an imagined near-future space, the "subjunctive" function of the simple past tense. This construction, with a past tense form in the *if*-clause requires a modal auxiliary in the *then*-clause. And in (8), we find *should*, *would*, and *could* all being used as part of an extended *if..., then...* construction.

- (8) If I **rang** him up again at the office now I **should find** that he had gone. The clerk **would say** "Mr. Crawley has just gone out,' Mrs. de Winter," and I **could see** Frank, hatless, climbing into his small, shabby Morris, driving off in search of Maxim. (pp. 267-277)

As with (8), the excerpt in (9) makes use of modal auxiliaries, here *could* and *should*, to establish and maintain an imaginary space in a vague future time. However, in this case, there is no *if..., then...* construction to formally indicate the transition from reality to the imagined space. The narrator moves directly into imagined space through the 'stand-alone' use of these hypothetical modals, unsupported by any formal lexical or syntactic device explicitly signalling the transition. The cohesion of the passage is all the stronger because of the repeated *I could/should* both overtly and covertly since it is *I could/should* that is understood as the missing elements of the conjoined clauses, as in *I could go to the morning-room and sit down at her desk and touch he pen and look at her writing on the pigeon-holes*.

- (9) Now that I knew her to have been evil and vicious and rotten I did not hate her any more. She **could not hurt** me. I **could go** to the morning-room and sit down at her desk and touch her pen and look at her writing on the pigeon-holes, and I **should not mind**. I **could go** to her room in the west wing, stand

by the window even as I had done this morning, and I **should not be afraid**.
(pp. 319-320)

Finally, in (10), we see quite a different combination of linguistic resources to describe the imaginary space. The passage introduces the imagined space by setting the stage with *A hundred images came to me...*, preparing the reader for a string of images. These images are presented as a sequence of elaborated noun-phrases, one after the other, without any of the conventional supporting syntactic apparatus of fully-formed clause structure.

(10) A hundred images came to me when I closed my eyes, things seen, things known, and things forgotten. They were jumbled together in a senseless pattern. **The quill** of Mrs. Van Hopper's hat, **the hard straight-backed chairs** in Frank's dining-room, **the wide window** in the west wing at Manderley, **the salmon-coloured frock** of the smiling lady at the fancy dress ball, **a peasant-girl** in a road near Monte Carlo. (p. 424)

As pointed out above, the usage of the *should/would* modals in (9) should be differentiated from their very familiar use in the consequent clause, also called 'apodosis', of a hypothetical *if...*, *then...* construction, as in (8): *If I rang him up again at the office now I should find that he had gone*. In this construction, a modal in the *then*-clause is required. Huddleston & Pullum (2002) are explicit: "The apodosis of a remote conditional must contain a modal auxiliary" (p. 199). The hypothetical modals *should/would* in (9), however, appear outside of the *if...*, *then...* construction in what one might call a 'bare' hypothetical use of modals. The instances of the modals in (9) are different, too, from cases like *I would advise against signing the document*, where the function of the modal is to attenuate, or soften, the illocutionary force, not to conjure up a hypothetical world. To say *I would advise against signing the document* is, in fact, to advise (not to hypothesize), but in a polite way.

Although both *should* and *would* can be used as bare hypothetical modals in present-day English, the use of *should* (primarily with 1st person singular subject) is relatively rare. In Biber et al. (1999, p. 496), there is a brief, passing mention of *would* having a hypothetical meaning outside of the conditional *if...*, *then...* construction (*I would give it back* is an example they use), but no mention of a similar use of *should*. Palmer (1974, pp. 139-151) is an extended discussion of the role of modals including *would* and *should*, in conditional sentences (e.g., *If you were to go, I should be angry*). Palmer (p. 138) notes that the past tense forms of the modals *would*, *might*, and *couldn't* can be used with "tentative" meaning (outside of the *if...*, *then...* construction), as in *He would be there*, but no mention is made of *should* being used this way. To give some sense of the relative frequency of usage of *should* and *would* historically, one can make use of Google's N-gram Viewer⁵.

⁵ Google's Ngram Viewer is accessible at <https://books.google.com/ngrams>.

Figure 1 is a graph showing the comparative use of the specific phrases *I should think* and *I would think* (just to take one example, of a frequent *should/would* combination) in the corpus of English Fiction 1800-2000. It can be seen how the use of *should* has been steadily declining in the twentieth century, with *I should think* undergoing a distinct rise and fall in usage compared with a slight but continual increase in the use of *I would think*. Consistent with this trend, the (frequent) use of hypothetical *I should* in the novel will strike a reader in the 21st century as somewhat archaic, creating a slightly jarring effect on the reader.

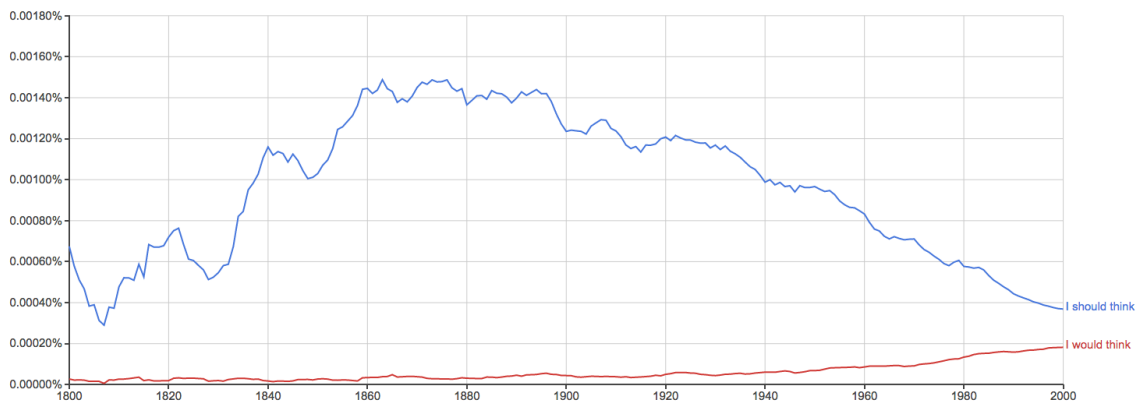


Fig. 1. Ngram Viewer graph of the rise and fall in the use of *I should think* vs. the steady increase in *I would think* 1800-2000 in the corpus English Fiction

Figure 2 is a diagrammatic representation of how the imaginary events in these six examples may be (very roughly) represented in an epistemic model of a speaker's *reality* and its opposite, *irreality*, adapted from the idealized cognitive model in Langacker (1991, p. 243). In this representation, a conceptualizer's conception of known reality, shown in white, is divided into *immediate reality* and *recent reality*. Figure 2 depicts the evolution of known reality and conceptions of irreality through time, from left to right, along the time line t . The immediate reality is centered on the current speech event in the most prototypical instantiation of this model. A speech event such as an utterance is not a single point in time, but must be understood as extending through some moments of time, hence the zig-zag line representing a changing, evolving immediate reality. The immediate reality is where this model is 'grounded', indicated by G . Irreality in this figure is indicated by the shaded area, and is understood as including conceptualizations of everything other than known reality (see Langacker 1991, pp. 242-243, for more discussion), which can be located in the past, present, future, or some combinations of these. In the case of a narrated fictional novel as we are dealing with, immediate reality may be understood as the current sentence being processed by a reader, with the time line running from the beginning of the novel to the end of the novel. The past, present and future divisions of the cognitive model in the case of a novel refer to the narrative past, present and future. In Figure 2 a rough indication has been given for the location of each of the imagined scenarios associated with each of the first five examples discussed above examples.

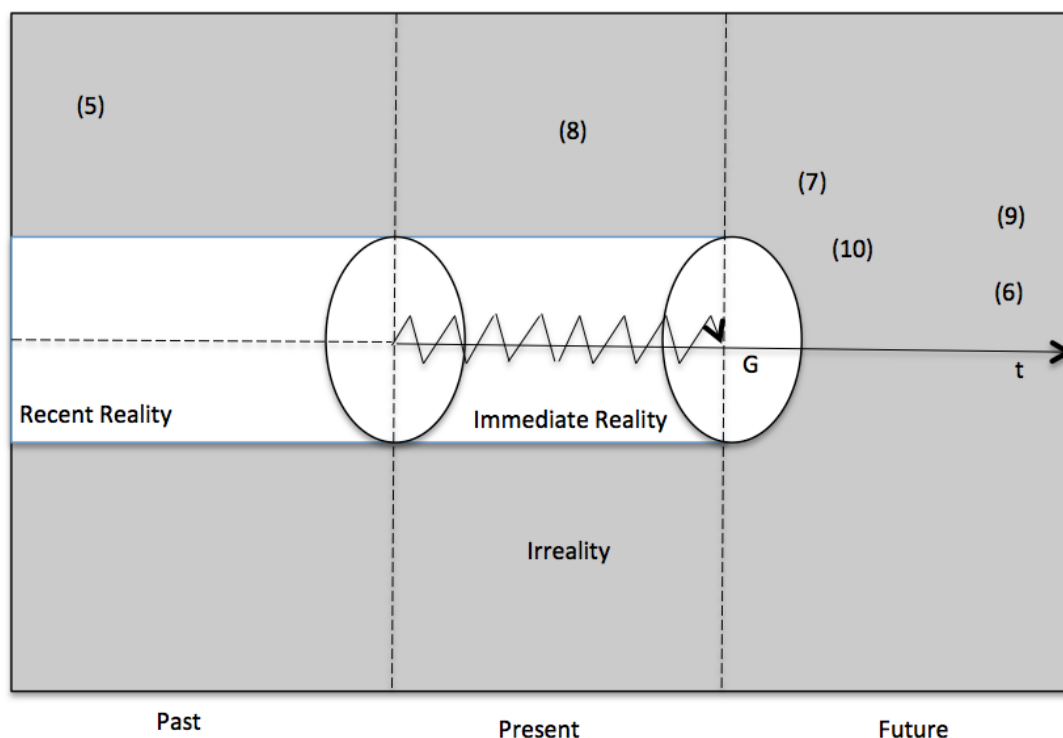


Fig. 2. An epistemic model showing the location of the imaginary scenes of examples (5)-(10)

The epistemic model underlying Figure 2 proves useful, too, when it comes to better understanding different cognitive paths that lead the reader to irreality. The examples in (11) and (12) illustrate two distinct cognitive paths. The passage in (11) includes the opening words of the novel where the narrator introduces the reader to a dream she experienced the previous night. The reporting of the dream is located in the narrative recent reality (*last night*) and the imaginary space is introduced as a dream on the part of the narrator (*I dreamt*). From there, the reader is led to the summary content of the dream (*I went to Manderley again*). The reporting of the dream continues in the rest of the paragraph and, in fact, the whole chapter. I refer to this kind of path into imaginary space as an *indirect* path; it represents an explicitly sign-posted transition to the imaginary space that is elaborated in the rest of the paragraph, with the content of the dream expressed in the complements clause of *dreamt*. (12), on the other hand, can be taken as an example of a direct path into the irreality. It begins with a reference to the recent reality in which the narrator has been informed that she will be leaving the hotel where she has fallen in love with Maxim de Winter, expressed in the past perfect and simple past tenses. The third sentence, beginning with *Tomorrow evening I should be in the train, ...* abruptly, and without any further preparation for a transition into the imaginary space, catapults the reader into irreality, indicated syntactically only by the use of the modal construction *I should be in the train*. I refer to this transition as a *direct* path into irreality.

- (11) Last night **I dreamt I went to Manderley again**. It seemed to me I stood by the iron gate leading to the drive, and for a while I could not enter for the way was barred to me. (p.1)

(12) It had happened at last, the business of going away. It was all over. **To-morrow evening I should be in the train**, holding her jewel case and her rug, like a maid,... (p. 51)

Figures 3 and 4 represent the two paths illustrated in (11) and (12), building on the epistemic model introduced above. In these figures, a dashed line indicates the conceptual path taking the reader from the immediate reality of the narrator to irrealty. In Figure 3, the representation of the indirect path into irrealty exemplified by (11), the reader is first transposed mentally to the recent reality of the preceding night and from there to the irrealty of the dream content. The transition into irrealty is facilitated by the intermediate step of introducing a dream that occurred in recent reality. Figure 4 shows the different conceptual dynamics at work in example (12). Here the first part of the text associated with the immediate reality refers the reader back to recent reality. The second part of the text involves a direct entry into irrealty, unmediated by any introductory reference to dreaming, imagining etc. It is the modal verb *should* that locates this part of the text in irrealty.

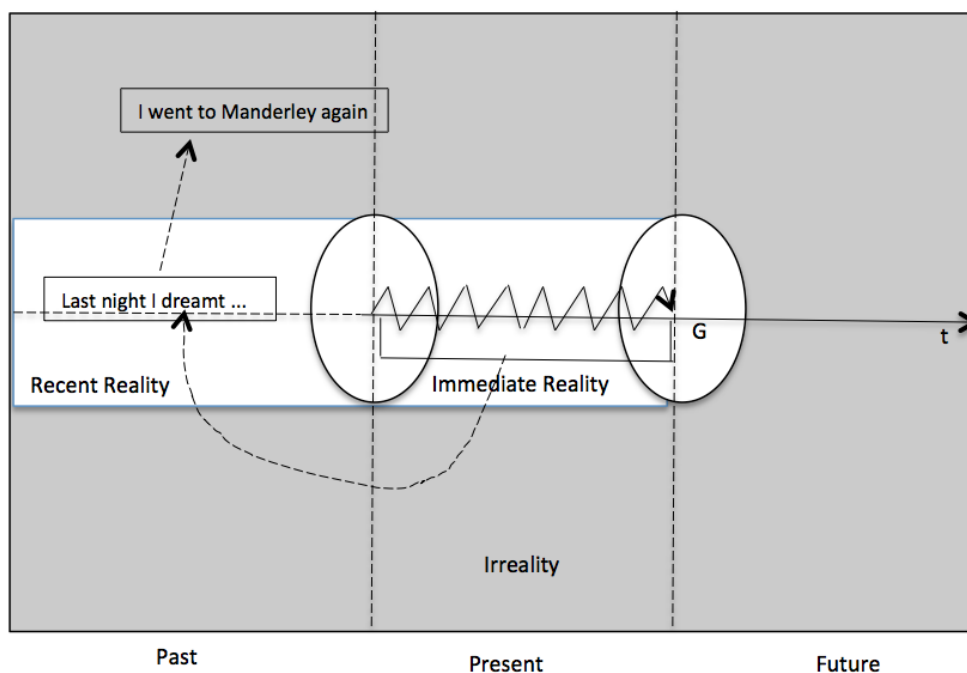


Fig. 3. *The epistemic model with reference to example (11), the opening sentence of the novel, showing the indirect path to the imaginary space from immediate reality*

The examples in this section have shown some of the richness in the various ways that du Maurier navigates imaginary spaces in *Rebecca*. As far as the form of the relevant passages is concerned, there is a considerable variety of linguistic devices employed throughout the novel, as seen in examples (5)-(10): explicit referencing of acts of dreaming through lexical items (*I thought, I dreamt, I saw myself* etc.), modal constructions with *shall/should* and *will/would*, and use of the *if..., then...* construction. Of all these devices, it is the use of the bare hypothetical

modals *should* and *would*, outside of the *if... then...* construction, that is the most remarkable since it is not a feature of everyday English nor, I would say, is it characteristic of fictional writing in contemporary English. When we consider more the conceptual content of the passages leading to imagined spaces, we appreciate the diversity of cognitive paths involved. I have chosen to highlight here the contrast between relatively direct and indirect cognitive paths leading from immediate narrative reality to narrative irreality. Here, too, it is the use of the hypothetical modals *should* and *would* that are responsible for the effect of instantaneous, abrupt transitions that serve to create an impression of a neurotic event on the part of the narrator.

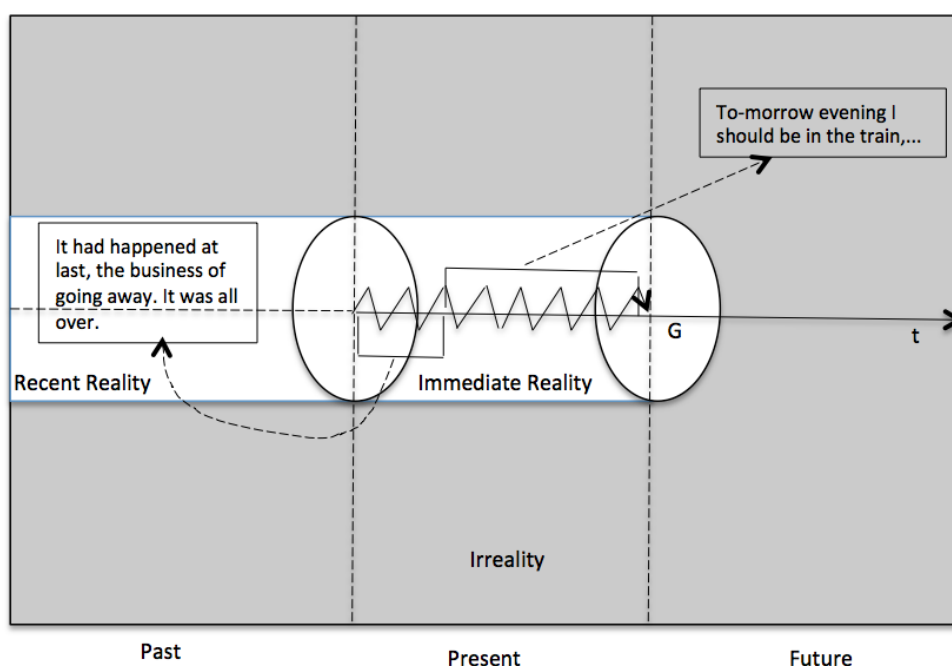


Fig. 4. *The elaborated epistemic model with reference to example (12), showing a direct path to the imaginary space from immediate reality*

3.2. Maintaining imaginary narrative spaces

Apart from the frequency of occurrence of the imaginary spaces in *Rebecca*, the duration of the story-telling set in these imaginary spaces also deserves comment. The relevant text passages range from momentary, conveyed in a sentence or two, to prolonged. The most sustained story-telling in imaginary space is the very first chapter, the famous opening words of which are quoted in (11) above. The whole chapter is essentially the narration of the dream, expressed for the most part in the past tense. Within that chapter, the house at Manderley, the physical setting for the narrative to come, is introduced and a general foreboding of doom is created.

Without denying the important dramatic effect achieved in Chapter 1 of the novel, I shall turn my attention to another passage that also creates a dramatic effect in the way it maintains quite a prolonged excursion into imaginative space. The passage, consisting of the sequence of paragraphs (pp. 51-53) shown in the Appendix, runs to more than 900 words. The context of the passage is that the

narrator had just been informed by Mrs. Van Hopper that the two of them would be leaving the hotel imminently and returning to New York. For the narrator, this means suddenly confronting the reality that she will no longer be able to continue with her clandestine relationship with Maxim de Winter, which she had so far managed to keep secret from Mrs. Van Hopper. The sudden news of her impending departure from the hotel (and France) precipitates a psychological crisis for the narrator, a kind of nervous breakdown. For ease of reference, I have labelled the different parts of this passage A-G and I will proceed to discuss the imaginary effect in each of these parts.

The abrupt transition into the imaginary narrative space in passage A has already been mentioned above. Clearly, this is not what one usually associates with 'dreaming'. The description of the narrator as entering the bathroom locking the door, sitting down on the mat, with her head in her hands is more like a small nervous breakdown and points to a neurotic state of mind, imagining future scenarios without Maxim De Winter. The imaginary space is anchored by the uses of *should/would* throughout these passages (thirteen in total), as shown in bold. Notice that the imaginary space is maintained after the first use through participial phrases: *I... holding her jewel case and her rug, ... and she... dwarfed in her fur-coat, sitting opposite..* After the next modal use, *would wash and clean our teeth*, the passage continues with a succession of short noun phrases – *the splashed basin, the damp towel*, etc. – until we reach the last modal, *would tell me*, after which we once again the participial style: *...sitting alone...reading a book, not minding, not thinking*. The choices of participial constructions and successive noun phrases succeed in elaborating on the imaginary space without continually re-anchoring the discourse using the modal construction.

In passage B, we see three modal constructions, again with participial phrases and noun phrases interspersed. The first two instances are separated by a verbless sequence *A furtive scrambled farewell, because of her....* The text continues after the second modal construction with noun phrases, *and a smile, and worlds like....*, and then continues with a succession of direct speech quotes as the narrator imagines a hurried farewell with Maxim De Winter. After the third modal construction, the passage continues with a participial phrase (asking a passing waiter for a light) and another direct speech quote. The final sentence of the paragraph uses simply the future tense as a way of marking the certainty of what in the rest of the paragraph has been speculation.

In passage C we see five modal constructions interspersed with both participial phrases and direct speech quotes. The final clauses of the paragraph, in the simple past tense (*because this was the last moment, the final goodbye had been attained*), have a similar effect to the use of the simple future tense in passage B, i.e., creating a sense of certainty around the farewell rather than a hypothetical farewell. Passage D continues with direct quotes of imagined speech and then a succession of three modal constructions.

Passage E continues with reflections on an imagined future until the narrator is interrupted by Mrs. Van Hopper at the door of the bathroom, with Mrs. Van Hopper

accusing the narrator of “dreaming”. Immediately after the interruption by Mrs. Van Hopper, the narrator resumes her fantasizing about the future. Five modal constructions appear in the passage, with a mixture of elaborated noun phrases and direct quotes of imagined utterances or written messages from Maxim de Winter. Finally, passage G signals the end of the flight into irreality as the narrator returns to the reality of preparing for the return trip in a wagon-lit, i.e. a sleeping car on the train.

When read from beginning to end, the sequence of passages A-G presents an exceptionally long and drawn-out excursion into imaginary narrative space on the part of the narrator. The modals *should* and *would* do the primary work of anchoring these passages to irreality, but they are used sparingly in any one of these passages. Other linguistic devices are used to carry the burden of continuing the imaginary nature of the content, the same range of devices that can be seen in other imaginary passages in the novel: participial phrases, elaborated noun phrases, imaginary direct speech etc. This mixture of linguistic devices succeeds in creating a certain degree of tension and at the same time avoids a sense of monotony. The tension arises through the repetitions of the same linguistic device in quick sequence, accentuating the same emotion or experience. Only so much repetition of the same device, however, can be effective and too much repetition will turn into an unappealing monotony if allowed to continue unchecked. The *should* and *would* modals alternate, indeed have to alternate, with miscellaneous other linguistic constructions to sustain such a prolonged flight of imagination.

Although the focus in this study is the novel *Rebecca*, it is nevertheless interesting to briefly compare du Maurier's handling of the hypothetical *should/would* construction with that of another author, Oscar Wilde, specifically Wilde's use of the hypothetical *should/would* in his novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, originally published in book form in 1891. The relevant passage, cited from a 1996 edition of his complete works (pp. 72-73), is shown in (12). Here, too, there is a sustained an imaginary space, the imagined future of the painting of himself. At this point in the story, the character Dorian Gray had noticed a change in the portrait which now showed a “marred face” and a “cruel smile”, mirroring despicable or sinful behaviour/thoughts on the part of Dorian Gray in the narrative reality, the portrait being the “visible emblem of conscience”. Dorian Gray in this passage imagines to himself further ways in which his future behaviour might cause further disfigurement of the figure in the portrait.

(12) Yet it was watching him, with its beautiful marred face and its cruel smile. Its bright hair gleamed in the early sunlight. Its blue eyes met his own. A sense of infinite pity, not for himself, but for the painted image of himself, came over him. It had altered already, and **would alter more**. Its gold **would wither into grey**. Its red and white roses **would die**. For every sin that he committed, a stain **would fleck** and wreck its fairness. But he **would not sin**. The picture, changed or unchanged, **would be to him the visible emblem of conscience**. He **would resist temptation**. He **would not see Lord Henry** any more **would**

not, at any rate, listen to those subtle poisonous theories that in Basil Hallward's garden had first stirred within him the passion for impossible things. He **would go back to Sibyl Vane**, make her amends, marry her, try to love her again. Yes, it was his duty to do so. She must have suffered more than he had. Poor child! He had been selfish and cruel to her. The fascination that she had exercised over him **would return**. They **would be happy together**. His life with her **would be beautiful and pure**.

The use of the “bare” hypothetical *would* construction is striking in (12) and shows that du Maurier by no means represents the extreme when it comes to accumulating such expressions. A total of thirteen instances of the modal *would* in (12), used consistently to indicate an imagined future, creates an effect of imagination running wild, each imagined and unwanted event leading directly to more imagined and unwanted events. It is a much greater accumulation of hypothetical *should/would* than du Maurier allows herself anywhere in *Rebecca*. It feels like an excess in the use of a linguistic device, compared with what we find in *Rebecca*, especially when we consider passages A-G. Although passages A-G represent an exceptionally long neurotic episode within the novel, the sequence is nevertheless consists of stylistically heterogeneous parts that manage to avert monotony.

The literary effects of repetition of form have been succinctly summarized by Leech in (13)

(13) By underlining rather than elaborating the message, [repetition] presents a simple emotion with force. It may further suggest a suppressed intensity of feeling – an imprisoned feeling, as it were, for which there is no outlet but a repeated hammering at the confining walls of language. (Leech, 1969, p. 79)

As Leech says, repetition can suggest “a suppressed intensity of feeling” and this aptly describes, I believe, the reader experience when processing the A-G passages, apart from the brief relief of passage E. It is an entirely appropriate linguistic device to help convey the kind of mini nervous breakdown of the narrator that is the subject of these passages.

4. Conclusion

The imaginary narrative spaces of *Rebecca* clearly leave a strong impression with readers and invite closer attention in terms of how language is used to create and maintain such spaces. The present study has shown a range of linguistic devices that du Maurier utilized for these purposes. While most of these linguistic devices are available to contemporary writers, the use of the modals *should/would* outside of any *if...then...* construction is less so and its use in the novel strikes a modern reader as somewhat unusual and a little archaic. It has an effect of very abruptly transporting the reader into an imaginary space, compared with expressions such as *I thought X*, *I saw myself doing X*, *Images came to my mind...* etc. This bare

hypothetical modal use is particularly effective, I suggest, when used to convey a sense of being suddenly overwhelmed by neurotic thoughts. The present study has explored the linguistics of imaginary narrative spaces in just one novel, for the most part, though it is a novel that has a special relevance to the topic in light of the reported experiences of readers. It would be of some interest to document more fully the linguistics associated with the creation of such spaces more generally in literature and the present study may be viewed as a point of reference for future studies along these lines.

A key aspect of the language use associated with the maintenance of imaginary narrative spaces in the novel is repetition of form, at both the lexical level and the constructional level. On the one hand, the repetition of a form or construction is effective in creating a tension and intensity (desirable in certain parts of a narrative). On the other hand, repetition can lead to monotony (generally held to be undesirable, aesthetically speaking). Repetition therefore needs to be constantly managed and constrained to be effective as a stylistic device. The imaginary narrative spaces of *Rebecca* provide instructive examples of how repetition is managed to create particular effects. While there are some remarkable instances of repetition in the novel, e.g., passages A-G in the Appendix, a brief look at an example from Oscar Wilde's writing has shown that fiction writers can allow themselves even more liberty when it comes to repetition, in some ways more than du Maurier allowed herself. Repetition is a feature of ordinary language use, of course, used for emphasis and exaggeration (*they said it over and over again, she went on and on and on, the problem became bigger and bigger* etc.) and understanding both ordinary language and literary language use of repetition is necessary if we are to build a complete picture of the conventionalization and creativity found in the use of repetition in language. Corpus-based studies and experimental studies each has an important role to play in such research.

The attention to linguistic devices utilized in creating and maintain imaginary narrative spaces has revealed patterns of form and meaning that should be of general stylistic interest. Du Maurier's literary writing has not been judged previously as linguistically, or stylistically, of particular interest, even by those eager to promote the value of her work. Kelly (1987), for example, refers to her failure as a stylist (her style is "conventional" and her sentences are "unmemorable"), even while admiring her writing in other ways (p. 142). When one considers du Maurier's lexical and syntactic choices within a clause, one might well draw the conclusion that her writing is unremarkable, linguistically speaking, and this may well be what Kelly is referring to. But if one considers, as has been done here, the range of linguistic devices employed for a particular purpose and the role of repetition and variation in the use of these devices at a paragraph level rather than a clause level, then her writing can indeed be seen as idiosyncratic, unconventional, and more interesting than has been assumed. While there has been a change in the appraisal by literary critics of du Maurier and her novel *Rebecca*, long overdue in the opinion of some, it would appear that there is still some reappraisal necessary when it comes to an appreciation of her literary style.

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Appendix (du Maurier 2012: 51-53)

Passage A:

I could not face the office right away. I went into the bathroom and locked the door, and sat down on the cork mat, my head in my hands. It had happened at last, the business of going away. It was all over. **To-morrow evening I should be in the train**, holding her jewel case and her rug, like a maid, and she in that monstrous new hat with the single quill, dwarfed in her fur-coat, sitting opposite me in the wagon-lit. **We would wash and clean our teeth** in that stuffy little compartment with the rattling doors, the splashed basin, the damp towel, the soap with a single hair on it, the carafe half-filled with water, the inevitable notice on the wall 'Sous le train **would tell me** that the miles carried me away from him, sitting alone in the restaurant of the hotel, at the table I had known, reading a book, not minding, not thinking.

Passage B:

I should say good-bye to him in the lounge, perhaps, before we left. A furtive, scrambled farewell, because of her, and **there would be a pause**, and a smile, and words like "Yes, of course, do write," and "I've never thanked you properly for being so kind," and "You must forward those snapshots," "What about your address?" "Well, I'll have to let you know." **And he would light a cigarette casually**, asking a passing waiter for a light, while I thought, "Four and a half more minutes to go. I shall never see him again."

Passage C:

Because I was going, because it was over, **there would suddenly be nothing more to say, we would be strangers**, meeting for the last and only time, while my mind clamoured painfully, crying "I love you so much. I'm terribly unhappy. This has never come to me before, and never will again." **My face would be set in a prim, conventional smile, my voice would be saying**, "Look at that funny old man over there, I wonder who he is, he must be new here." **And we would waste the last moments laughing at a stranger**, because we were already strangers to one another. "I hope the snap-shots come out well," repeating oneself in desperation, and he "Yes, that one of the square ought to be good, the light was just right." Having both of us gone into all that at the time, having agreed upon it, and anyway **I would not care** if the result was fogged and black, because this was the last moment, the final good-bye had been attained.

Passage D:

"Well," my dreadful smile stretching across my face, "thanks most awfully once again, it's been so ripping . . ." using words I had never used before. Ripping: what did it mean? – God knows, I did not care; it was the sort of word that schoolgirls had for hockey, wildly inappropriate to those past weeks of misery and exultation. **Then the doors of the lift would open** upon Mrs.

Van Hopper and **I would cross the lounge to meet her, and he would stroll back again to his corner** and pick up a paper.

Passage E:

Sitting there, ridiculously, on the cork mat of the bathroom floor I lived it all, and our journey too, and our arrival in New York. The shrill voice of Helen, a narrower edition of her mother, and Nancy, her horrid little child. The college boys that Mrs. Van Hopper would have me know, and the young bank clerks, suitable to my station. "Let's make Wednesday night a date." "D'you like hot music?" Snub-nosed boys, with shiny faces. Having to be polite. And wanting to be alone with my own thoughts as I was now, locked behind the bathroom door. . . .

She came and rattled on the door. "What are you doing?"

"All right — I'm sorry, I'm coming now," and I made a pretence of turning on the tap, of bustling about and folding a towel on a rail.

She glanced at me curiously as I opened the door. "What a time you've been. You can't afford to dream this morning, you know, there's too much to be done."

Immediately after the interruption by Mrs. Van Hopper, the narrator resumes her fantasizing about the future. Five modal constructions appear in the passage, with a mixture of elaborated noun phrases and direct quotes of imagined utterances or written messages from Maxim de Winter.

Passage F:

He would go back to Manderley, of course, in a few weeks, I felt certain of that. **There would be a great pile of letters waiting for him** in the hall, and mine amongst them, scribbled on the boat. A forced letter, trying to amuse, describing my fellow passengers. **It would lie about inside his blotter**, and **he would answer it weeks later**, one Sunday morning in a hurry, before lunch, having come across it when he paid some bills. And then no more. Nothing until the final degradation of the Christmas card. Manderley itself perhaps, against a frosted background. The message printed, saying "A happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year from Maximilian de Winter." Gold lettering. But to be kind **he would have run his pen through the printed name** and written in ink underneath "from Maxim," as a sort of sop, and if there was space, a message, "I hope you are enjoying New York." A lick of the envelope, a stamp, and tossed in a pile of a hundred others.

Passage G:

"It's too bad you are leaving to-morrow," said the reception clerk, telephone in hand, "the Ballet starts next week you know. Does Mrs. Van Hopper know?" I dragged myself back from Christmas at Manderley to the realities of the wagon-lit.

ПСИХОЛІНГВІСТИЧНІ АСПЕКТИ ЛЕКСИКО-СЕМАНТИЧНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЙ ПІД ЧАС ПЕРЕКЛАДУ СТАТЕЙ ІНТЕРНЕТ-ВИДАННЯ «ТИЖДЕНЬ»

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Анотація. У статті проаналізовано психолінгвістичні особливості англomовного перекладу газетно-журнальних текстів. Виявлено актуальність публіцистичного стилю у державному та міжнародному масштабах та його вплив на формування суспільних відносин. Описано причини необхідності використання лексичних трансформацій, подано основні тези щодо їх вживання при перекладі. Проаналізовано, що застосування лексичних трансформацій залежить від особливостей мовних систем та їх стилістичних характеристик. У статті продемонстровано аналіз перекладу як процес когнітивної обробки інформації та висвітлено етапи когнітивних процесів, якими послуговується перекладач під час перекладацької діяльності. Доведено, що застосування лексичних трансформацій вимагає соціокультурної перекладацької компетенції, наявності екстралінгвістичних або фонових знань культури та мови обох народів, які безпосередньо впливають на формуванні свідомості та підсвідомості особистості. Окреслено, що з психологічного погляду перекладач також здійснює мовну діяльність, створюючи текст перекладу. Мова як засіб комунікації містить у собі важливий механізм та посідає вагомe місце у когніції людини, тому сутність природи перекладу полягає у створенні додаткових зв'язків між встановленням відповідності лінгвістичних та психологічних складових двох мов.

Ключові слова: переклад, лексико-семантичні трансформації, психолінгвістика, журнал «Український тиждень».

Povkh, Viktoriia; Zasiykin, Serhii. Psycholinguistic Aspects of Lexical and Semantic Transformations While Translating *The Ukrainian Week* Articles.

Abstract. Among the main goals of the study were to identify the psycholinguistic features of translating *The Ukrainian Week's* articles into English. One interesting finding is that the translating process inevitably involves using lexical and semantic transformations brought to life both by the features of source and target language systems and their stylistic characteristics. Another important finding was that the translation is a process of cognitive information processing. Accordingly, we can infer the stages of cognitive processes used by the translator during translation activity. This result may be explained by the fact that the use of lexical transformations requires sociocultural translation competence, extralinguistic or background knowledge of both languages and cultures. This observation may support the hypothesis that sociocultural competence affects the formation of individual consciousness in a direct way. It is possible, therefore, that the translator also carries out linguistic activity by creating the target text

from the psychological point of view. Language as a means of communication implies an essential mechanism and takes a significant place in human cognition. A possible explanation for this might be that the essence of translation is to create additional links between the linguistic and psychological components in two languages.

Keywords: translation, lexical and semantic transformation, psycholinguistics, *The Ukrainian Week* magazine.

1. Вступ

Численний обсяг інформації, який ми отримуємо та споживаємо з письмових джерел, перекладений з інших мов. Сьогодні англійська мова володіє статусом міжнародного засобу спілкування, а тому виникає потреба в трансляванні інформаційних видань державного рівня англійською мовою для передачі повідомлення у міжнародному масштабі. Це зумовлює актуальність використання публіцистичного стилю, оскільки він охоплює широке коло суспільних відносин та використовується у політичних журналах, газетах, на телебаченні, радіо тощо. На сьогоднішній день складно недооцінити вплив засобу масової інформації на свідомість людини. ЗМІ є важливим та доступним конструктом, який уповноважений змінювати та формувати процеси, що відбуваються в суспільстві. Газети та журнали, різноманітні текстові онлайн-видання, як один з важливих видів засобу масової інформації, залучають широкі маси до створення державного інформаційного простору. ЗМІ створює певну ієрархію, адже користувачі, які щоденно споживають потік інформації, мають здатність до формування громадської думки та загальної зміни картини соціуму. Панує думка, що той, хто володіє інформацією, володіє світом. Насправді ж, той, хто має владу над створенням моделі засобу масової інформації, здатний володіти громадською думкою.

Публіцистичному стилю характерна яскрава особливість – це спрямованість не лише висвітлити читачу достовірну інформацію стосовно певних подій, а й також викликати у нього певну емоційну реакцію, спонукати до формування певних висновків чи діяльності або ж змінити та сформувані нові погляди.

Перевага експресивної, емоційно-забарвленої лексики, фразеологічних одиниць, використання скорочень, кліше та слів іноземного походження, а також неологізмів – усе це поза сумнівом належить до мовних особливостей газетно-журнальних текстів (Арнольд, 2002:256), які перекладач повинен взяти до уваги. Здебільшого при здійсненні перекладу інформаційних повідомлень, під час аналізу його семантичних та стилістичних характеристик, структури речення загалом, виникають складнощі у відтворенні цілісної сутності тексту, що не може гарантувати його адекватність. Як і пошук аналогу фразеологічних одиниць, так і переклад мовних кліше створюють труднощі для перекладу, оскільки він повинен проявити свою компетентність та розпізнати ці мовні одиниці у тексті оригіналу (Алексеева, 2001:198-199).

Переклад – це діяльність, яка вимагає застосування певних знань та навиків не лише з точки зору лінгвістики, а й з точки зору психології.

Психолінгвістичний аспект полягає в тому, що переклад – це складний мовний та когнітивний процес, який націлений на відтворення мови оригіналу засобами іншої мови та передбачає роботу з розумінням тексту, наявним досвідом людини, рефлексією та інтроспекцією.

Якщо аналізувати переклад як процес когнітивної обробки дискурсу, то йому властиві всі когнітивні процеси обробки інформації. Розуміння тексту оригіналу є проміжковим етапом у процесі перекладу, адже воно лише створює ґрунт для наступної стадії перекладацького процесу, а саме продукування одиниці перекладу (Карабан, 2001:102). Крім того, актуальність когнітивних аспектів дослідження мови зростає, оскільки мова як засіб комунікації є важливим механізмом, що посідає вагоме місце в когніції людини.

Отже, під час перекладу інтєрпретатор здійснює такі психолінгвістичні процеси: 1) сприймає текст мови оригіналу; 2) аналізує образ світу, який зображено у тексті та співвідносить його з образом світу вихідного тексту; 3) зіставляє семантичні одиниці тексту з семантичними одиницями та культурою іншої мови; 4) оцінює варіанти перекладу з метою якнайточнішої передачі інформації мови оригіналу та образу світу в цілому; 5) приймає остаточне рішення стосовно перекладацького варіанта; 6) здійснює переклад на цільову мову.

М. М. Бахтін наголошував складну сутність природи комунікаційних процесів. Він стверджував, що створення словесних значень вимагає встановлення зв'язків між зоровими, моторними, слуховими реакціями у процесі тривалого й організованого соціального спілкування між людьми (Бахтин, 1979). Під час перекладу створення словесних значень значно ускладнюється завдяки утворенню додаткових зв'язків між встановленням відповідності мовних та психологічних складових двох різних мов. Він вважав, що підсвідоме враження входить до контексту людської свідомості, а взаєморозуміння століть та тисячоліть народів, націй, культур забезпечує складну єдність всього людства, всіх людських культур (Бахтин, 1979:369).

Упродовж перекладу інформаційних текстів велике значення відіграє застосування лексичних трансформацій, тому що вони здійснюють ефективну та адекватну передачу лексичних елементів мови оригіналу (Рецкер, 1973:101).

2. Методи дослідження

Мета цієї розвідки полягає у визначенні психолінгвістичних аспектів застосування перекладачами лексичних трансформацій під час перекладу на англійську мову статей із двомовного українського онлайн-видання «Тиждень»/ *The Ukrainian Week*. Відібрано було 6 статей українською мовою та їхні переклади (25 сторінок оригіналу та 25 сторінок перекладу).

Матеріал дослідження зумовлює використання відповідної методики, а саме контекстуального та зіставного аналізу тексту оригіналу та перекладу.

Головним при розгляді тексту оригіналу та перекладу є трансформації, який разом з вищепереліченими методами дає можливість визначити проблематику перекладу та виявити його особливості. Варто зазначити, що реалізація порівняльного методу можлива лише за наявністю теоретичних даних, які дають змогу охарактеризувати основні властивості взаємозв'язку тексту оригіналу та вихідного тексту.

3. Процедура дослідження й обговорення результатів

Використання перекладацьких трансформацій, зокрема лексичних, пов'язане перш за все з тим, що мовне значення не збігається зі значенням еквівалента. Також еквівалентна форма може узагалі бути відсутньою, що підтверджує специфіку синтаксису та семантики в обох мовах (Рецкер, 1973:93-94). До основних типів лексичних трансформацій належить диференціація значення (відсутність безпосереднього еквівалента, переклад здійснюється завдяки пошуку контекстуального відповідника), конкретизація значення (ширше значення в оригіналі стає вузьким значенням у тексті перекладу), генералізація значення (протилежність конкретизації), смисловий розвиток (заміна слова або його значення логічним розвитком значення слова мови оригіналу), антонімічний переклад (заміна слова, словосполучення на протилежну їм форму) та цілісне переосмислення (передача змісту мови оригіналу засобами іншої мови, у якій відсутні еквіваленти певних слів) тощо (Максімов, 2010).

Яскравим прикладом лексичної трансформації контекстуальної заміни слугує **диференціація** (*Так, дехто, перебуваючи в полоні радянського бачення історії, потрапляє в пастку* (7). - *Under the spell of the soviet vision of history, some people fall into the trap* (8).), **конкретизація** (*Інакше справу Януковича, яка триває майже півтора року, довелося б слухати від самого початку* (9). - *Otherwise, the Yanukovych case, which has been underway for nearly 18 months, would have had to go back to square one* (10).), **генералізація** (*Отоді навіть останнє французьке село дізнається, що така держава існує* (11). - *Then even every single French village would know that such a place exists* (12).), **смисловий розвиток** (*Чи справді Європі загрожує хвиля сучасного антисемітизму?* (13). - *Is Europe facing a wave of modern antisemitism?* (14).), **антонімічний переклад** (*Безперечно, і за правління консерваторів не обходилося без скандалів* (15). - *Of course, there have still been plenty of scandals* (16).), **цілісне переосмислення** (*Якщо деякі нації вірять в авторитарну владу чи вищість чоловіків над жінками, то й нехай* (17). - *If some nations believe in authoritarian rule or in the superiority of men over women, let them do* (18).)

Аналіз статей дав змогу встановити частотність застосування таких лексичних трансформацій, як диференціація, конкретизація, генералізація, смисловий розвиток, антонімічний переклад, компенсація втрат, додавання, опущення слів та цілісне перетворення.

Таблиця 1

Частотність застосування лексичних трансформацій під час перекладу з української мови на англійську

Лексичні трансформації	Кількість	%
Диференціація	32	16,4
Конкретизація	39	20
Генералізація	51	26
Смисловий розвиток	31	16
Антонімічний переклад	17	9
Компенсація втрат	7	3,5
Додавання слів	6	3
Опущення слів	3	1,5
Цілісне перетворення	9	4,6
Разом	195	100

Аналіз емпіричного матеріалу дав можливість виявити, що найбільш поширеною лексичною трансформацією є генералізація, тобто заміна лексичної одиниці мови оригіналу, якій характерне вузьке значення, одиницею мови перекладу з ширшим значенням. Наприклад:

Люди там почуваються незручно, коли йдеться про ідентичність та культурні питання; вони фантазують про нейтральне суспільство, у якому всі культури, релігії та способи життя мають існувати на паритетних засадах (7). - People feel uneasy with identity and cultural issues, they fantasize a neutral society where every culture, religion, way of life should have an equal share (8). Перекладач вирішив застосувати прийом генералізації, використовуючи широке значення слова “uneasy” у значенні “незручно”.

Понад те, на момент масового надходження цих справ він виконував обов'язки голови суду (9). - What's more, when a massive wave of such cases came to the courts, he was the acting chief justice (10). У даному прикладі здійснюється заміна вузького поняття “масове надходження цих справ” на загальне “massive wave of such cases”.

Загальна кількість використання генералізації сягає 26 %, або 51 випадок уживання.

Упродовж дослідження було також встановлено 32 випадки застосування диференціації, наприклад:

Відтак окрім відданості Європи Україні там усе ж є певний спротив і незрозуміння (7). - This situation introduces reluctance and misunderstanding in the midst of Europe's commitment for Ukraine (8).

“Спротив” є словом абстрактного поняття, яке вимагає після себе конкретизації, тому перекладач вжив “reluctance”, що означає “спротив дії”.

Звісно, такою риторикою послугуються й зловживають про кремлівські коментатори, але вона знаходить відгук і серед людей, що співчували

Майдану (7). - *This rhetoric is used and abused by pro-Kremlin people of course, but it also finds an echo among people more sympathetic to the Maidan* (8). Даний приклад демонструє заміну абстрактного поняття “відгук” на непрямий йому відповідник “echo”. У реченні також застосовано прийом конкретизації.

Наступним видом лексичної трансформації за частотністю є конкретизація значень, що використовується у 39 випадках при перекладі та сягає 20% від загальної кількості усіх виявлених трансформацій, наприклад:

Удруге увага до нього була прикута, коли влада влаштувала репресії проти учасників акцій протесту у 2014-му (9). - *Attention was once again focused on him when the Yanukovych regime began persecuting people involved in the protests of 2014* (10). У даному прикладі відбувається заміна слова широкої семантики “влада” на конкретних представників влади, тобто ми маємо зразок конкретизації з елементами описового перекладу.

Будучи іноземним другом українців, я іноді розумію їх, але вважаю, що їм не варто бути такими нетерплячими чи недооцінювати досягнуті результати (7). - *As a friend from abroad, I understand them sometimes, but I often feel that they should not be so impatient nor underestimate the steps already completed* (8). Перекладач вирішив передати значення словосполучення “досягнуті результати” загальним абстрактним значенням “the steps already completed”.

Під час аналізу було виявлено 16% випадків застосування смислового розвитку, тобто заміна лексичного еквівалента при перекладі на логічно з ним пов’язаний словниковий відповідник :

Лише поглузував із прес-конференції в Києві та впевнено визначив замах на журналіста фейком, хоча розслідування не завершено й судити про якість доказової бази рано (11). - *He only mocked the press conference in Kyiv and confidently identified the attempt to assassinate the journalist as a fake, although the investigation is ongoing and it is too early to judge the quality of the evidence* (12).

Перекладач здійснив заміну наслідку “розслідування не завершено” його процесом “the investigation is ongoing”. У даних прикладах здійснено заміну наслідку процесом.

Загалом, застосування антонімічного перекладу полягає у переході лексичної одиниці вихідної мови на одиницю мови перекладу з протилежним значенням. У практичному матеріалі було також виявлено 17 випадків або 9 % застосування антонімічного перекладу, наприклад:

Передумов для вирішення такої ситуації немає (9). – *Moreover, the conditions for resolving this situation are missing* (10).

Навряд чи вдасться позбутися політичних обвинувачень (9). - *It will be hard for him to avoid accusations of political bias* (10). Дані приклади відображають заміщення форми негативації на протилежну їй форму.

Наступний прийом лексичної трансформації, який було виявлено – це компенсація втрат при перекладі, тобто заміна лексичного елемента оригіналу іншим елементом ідейно-художнього характеру. Всього було виявлено 7 випадків, наприклад:

*Виборець зобов'язаний висловити ставлення до кандидата в письмовій формі, тобто викреслити одне слово в альтернативній парі слів (наприклад, згодний — незгодний) (19). - *The voters can express their opinion the candidate in writing by choosing “I support” or “I don't support” the given candidate (20).* Перекладач застосував у даному тексті перекладу заміну лексичного елементу оригіналу іншим елементом ('згодний — незгодний' на “I support” or “I don't support”).*

Аналіз матеріалу дозволив виявити лише 9 випадків застосування цілісного перетворення, яке викликане повноцінною заміною форми лексичної одиниці, наприклад:

*Подібних сентенцій не перерахувати (11). - *Such sentiments were ten a penny (12).* Перекладач вирішив замінити речення, застосовуючи ідіоматичний вислів “ten a penny”.*

*Канули в Лету старі добрі стандарти часів холодної війни, коли західні інтелектуали активно боролися за радянських дисидентів і політв'язнів (11). - *The good old standards of the Cold War, when Western intellectuals actively fought for Soviet dissidents and political prisoners, have fallen into oblivion (12).**

Перекладач здійснив часткове цілісне перетворення, заміну фразеологізму “канути в лету” на ідіоматичний вислів “to fall into oblivion”.

Аналіз англomовного перекладу на основі українського матеріалу 50 статей онлайн-видання “Тижень/The Ukrainian Week” дав нам можливість виявити всього 1030 випадків лексичних трансформацій, з яких: 219 випадків диференціацій значення, 215 конкретизацій значення, 216 генералізацій значення, 115 випадків вживання смислового розвитку, 73 випадки антонімічного перекладу, 17 компенсацій втрат, 60 додавань, 62 опущення слів та 53 випадки цілісного перетворення.

За кількісними підрахунками, вживання генералізації коливається у межах (20,9%), смисловий розвиток використовується у перекладі (11%), антонімічний переклад (7%), опущення (6%), додавання слів (5,8%), цілісне перетворення (5%). Найменший відсотковий розподіл містить компенсація втрат – 1,6%.

За кількісними підрахунками, ми з'ясували, що відсотковий розподіл лексичних трансформацій загальної кількості слів та словосполучень текстів статей сягає приблизно 50%. Еквівалентний або адекватний переклад можливий лише за достатньою умовою збереження та відтворення інформації, за допомогою лексичних та семантичних елементів мови, які забезпечують перекладацькі трансформації.

4. Висновки

Лінгвальний та позамовний контексти відіграють вагомий роль у сприйнятті тексту. Дискусійним є питання, чи може значення слова виникати за межами певного контексту, адже слово має стільки ж значень, скільки контекстів, у якому воно вживається та актуалізується. У свою чергу, контекст залежить від психолінгвістичних чинників, до яких належить його аналіз як

факту психіки людини, аналіз у межах лінгвістичного, енциклопедичного, прагматичного наповнення та наявність позамовних (або фонових) знань, які безпосередньо впливають на формування свідомості та підсвідомості людини, яка думає, говорить та діє (Засекіна, Засекін, 2002:33). Тому один із важливих викликів у застосуванні лексичних трансформацій у перекладі – необхідність пошуку конкретного значення слова чи словосполучення, доречних у певному контексті інформаційного тексту, без спирання на словниковий відповідник.

Неперервний розвиток і міжнародний статус англійської мови створюють необхідність у здійсненні перекладу газетно-журнальних текстів. Дослідження та вивчення питання вживання лексичних трансформацій під час перекладу текстів ЗМІ набуває дедалі більше актуальності, оскільки читач потребує вірогідної інформації та якісного перекладу. Зрозуміло, що трансформації вимагають від перекладача пильності, аби обсяг інформації оригінального тексту не було зменшено чи спотворено. Застосування трансформацій ставить перед перекладачем психолінгвістичне завдання встановлення відповідності лінгвальних та психологічних складових двох мов, а також володіння глибокими знаннями щодо соціуму, культурних рис і особливостей мови джерела й мови-рецептора.

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VOWEL PHONEMES IN HINDI

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Abstract. An analysis of the present day Hindi, as spoken in the northern part of India, brings to light the fact that this language has at least twenty vowel phonemes, and not simply thirteen. Twelve of these twenty vowel phonemes are oral while eight of them are nasalized. Eighteen of them are pure vowels (monophthongs) while two of them are diphthongs. Two of the thirteen vowels included in the current list of alphabet have given place to two consonants with the result that they have ceased to exist. Most of these vowel phonemes occur in all the three positions, namely initial, medial and final, in the Hindi words.

Keywords: *consonants, diphthongs, Hindi, meaning, monophthongs, vowel phonemes.*

Шарма Брахма Дутта. Голосні фонемі в гінді.

Анотація. Аналіз поточного стану мови гінді, якою розмовляють у північній частині Індії, з'ясовує той факт, що в цій мові є принаймні двадцять голосних фонем, а не тринадцять. Дванадцять із цих двадцяти породжуються голосом, вісім – назалізовані. Вісімнадцять з них – чисті голосні (монофтонги), а дві представлено дифтонгами. Дві з тринадцяти фонем, що включено до чинного алфавіту, поступилися місцем двом приголосним, а тому зникли з переліку. Більшість зі згаданих голосних зафіксовано в усіх трьох позиціях: на початку, всередині та в кінці слова.

Ключові слова: *приголосні, дифтонги, гінді, значення, монофтонги, голосні фонемі.*

1. Introduction

There is no unanimity among the linguists on the question as to how many vowel phonemes the Hindi language has. If one of them identifies only ten vowel phonemes in Hindi, there is another who identifies thirteen. And in most of the text books of Hindi grammar they give a list of twelve vowel phonemes. Therefore there exists the need of a thorough phonetic analysis of the language and a fresh effort to identify all the vowels of Hindi. It was in this context that I resolved to take up this task of finding out how many vowel phonemes the current Hindi has.

Since I am a native speaker of Hindi and have been using it during my seventy-six year long stay in the Hindi heart-land I have every right to trust my intuition to arrive at conclusions about this language of mine. Since this language is being used by at least 500 million people in India alone, I thought, I would be serving a very large section of humanity by this research of mine. I consider myself qualified to do this job also because I have a forty year long experience of teaching linguistics in colleges and universities both at home in India and overseas.

1.1. The Study

1.2. Survey of Literature

John Shakespear identifies fourteen vowels in Hindustani alphabet but he mentions only ten of them while discussing pronunciation (Shakespear, 1845:6-12). There are two editions of Duncan Forbes' book of grammar one published in 1846 and another in 1856. Both of them largely deal with Urdu but a small discussion on the Devanagari script is also there in them. Duncan concerns himself with the Devanagari alphabet largely and there is no discussion about the sounds in either edition of the book. According to him: "The alphabet, as used for the Hindustani, consists of eleven vowel sounds, and thirty-three consonants" (Duncan, 1846:136) though in the plate that follows he has given fourteen vowels under the title Devanagri Alphabet. Tweedie identifies eight vowels (three short, five long vowels and no diphthongs) in Hindustani (Tweedie, 1900:3-4). Pahwa maintains that there are in all ten vowel sounds in the language [Hindustani]: three short vowels, five long vowels and two diphthongs (Pahwa, 1919:16-17).

Now let me turn my attention to the books that have Hindi in their title. In his *Hindi Vyakaran [Grammar of Hindi]* (1920) Kamta Prasad Guru identifies eleven vowels of which four (अ, इ, उ and ऋ) are short vowels, three (आ, ई, ऊ) long vowels and four (ए, ऐ, ओ, औ) diphthongs (Guru, 2009:46). Ram Lochan Sharan in his *Hindi Vyakaran Chandrodaya* considers twelve vowel sounds in Hindi which he further classifies as five short (अ, इ, उ, ए and ऋ) and seven long vowels (आ, ई, ऊ, ऐ, ओ, औ, लृ and ऌ). He also opines that four of these (ए, ऐ, ओ, औ) may also be called diphthongs (Sharan, 1920:5). Greaves writes: "The Hindi Alphabet differs but slightly from the Sanskrit. Indian grammarians are not unanimous in their views as to the number of the letters. For practical purposes, the number of the letters may be taken as 46, i.e., 11 vowels and 35 consonants. The 3 vowels ऋ, लृ, लृ री, lri and lri, are pure Sanskrit and have no place in Hindi." (Greaves, 1921: 8) Suniti Kumar Chatterji uses the two terms viz. Hindi and Hindustani as synonyms and identifies three short (अ, इ, उ), five long (आ, ई, ऊ, ए, औ) vowels and two diphthongs (ऐ, औ) in it (Chatterjee, 1942:139). Bhola Nath Tiwari has also identified 11 vowel sounds (अ, इ, उ, आ, ई, ऊ, ए, ओ, ऐ, औ, ऋ) in Hindi (Tiwari, 1958:5). While discussing Hindi alphabet Ram Chandra Verma in his *Manak Hindi Vyakaran* identifies 13 vowel letters of which four short vowels (अ, इ, उ and ऋ), long vowels (आ, ई, ऊ) and four diphthongs (ए, ऐ, ओ, औ) in Hindi; he does not take into account अँ and अः and discards them as they are not independent/pure vowels (Verma, 1994:8). Aryendra Sharma in his book identifies eleven vowels in Hindi. He also writes that any vowel "short or long can be nasalized." (Sharma, 1994:3-5) Rama Kant Agnihotri writes: "There are 10 short and long vowel sounds in Hindi."

(Agnihotri, 2007:240) He asserts that the eleventh vowel ऋ exists in writing but has disappeared in speech (Agnihotri, 2007:243). Agnihotri further claims, “All vowel sounds also have their nasalised counterparts” (Agnihotri, 2007:243) and exemplifies them (Agnihotri, 2007:250-51). O N Kaul writes: “It [Hindi] has ten vowels...All vowels can be nasalized and nasalization is phonemic (Koul, 2008:4). Kaul mentions 10 oral and 10 nasal vowels in it. He writes, “Nasalization is phonemic in Hindi. All the vowels can be nasalized.” (Koul, 2008:11) Uday Narayan Tiwari has identified six short (अ, अँ, इ, उ, ऐ, औ) and seven long vowels (आ, ई, ऊ, ए, ओ, ऐ, औ) in Hindi. He further writes that all the vowel sounds of Hindi are used in the nasalised form also (Tiwari, 2009:242). Kapildev Dwivedi has identified 54 phonemes in Hindi of which the following 10 are the vowels: “अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ओ ऐ (अइ) औ (अउ)” (Dwivedi, 2016:148).

2. Methods

The data for analyzing the sounds was collected from the written as well spoken texts by the native speakers in a random manner. It was analysed by using comparison and contrast method.

3. Results and Discussion

Nasalisation of a phoneme in Hindi is a unique feature of the language. Nasal consonants that are independent phonemes are represented by separate graphemes but it is not the case with nasal vowels as is clear from the following figures:

Table 1

	sparśa (Stop)								anunāsika (Nasal)		antastha (Approximant)		ūṣma/saṃghashrī (Fricative)		
Voicing →	aghoṣa				ghoṣa								aghoṣa	ghoṣa	
Aspiration →	alpaprāṇa		mahāprāṇa		alpaprāṇa		mahāprāṇa		alpaprāṇa		mahāprāṇa				
kanṭhya (Guttural)	क	ka /k/	ख	kha /kʰ/	ग	ga /g/	घ	gha /gʱ/	ङ	ṅa /ŋ/				ह	ha /ɦ/
tālavya (Palatal)	च	ca /c, t͡ʃ/	छ	cha /cʰ, t͡ʃʰ/	ज	ja /d͡ʒ, t͡ʃ/	झ	jha /d͡ʒʱ, t͡ʃʱ/	ञ	ña /ɟ͡ɟ/	य	ya /j/	श	śa /ʃ, ʃʰ/	
mūrdhanya (Retroflex)	ट	ṭa /ʈ/	ठ	ṭha /ʈʰ/	ड	ḍa /ɖ/	ढ	ḍha /ɖʱ/	ण	ṇa /ɳ/	र	ra /r/	ष	ṣa /ʂ/	
dantya (Dental)	त	ta /t/	थ	tha /tʰ/	द	da /d/	ध	dha /dʱ/	न	na /n/	ल	la /l/	स	sa /s/	
oṣṭhya (Labial)	प	pa /p/	फ	pha /pʰ/	ब	ba /b/	भ	bha /bʱ/	म	ma /m/	व	va /v/			

(Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Devanagari>)



Fig. 1.

(<https://www.wikihow.com/Learn-Hindi>)

Since the article focuses on phonemes a description of the script/grapheme is beyond its purview and therefore is not being discussed in detail. The fact remains that nasalization exists in common man’s speech and the same is being discussed here. The nasalised vowels are not considered to be independent phonemes and therefore no separate graphemes have been identified for them unlike the case with consonants. Nasalisation is phonemic in Hindi and different linguists have given different numbers. The nasalised vowel phonemes are different from the oral vowel phonemes. Thus one has to concede that the number of vowel phonemes which occur in Hindi is twenty. The details are shown in the following table:

Table 2

Total N of vowels in Hindi: 20	Hindi vowel graphemes	Hindi vowels in IPA
Oral monophthongs: (10) (a part of Hindi alphabet)	अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ	/ə, a:, ɪ, i:, u, u:, è, ε, o, ɔ /
Oral diphthongs: (2) (not a part of Hindi alphabet)	अइ, अउ	/əɪ, əʊ /
Nasal monophthongs: (8) (not a part of Hindi alphabet)	अँ, आँ, इँ, ईँ, उँ, ऊँ, ऐँ, औँ	/ə̃, a:̃, ɪ̃, i:̃, ũ, ũ:, ε̃, ɔ̃ /

While ten of them are pure vowels or oral monophthongs, two are oral diphthongs eight of them, namely (अँ, आँ, इँ, ईँ, उँ, ऊँ, ऐँ, औँ) are nasalized vowel phonemes. Let us now describe them. First of all let us take up the oral monophthongs:

1. /ə/ (अ)

The vowel phoneme /ə/ is a central or middle phoneme as in order to articulate it the middle part of the tongue is raised to a point exactly in the middle of the half-close and half-open positions, the lips remain unrounded and the air is released only through the oral cavity as the soft palate is raised to close the nasal passage. This vowel sound occurs in Hindi words in all the three, namely, initial, medial and final positions. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ənɑ:r /	अनार	
/əmi:r /	अमीर	(=pomegranate)
/əlu:tʃɑ: /	अलूचा	(=rich)
/əkɛlɑ: /	अलूचा	(=plum)
/ənɔk ^h ɑ: /	अकेला	(=alone)
	अनोखा	(=unique)

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of the first syllable in the following words:

/məkɑ:n /	मकान	(=house)
/həl/	हल	(=plough; solution)
/p ^h əl/	फल	(=fruit; result);

And it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/pəvɪt̪rə/	पवित्र	(=sacred; pious)
/tʃərɪt̪rə	चरित्र	(=character)
/	मित्र	(=friend)
/mɪt̪rə/		

2. /ɑ:/ (आ)

The Hindi vowel phoneme /ɑ:/ is a back vowel as in order to articulate it the back part of the tongue is kept at the open position, the lips remain neutral and the soft palate is raised so as to close the nasal passage with the result that the air is allowed to escape only through the oral passage. This vowel phoneme figures in all the three positions in Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/a:m /	आम	(=mango)
/a:ʃa:/	आशा	(=hope)
/a:ɖər/	आदर	(=respect)
/a:ju /	आयु	(=age)

It occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of a syllable in the following words:

/ɪnɑ:m/	इनाम	(=prize)
/a:ra:m/	आराम	(=comfort)
/bura:ɖɑ:/	बुरादा	(=saw-dust);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/ma:t̪ɑ:/	माता	(=mother)
/pɪt̪ɑ:/	पिता	(=father)
/bʰra:t̪ɑ:/	भ्राता	(=brother)
/vɪd̪ʰɑ:t̪ɑ:/	विधाता	(=creator)

3. /ɪ/ (इ)

The vowel phoneme /ɪ/ is a front vowel and in order to articulate it the retracted front part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly above the half-close position, the lips remain spread and the soft palate is raised so that the nasal passage is closed and the air escapes through the oral passage alone. This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in the Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ɪt̪ɪhɑ:s/	इतिहास	(=history)
/ɪmlɑ:/	इमला	(=dictation)
/ɪt̪ɪ/	इति	(=end);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/pəvɪt̪rə/	पवित्र	(=holy)
/tʃərɪt̪rə/	चरित्र	(=character)
/		(=sun); and
/səvɪt̪ɑ:/	सविता	

it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/həri/	हरि	(=the Supreme Being)
/gɪri/	गिरि	(=mountain)
/ɪtɪ/	इति	(=end)
/ɑːdɪ/	आदि	(=beginning).

4. /i:/ (ई)

The vowel phoneme /i:/ is a front vowel and in order to articulate it the advanced front part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly below the close position, the lips are spread, and the soft palate is raised so that the nasal passage is closed and the air escapes through the oral cavity alone.

This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in Hindi words. For example it occurs in the initial position as the initial syllable in the following words:

/iːmɑːn/	ईमान	(=probity)
/iːʃɑːn/	ईशान	(=north-east)
/iːʃvər /	ईश्वर	(=the Supreme Being);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/pəriːkʃɑː/	परीक्षा	(=examination)
/diːkʃɑː/	दीक्षा	(=training)
/miːl/	मील	(=mile);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/gəliː/	गली	(=street)
/bʰəliː/	भली	(=gentle [feminine gender])
/həriː/	हरी	(=green [feminine gender])
/səhiː/	सही	(=right)

5. /u/ (उ)

The vowel phoneme /u/ is a back vowel in order to articulate which the back part of the tongue near the centre is raised to a point slightly above the half-close

position, the lips are rounded, and the air escapes exclusively through the oral passage.

This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in English words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ullu:/	उल्लू	
/upa:səna:/	उपासना	(=owl)
/ustəra:/	उस्तरा	(=worship) (=razor);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/pustək/	पुस्तक	(=book)
/d ^h uɑ:~̃/	धुआं	(=smoke)
/bun/	बुन	(=knit);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/ʃəru/	शत्रु	(=enemy)
/k ^h lu/	खलु	(=definitely)
/hənu/	हनु	(=chin).

6. /u:/ (ऊ)

The vowel phoneme /u:/ is a back vowel. In order to articulate this vowel sound the far back part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly below the close position, the lips are rounded and the air is allowed to escape only through the oral passage.

This speech sound occurs in all the three positions in Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/u:tək/	ऊतक	(=tissue)
/u:ʃɑ:/	ऊषा	(=dawn)
/u:sər/	ऊसर	(=barren);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/su:ər/	सूअर	(=hog)
/tʃu:hɑ:/	चूहा	(=rat)
/ru:s/	रूस	(=Russia);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/tʃɑ:ku:/	चाकू	(=knife)
/kɑ:ɖʒu:/	काजू	(=cashew nut)
/bʱɑ:lu:/	भालू	(=bear).

7. /è/ (ए)

The Hindi vowel phoneme /è/ is a front vowel as in order to articulate it the advanced front part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly above the half-close position, the lips are kept in the spread shape and the air is allowed to escape only through the oral passage.

This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/èk/	एक	(=one)
/èɽi:/	एड़ी	(=heel)
/èkɑ:nɽ/	एकांत	(=solitude);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/bèl/	बेल	(=creeper)
/prèm/	प्रेम	(=love)
/mèl/	मेल	(=friendship);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in the following words:

/lɑ:kè/	लड़के	(=boys)
/ɑ:pk è/	आपके	(=yours)
/ba:lè/	बाले !	(=girl child!)

8. /ɛ/ (ऐ)

The vowel phoneme / ɛ / is a front vowel as in order to articulate it the advanced front part of the tongue is raised to the half-open position the lips are kept neutrally spread and the air is allowed to escape through the oral cavity.

This Hindi vowel phoneme figures in all the three positions. For example, it figures in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ɛnək /	ऐनक	(=spectacles)
/ɛʃ /	ऐश	(=luxury)
/ɛrɑ:ʋəʈ/	ऐरावत	(=Erawat [a name]);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in words like:

/dʒɛsɑ:/	जैसा	(=like)
/kɛsɑ:/	कैसा	(=how)
/pɛsɑ:/	पैसा	(=money).

And it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/hɛ/	है	(= is)
/kɛ/	कै	(= vomit)
/pɛ/	पै	(= on)

It makes pairs of sounds:

/hɛ/ and /hɛ̃ /	हैं (= are)	है (=is)
/kɛ/ and /kɛ̃/	कैं (= a cry of pain)	कै (=vomit)
/pɛ/ and /pɛ̃/	पैं (= a sound of a horn)	पै (=on)

9. /o/ (ओ)

This Hindi phoneme is a back vowel and in order to articulate it the far back part of the tongue is raised to the half-close position, the lips are rounded, and the air is allowed to escape through the oral passage. It occurs in all the three, (namely, initial, medial, and final) positions in Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/olɑ:/	ओला	(=hail)
/osər/	ओसर	(=heifer)
/os/	ओस	(=dew);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in the following words:

/k ^h ol/	खोल	(= open)
/g ^h ol/	गोल	(= round)
/bol/	बोल	(= speak (v.i.);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/lo/	लो	(=take)
/dʒa:ɔ/	जाओ	(=go)
/roo/	रोओ	(=weep)

10. /ɔ/ (औ)

This vowel phoneme is a back vowel in order to articulate which the back part of the tongue is raised to the half-open position, the lips are rounded and the air is allowed to escape only through the oral passage. It occurs in all the three positions in Hindi words. For example, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ɔr /	और	(=and)
/ɔg ^h əɽ /	औघड़	(= a kind of ascetic)
/ɔrəɽ/	औरत	(=woman);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in words like:

/mɔdʒ /	मौज	(=happiness);
/dɔla:/	डौला	(=a raised boundary line)
/hɔlɛ/	हौले	(=slowly)

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/sɔ/	सौ	(=hundred)
/pɔ/	पौ	(=dawn)
/rɔ/	रौ	(=flood)
/lɔ/	लौ	(=flame).

Now I come to the oral diphthongs:

11. /əɪ/ (अइ)

This Hindi vowel phoneme is a diphthong in order to articulate which the tongue glides from the /ə/ position (central, exactly between half-open and half-close, unrounded) towards the /ɪ/ position (front, close, unrounded). It occurs in words like:

/gəɪjɑ:/	गैया	(=cow)
/məɪjɑ:/	मैया	(=mother)
/bʰəɪjɑ:/	भैया	(=brother).

12. /əʊ/ (अउ)

This vowel phoneme of Hindi is a diphthong in order to articulate which the tongue glides from the /ə/ position (central, between half-open and half-close, unrounded) towards the /u/ position (far back, close, rounded). It occurs in the medial position in words like;

/kəʊɑ:/	कौआ	(=crow)
/həʊɑ:/	हौआ	(=a terrifying object/ person)
/pəʊɑ:/	पौआ	(=one fourth);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the final syllable in words like:

/gəʊ/	गौ	(=cow).
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Now I come to the nasalized vowel phonemes:

13. /ə̃/ (अँ)

The Hindi vowel phoneme /अँ/ is the nasalized form of the vowel phoneme /ə̃/. When we articulate it the middle part of the tongue is raised to a point exactly between the half-close and the half-open positions, the lips remain neutral and the air flows outwards through both the oral and the nasal passages. It occurs in the initial position in words like:

/ə̃gu:tʰi:/	अँगूठी	(=ring)
/ə̃gərkʰɑ:/	अँगरखा	(=cloak)
/ə̃grəz/	अँग्रेज़	(=Englishman)
/ə̃gi:tʰi:/	अँगीठी	(=grate);

and it occurs in the medial position in words like:

/pʰə̃sna:/	फँसना	(=to get entangled)
/hə̃sna:/	हँसना	(=to laugh)

This vowel phoneme is different from the cluster /əŋ/ which occurs in the initial position in words like /əŋg/ अङ्गूर (=grape), /əŋg/ अङ्ग (=limb), and /əŋk/ अङ्क (=number).

That the vowel phoneme /ə̃/ is different from /ə/ comes to light when we find that the replacement of one by the other in a word changes its meaning. Here are some examples to illustrate the fact:

Words in pair with /ə/ & /ə̃/	Words with /ə/	Words with /ə̃/
/rəg/ & /rə̃g/	रग (=nerve)	रँग (=colour)
/əgər kʰa:/ & /ə̃gər kʰa:/	अगर खा (=eat the agar)	अँगरखा (=cloak)
/bədʱ/ & /bə̃dʱ/	बध (=murder)	बँध (=get tied)
/sədʒən/ & /sə̃dʒən/	कद (=height)	कँद (=get scratched)
/sədʒona:/ & /sə̃dʒona:/	सजन (= beloved)	सँजन (= to collect)
/dʒətʃəna:/ & /dʒə̃tʃəna:/	सजोना (=Do beautify yourself)	सँजोना (= to put in order)
	जचना (= to look smart)	जँचना (= to get examined)

In each of these cases the first syllable of the word in the first list has the vowel /ə/ but it has been replaced by /ə̃/ in the word in the second list with the result that the meaning of the word has changed.

14. /a:̃/ (आँ)

The vowel phoneme /a:̃/ is the nasalized form of /a:/. This vowel phoneme is a back vowel and in order to articulate it one raises the retracted back part of the tongue to the open position, keeps the lips in the neutral or unrounded shape and lets the air flow out through both the oral and the nasal passages. This phoneme occurs in all the three positions in the Hindi words. For example it occurs in the initial position as the initial syllable in the following words:

/a:̃tʃ/	आँच	(=fire)
/a:̃kʰ/	आँख	(=eye)
/a:̃kna:/	आँकना	(=to estimate)
/a:̃s/	आँस	(=dissonance), and
/a:̃t/	आँट	(=restriction).

It occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in words like:

/p ^h a:~kna:/	फाँकना	(=to throw into the mouth)
/ha:~fna:/	हाँफना	(=to pant)
/sa:~p/	साँप	(=snake)
/p ^h a:~s:/	साँप	(=wedge)
/ba:~s/	फाँस	(=a kind of reed plant)
/b ^h a:~g/	बाँस	(=a drug)
/ta:~ba:/	भाँग	(=copper)
/ka:~tʃ/	ताँबा	(=rectum; glass), and
/d ^h a:~s/	काँच	(=a small splinter of wood);
	धाँस	

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/ha:~/	हाँ	(=yes)
/kəha:~/	कहाँ	(=where)
/dʒəha:~/	जहाँ	(=universe)
/d ^h ua:~/	जहाँ	(=smoke), and
/du:a:~/	धुआँ	(=a type of mustard seed).
	दूआँ	

This nasalized form of the Hindi vowel phoneme /a:/ is different from the vowel phoneme /a:~/ because the replacement of one by the other changes the meaning of the word in a large number of cases. Here are some of the examples:

Word with /a:/	Word with /a:~/
/a:k ^h / आख (=a herb)	/a:~k ^h / आँख (=eye)
/ka:s/ कास (=cough)	/ka:~s/ काँस (=a plant)
/kəha:/ कहा (=uttered)	/kəha:~/ कहाँ (=where)
/b ^h a:p/ भाप (=vapour)	/b ^h a:~p/ भाँप (=sense)
/ba:t/ बाट (=footpath)	/ba:~t/ बाँट (=divide)
/ba:s/ बास (=bad smell)	/ba:~s/ बाँस (=bamboo)
/sa:g/ साग (=curry of leaves)	/sa:~g/ साँग (=drama)
/b ^h a:g/ भाग (=portion; run)	/b ^h a:~g/ भाँग (=Indian hemp)
/p ^h a:ka:/ फाका (=starvation)	/p ^h a:~ka:/ फाँका (=threw into mouth)
/ka:ta:/ काटा (=cut {past tense})	/ka:~ta:/ काँटा (=thorn)
/sa:t ^h / साठ (=sixty)	/sa:~t ^h / साँठ (a herb)

/k̄a:tʃ/ काच (=dirty mud)	/k̄a:ṽtʃ/ काँच (=glass)
/p̄a:kʰ/ पाख (=fortnight)	/p̄a:ṽkʰ/ पाँख (=wing)
/kʰa:s/ खास (=chief)	/kʰa:ṽs/ खाँस (=cough)
/sa:s/ सास (=mother-in-law)	/sa:ṽs/ साँस (=breath)
/da:t/ डाट (=cork)	/da:ṽt/ डाँट (=snub)
/ba:s/ बास (=bad smell)	/ba:ṽs/ बाँस (=bamboo)
/sa:g/ साग (=leaf curry)	/sa:ṽg/ साँग (=stage play)
/p̄h̄a:t/ फाट (=cleave)	/p̄h̄a:ṽt/ फाँट (= to smash of an edible)
/ba:t/ बाट (=footpath)	/ba:ṽt/ बाँट (=distribute)
/bʰa:ɾ/ भाड़ (=furnace)	/bʰa:ṽɾ/ भाँड़ (=jester)
/pa:s/ पास (=near)	/pa:ṽs/ पाँस (=trap)
/d̄ʊa:g/ झाग (=foam)	/d̄ʊa:ṽg/ झाँग (=lop; prune)
/ra:g/ राग (=song; tune)	/ra:ṽg/ राँग (a metal)
/bʰa:d̄ʊi:/ भाजी (=vegetable curry)	/bʰa:ṽd̄ʊi:/ भाँजी (=adverse comment)
/ba:j/ बाय (=a disease)	/ba:ṽj/ बाँय (=babble)
/a:ka:/ आका (=boss)	/a:ṽka:/ आँका (=estimated)
/ra:d̄h/ राध (=pus)	/ra:ṽd̄h/ राँध (=cook by boiling)
/a:d̄hi:/ आधी (=half [feminine])	/a:ṽd̄hi:/ आँधी (=dust storm)
/kʰa:/ खा (=eat)	/kʰa:ṽ/ खाँ (a surname of a clan)
/ha:/ हा (an interjection)	/ha:ṽ/ हाँ (=yes)
/ka:/ का (=what)	/ka:ṽ/ काँ (=whelp; caw)
/ba:g/ बाग (=garden)	/ba:ṽg/ बाँग (=crow)
/ha:j/ हाय (an interjection of grief)	/ha:ṽj/ हाँय (=affirmation)
/ba:d̄h̄a:/ बाधा (=obstacle)	/ba:ṽd̄h̄a:/ बाँधा (=fastened)
/kəha:/ कहा (=uttered)	/kəha:ṽ/ कहाँ (=where)
/d̄a:t/ दात (=dowry)	/d̄a:ṽt/ दाँत (=tooth)
/d̄a:t̄a:/ दाता (=giver)	/d̄a:ṽt̄a:/ दाँता (= a tooth-like part)
/sa:ki:/ साकी (=a maid serving wine)	/sa:ṽki:/ साँकी (an agricultural tool)
/a:ta:/ आटा (=flour)	/a:ṽta:/ आँटा (=filled {with earth})
/ḡh̄a:ti:/ घाटी (=valley)	/ḡh̄a:ṽti:/ घाँटी (a disease)
/ma:/ मा (=no)	/ma:ṽ/ माँ (=mother)
/na:d̄/ नाद (=sound)	/na:ṽd̄/ नाँद (=tub)

15. / Iṽ/ (इँ)

In order to articulate this vowel phoneme the front part of the tongue near the centre is raised to a point slightly above the half-close position, the lips are kept

loosely spread and the air is allowed to flow out through both the oral and the nasal passages. It occurs in the initial position as the first syllable in the following word:

/I ɔ̃qlɑ:s/	इंग्लास	(=the court of a judge)
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It occurs in the medial position as the last sound of some syllable in the following words:

/k ^h I ɔ̃tʃəna:/	खिंचना	(= to get drawn/ pulled)
/b I ɔ̃d ^h əna:/	बिंधना	(= to get pierced through)
/s I ɔ̃tʃɑ:i:/	सिंचाई	(= irrigation)
/b ^h I ɔ̃tʃəna:/	भिंचना	(= to get sandwiched)

This vowel phoneme is different from /I ɔ̃/ as the replacement of one by the other in several Hindi words results in the change of meaning. Here is an example:

/I qlɑ:s/ इंग्लास (= the name of a town)	/I ɔ̃qlɑ:s/ इंग्लास (=a judge's court).
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16. /i: ɔ̃/ (ईं)

This vowel phoneme is the nasalized form of the oral vowel phoneme /i:/. In order to articulate it the advanced front part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly below the close position, the lips remain spread, and the air is allowed to flow out through both the oral and the nasal passages. This phoneme occurs in all the three positions. For example, it figures in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/i: ɔ̃t/	ईंट	(=brick),
/i: ɔ̃t/	ईत	(=an insect like mosquito)
/i: ɔ̃qur/	ईत ईगुर	(=vermilion);

it occurs in the medial position as the last sound of some syllable in words like:

/si: ɔ̃tʃna: /	सींचना	(=to irrigate)
/d ^h i: ɔ̃g/	धींग	(=stout)
/hi: ɔ̃g/	हींग	(=asafoetida)
/b ^h i: ɔ̃tʃ/	भींच	(=sandwich tightly);

and it figures in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/t̪ ^h i:~̄/	थीं	(=were [plural feminine])
/d̪i:~̄/	दीं	(=gave [plural feminine])
/kəhi:~̄/	कहीं	(=somewhere).

The vowel sounds /i:/ and /i:~̄/ are contrastive as the replacement of one by the other changes the meaning of the word in many cases. Here are a few examples:

words with /i:/		words with /i:~̄/	
/t̪ ^h i:/ थी	(= was)	/t̪ ^h i:~̄/ थीं	(=were [plural feminine])
/d̪i:/ दी	(=gave)	/d̪i:~̄/ दीं	(=gave [plural feminine])
/kəhi:/ कही	(=said)	/kəhi:~̄/ कहीं	(=somewhere).
/səhi:/ सही	(=correct)	/səhi:~̄/ सहीं	(=tolerated)
/si:t̪a:/ सीता	(=a [female name])	/si:~̄t̪a:/ सीता	(=sew/ stitch)
/pi:/ पी	(=drink)	/pi:~̄/ पीं	(=a sound of horn)
/b ^h i:t̪/ भीत	(=vexed)	/b ^h i:~̄t̪/ भीत	(=wall)

17. /ũ/ (उँ)

The vowel sound /ũ/ is produced when the back part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly above the half close position, the lips are rounded and the air escapes through both the oral and the nasal passages. This vowel phoneme occurs in the initial and medial positions in Hindi words. It figures in the initial position in the following Hindi words:

/ũ _g lI/	उँगली	(=finger)
/ũ _g a:i:/	उँगाई	(=overhauling)
/ũ _d ^h a:i:/	उँधाई	(=spilled)
/ũ _g a:jè /	उँगाये	(=drowsy)

The sound occurs in medial position in words like:

/tʃũsa:i:/	चुँसाई	(=sipping)
/rũ _d ^h a:i:/	रुँधाई	(=kneading)
_g ũ _d ^h a:i:/	गुँधाई	(=kneading)

This vowel phoneme is different from the vowel phoneme /u/ as the replacement of one by the other in a Hindi word results in the change of meaning. Here is an example:

Words with /u/	Words with /ũ/
/uḡəli:/ उगली (= vomited)	/ũḡli:/ उँगली (=finger)
/uḡɑ:jè/ उगाये (= grew)	/ũḡɑ:jè/ उँगाये (=drowsy)
/uḡvɑ:jè/ उगवाये (= made [one] grow)	/ũḡvɑ:jè/ उँगवाये (made [one] overhaul)

18. /ũ:/ (ऊँ)

The vowel phoneme /ũ:/ is a back vowel and in order to articulate it the far back part of the tongue is raised to a point slightly below the close position, the lips are rounded and the air is allowed to escape through both the oral and the nasal passages. This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in English words. For instance, it figures in the initial position as the opening syllable in the following words:

/ũ:t/	ऊँट	(=camel)
/ũ:tʃɑ:/	ऊँचा	(=high)
/ũ:ḡ ^h /	ऊँघ	(=doze);

It figures in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in such words as the following ones:

/pũtʃ ^h /	पूँछ	(=tail)
/tʃũs/	चूस	(=suck)
/bũd/	बूँद	(= a drop)
/sũt/	सूँत	(=drink through the nose);

and it figures in the final position as the terminating sound of the last syllable in words like:

/hũ:/	आँ	(=am)
/dʒɑ:ũ:/	जाऊँ	(=[May I] go?
/k ^h əɾɑ:ũ:/	खड़ाऊँ	(=wooden slippers).

The vowel phoneme /u:/ and /ũ:/ are contrastive as the replacement of one by the other causes a change in the meaning of the relevant word. This happens, for example, in the following cases:

word with /u:/ in it		word with /ũ:/ in it	
/bu:t/	बूट (=shoe)	/bũ:t/	बूँट (=gram pod)
/su:t/	सूत (=yarn)	/sũ:t/	सूँत (=drink)
/ku:tʃ/	कूच (=departure)	/kũ:tʃ/	कूँच (=pierce)
/pu:dʒɑ:/	पूजा (=worship)	/pũ:dʒɑ:/	पूँजा (=strand of hemp)
/ru:s/	रूस (=Russia)	/rũ:s/	रूँस (= feel offended)
/hu:s/	हूस (=uncultured)	/hũ:s/	हूँस (=thrash)
/g ^h u:s/	घूस (=bribe)	/g ^h ũ:s/	घूँस (=thrust)

19. /ɛ̃/ (ऐँ)

The Hindi vowel phoneme /ɛ̃/ is a front vowel in order to articulate which the advanced front part of the tongue is raised to the half-open position, the lips remain spread, and the air is allowed to flow out through both the oral and the nasal passages. This vowel phoneme occurs in all the three positions in Hindi words. For instance, it occurs in the initial position as the opening syllable in the words like:

/ɛ̃ t ^h /	ऐँठ	(=snobbery)
/ɛ̃ tʃəkʈɑ:nɑ:/	ऐँचकताना	(=misshaped);

it occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in words like:

/pɛ̃ t ^h /	पैँठ	(=temporary market)
/sɛ̃ d ^h /	सैँध	(=break into)
/gɛ̃ d/	गैँद	(=ball);

and it occurs in the final position in words like:

/pəɾ ^h ɛ̃/	पढ़ें	(=[let them] read)
/bolɛ̃/	बोलें	(=[let them] speak)
/kəɾɛ̃/	करें	(=[let them] do).

The vowel /ɛ̃/ is a phoneme different from /ɛ/ as the replacement of one by the other results in the change of meaning. For example, this happens in the following cases:

Word with /ɛ~/	word with /ɛ/
/pɛ̃t̃ ^h / पैठ (=temporary market)	/pɛt̃ ^h / पैठ (=access)
/sɛ̃t̃/ सैत (=gratis)	/sɛt̃/ सैत (=honey)
/hɛ̃/ हैं (=are)	/hɛ/ है (=is)
/pɛ̃d̃ɑ:/ पैदा (=bottom lid)	/pɛd̃ɑ:/ पैदा (=produce)

20. /ɔ̃/ (औँ)

The Hindi vowel phoneme /ɔ̃/ is a back vowel and in order to articulate it the back part of the tongue is raised to the half-open position, the lips are rounded and the air flows out through both the oral and the nasal passages. It occurs in all the three positions. For instance, it occurs in the initial position as the initial syllable in words like:

/ɔ̃g̃ ^h na:/	औँघना	(=to doze) (=upside down)
/ɔ̃d̃ ^h na:/	औँधा	(=overhaul);
/ɔ̃g̃/	औँग	

It occurs in the medial position as the terminating sound of some syllable in words like:

/sɔ̃p̃na: /	सौँपना	(=to give custody [to])
/pɔ̃t̃ ^h na:/	पौँछना	(=to wipe)
/b ^h ɔ̃k̃na: /	भौँकना	(=to bark);

and it occurs in the final position as the terminating sound of the final syllable in words like:

/b ^h ɔ̃/	भौँ	(=eye-brow)
/hɔ̃/	हौँ	(=I)
/pɔ̃p̃ ɔ̃/	पौँ-पौँ	(=motor-car)

This vowel phoneme is different from /ɔ / as one's replacement by the other in a Hindi word changes the meaning of the word. Here are some examples which illustrate this fact:

	Word with / ɔ̃ /	word with / ɔ /
/pɔ̃/ & /pɔ/	पौँ (=the sound of the horn)	पौ (=dawn)
/sɔ̃/ & /sɔ /	सौँ (=swear)	सौ (=hundred)
/lɔ̃/ & /lɔ/	लौँ (=upto/till)	लौ (=flame)

4. Conclusions

Thus one has to concede that there are twenty vowel phonemes in Hindi though some of them do not find a representation in Devanagari alphabet and in writing they are represented by slightly modified forms of the nine prevalent graphs.

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WHY DESIST HYPHENATED IDENTITIES? READING SYED AMANUDDIN'S *DON'T CALL ME INDO-ANGLIAN*

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Abstract. The paper analyses Syed Amanuddin's "Don't Call Me Indo-Anglian" from the perspective of a cultural materialist. In an effort to understand Amanuddin's contempt for the term, the matrix of identity, language and cultural ideology has been explored. The politics of the representation of the self and the other that creates a chasm among human beings has also been discussed. The impact of the British colonialism on the language and psyche of people has been taken into account. This is best visible in the seemingly innocent introduction of English in India as medium of instruction which has subsequently brought in a new kind of sensibility and culture unknown hitherto in India. Indians experienced them in the form of snobbery, racism, highbrow and religious bigotry. P C Ray and M K Gandhi resisted the introduction of English as the medium of instruction. However, a new class of Indo-Anglians has emerged after independence which is not different from the Anglo-Indians in their attitude towards India. The question of identity has become important for an Indian irrespective of the spatial or time location of a person.

Keywords: *hyphenated identity, hybridity, culture, English, Indo-Anglian, Syed Amanuddin*

Шарма Сушил Кумар. Навіщо потрібно відмовитися від розщепленої ідентичності? Інтерпретація твору «Не називай мене індо-англійцем» Седа Амануддина.

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано твір Седа Амануддина «Не називай мене індо-англійцем» з перспективи культурного матеріаліста. Із метою розуміння зневаги Амануддина до згаданого терміна, досліджено матрицю ідентичності, мовну та культурну ідеологію. Також обговорюється питання політики щодо уявлення себе та іншого, що призводить до утворення прірви між людьми. Береться до уваги вплив британського колоніалізму на мову та психіку людей. Його ознаки добре простежуються в на перший погляд невинному запровадженні англійської в Індії як мови навчання, що з часом породило новий, раніше невідомий в Індії, вид чуттєвості та культури. Для індійців це втілювалося у формі снобізму, расизму, інтелектуального та релігійного фанатизму. П С Рей та М К Ганді чинили опір запровадженню англійської як мови викладання. Водночас після здобуття незалежності в Індії з'явився новий клас індо-англійців, що загалом не відрізнявся від англо-індійців у своєму ставленні до країни. Відтак, питання ідентичності постало для індійців досить серйозно, незалежно від просторових чи часових параметрів проживання особи.

Ключові слова: *розщеплена ідентичність, гібридність, англійська мова, індо-англієць, Сед Амануддин.*

1. Introduction

The term Indo-Anglian is a legitimate and widely used term that has also found its entry into *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Vol. VII)¹ and *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Vol. I)² so it is quite baffling to note Syed Amanuddin's³ disapprobation in using the appellation as a term of

description in his poem "Don't call me Indo-Anglian"⁴. He has enlisted the following reasons for his abomination: "a hotchpotch of culture", "a confusion of language", "a nullity of imagination", "an abortive affair between an indo and an anglo", "hate hyphens", "the artificial bridges/ between artificial values/ in the name of race religion n language/i damn all hyphenated minds/ prejudiced offsprings of unenlightened souls". Let us examine the validity of reasons enumerated by him one by one.

2. The Study

Syed Amanuddin himself had hinted at various causes for his contempt of the term. They have been discussed point wise to see their validity. The data for the study is not only Amanuddin's poem but the entire historical, sociological, political, cultural and educational milieu has been explored to understand the context of the term in the text in the manner of a New Historicist.

2.1. "A hotchpotch of culture"

Culture is a cover term for everything that makes up a person's way of life. It is characterised by the following elements: social organization (families, religious groups, social classes, political and economic interest groups, friends etc), customs and traditions, rules of behaviour (both written and unwritten), symbols, language, arts and literature, ethical values, beliefs and assumptions. As it shapes one's ideas to view the reality ethnocentrism and racism are two important parameters to understand one's cultural identity. Literature is one of the keys to unlock the riddles of the culture of a social group, race and country. A large number of Indians have chosen to write in English though it is not their language. The history of this literature is almost two hundred years old. This literature has been known by various names, one being Indo-Anglian Literature.

The term 'Indo-Anglian' is used both as a noun and an adjective. While in the former case it means literature produced by or about India in English in the latter case it means related to/by Indians through English. The term "Indo-Anglian Literature" is a compound noun/phrase with the structure of Mod (Adj) + N (e.g. Black Board, Common Room, Old Boy etc) or N + N (e.g. Alphabet Worksheets, Christmas Activities etc). In contrast, in compound words like "English Literature" or "Hindi Literature" (with word structure of N + N, for example, water tank, birth place etc), Hindi or Kannada or Sindhi, the first free morpheme, refers to the language in which the literature has been produced unlike the case with 'Indo-Anglian Literature' where-in the compound morpheme 'Indo-Anglian' is not the name of a language. In the title of Amanuddin's "Don't call me Indo-Anglian" the term can be interpreted as a noun as well as an adjective.

V K Gokak asserts that the term 'Indo-Anglian' "has been coined as a kind of cousin for 'Anglo-Indian'." (Gokak, n.d.: 160) Most of the scholars, some Anglo-Indians and the Websites maintained by the Anglo-Indians hold that the Anglo-Indians were brought into being by the direct policies of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British traders and colonists. Therefore, the Anglo-Indians may be correctly described as "a hotchpotch of culture"; let us look into their history to find some

clue to understand Amanuddin's detestation. After seizing Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese State of India (*Estado Português da Índia*), in order to stabilize his empire started encouraging his bachelor soldiers (*soldados*) to become married settlers (*casados*) by taking Indian mistresses. Unlike the later European colonisers he neither had any notion of racial purity nor a horror of mixed marriages. Under his policy *Politica dos Casamentos*, Albuquerque, encouraged marriages between Portuguese men "originally from lowest classes in Portugal including some convicted criminals" (Rocha, 2010: 38) and native women as the number of Portuguese females who came with Portuguese officials (*renois*), those who were born to Portuguese parents in India (*castiças*), others who came on ships (*aventureiras*) and women of mixed blood (both *mestiços* and *mulatas*) in 16th century was very limited. Stephens writes: "Officers indeed might expect to return to the fatherland, but the Europeans of inferior ranks were too valuable to be allowed to escape. In all it is narrated that about 450 Portuguese were married to native women before [Albuquerque] left Goa for Malacca" (Stephens 1897: 153) As Albuquerque was very conscious of the skin-colour he advised his men to marry fair Hindu and Muslim women and encouraged them to avoid dark complexioned Malabaris. (Bethencourt, 2013:210, Pearson, 1987:101) M N Pearson writes further: "The great Jesuit missionary, St Francis Xavier, while urging the *casados* to marry their local concubines, drew the firmest of colour lines. 'When the concubine was dark in colour and ugly featured, he employed all his eloquence to separate his host from her. He was even ready, if necessary, to find him a more suitable mate.'" (Pearson, 1987:101) In all it is narrated that about 450 Portuguese were married to native women before [Albuquerque] left Goa for Malacca." (Pearson, 1987:153) But in practice his instructions were ignored after his short spell in power in the Portuguese India. As a result their children could not be distinguished on the basis of colour as they were as black as the natives. Describing the children of the Portuguese Linschoten writes: "the posteritie of the Poringales, both men and women being in the third degree, doe seeme to be naturall Indians, both in colour and fashion." (qtd in Pearson, 1987:101) In a similar vein Hamilton in his *Description of Hindostan* writes: "In the southern quarter (of Backergunje) there still exist several original Portuguese colonies They are a meagre, puny, imbecile race, blacker than the natives, who hold them in utmost contempt, and designate them by the appellation of *Caula Ferenghies*, or black Europeans." (qtd in *Hobson-Jobson*, 1903:354) However, unlike Anglo-Indians Indo-Anglians are not a hotchpotch of culture in terms of their ethnicity. So we have to look for their beliefs and other issues.

Telling the characteristics of Indo-Anglians Sajith Pai writes: "... [they] predominantly [speak] English and not the tongues they grew up with ... [and] constitute an influential demographic, or rather a psychographic, in India – affluent, urban, highly educated, usually in intercaste [sic] or inter-religious unions. ... Unlike Anglo-Indians, ... Indo-Anglians comprise all religions, though Hindus dominate. ... They fall well within the top 1% of India economically" (scroll.in/magazine/867130) The Anglo-Indians insist on maintaining a distinct

identity on the basis of their language and British legacy in matters of dress, diet, literature, music, religion, culture and marriage as is evident from the following remark of Blair R. Williams who himself is an Anglo-Indian: “The Anglo-Indians did not accept their Indian heritage, tending to look down upon Indians of other communities. Their middleman role in government merely consolidated this attitude. ... And so the Community lived for over two hundred years of British rule, not being accepted by either the British or the Indian communities. Many sociologists classified them as ‘marginal’ to the British and Indian cultures.” (Williams, 2002:ix) Urban dwelling of the Anglo-Indians is one of the causes of their failing to mix-up with the rest of Indians. During freedom struggle they were by and large distrusted and treated as anti-nationals because of their West-oriented culture, their aloofness from the mainstream Indians and their siding with the British. Perhaps they could foresee that competition, and not ascription, will be the linchpin of the new nation (independent India) and they, without any British crutches, would encounter insurmountable difficulties. Therefore, after independence a large number of them chose to relocate themselves in the white skinned and Protestant-Christian dominated western countries (like Britain, Canada and United States) and eastern countries (like Australia and New Zealand) though at times they were treated as half-castes and not as equals there. Many Anglo-Indians continue to migrate from the land of their birth even today despite generous guarantees given to them by the Constitution and the government of India. However, they have created many institutions the legacy of which continues to flourish in India. Modern Indian education system is a good example of this legacy.

The institution of Anglo-Indian schools is a living remnant of the European colonial education in India⁵. Sudarshana Sen identifies three types of such schools that came into existence during the reign of East India Company with a view to provide the boys subordinate positions in the Company's military and civil service and prepare the girls (the first ever school for the girls of the community was started in 1856) as prospective wives. They are: charity, military and private schools (Sen, 2010) Sen holds that these schools did not come under the influence of Swadeshi movement and the Non-Cooperation movement and therefore they remained isolated from mainstream education, politics and social life and in turn were insulated against nationalist ideals. (Sen, 2010:117) The Anglo-Indians ignored Sadler Commission's recommendations (1917) that the European schools should teach principal vernaculars and should include the study of Oriental languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic in the curriculum. The Hartog Committee in 1929 again recommended that Indian languages should replace English as medium of instruction in secondary schools, vocational training should be encouraged and more diversified courses should be introduced at school level. Initially students from non-Anglo-Indian community were not admitted to these schools; it was only in 1921 that they were allowed to the limit of fifteen per cent in the Conference of the Heads of European Schools. Later the Government raised this limit to twenty-five per cent. Presently the number of Anglo-Indian students in these schools is relatively small, in some instances less than five per cent of the total enrolment (Gist and Wright,

1973:116). Ann Lobo, in her well researched article in two parts, highlights that the much sought after Anglo-Indian schools work on the premise of “racial, linguistic and religious framework” and continue to “extend the power, prestige and wealth of the British government and Christian missionaries.” She holds that the education in these schools promotes inequality, suppression, Christianity and subordination. According to Ann these schools create “pliant, cheap, literate and loyal workforce” (Lobo, 1996a:19) and propagate colonial legacy by placing undue emphasis on English language. (Lobo, 1996a:13-30 and Lobo, 1996b:13-34) Ann opines that “Anglo-Indian schools are the process which creates a mind set [...]” (Lobo, 1996b:13) Evelyn Abel, elaborates it as an effort “to perpetuate some form of snobbery and snobbery rather than pride in an Anglo Indian identity”. (Abel 1988: 85). All those who go these schools inherit this snobbery, pride and haughtiness. The products of these schools are turned out as Indo-Anglians. Thus, there are many similarities between Anglo-Indians and Indo-Anglians. As Anglo-Indians find their affinities with the British more than the Indians the Indo-Anglians too find themselves more comfortable with the alien former colonisers. It can safely be presumed that Amanuddin does not wish to be sided with former colonisers and therefore expresses his disapproval of the label “Indo-Anglian”.

2.2. A confusion of language

India has the unique distinction of having more than 1650 living languages and every Indian by and large is a polyglot. However, under the impending Globalization and education in Anglo-Indian Schools English in India has emerged as a language of opportunities at the cost of sensibilities. English does not find a place in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution though its use is admissible for various purposes under Articles 210, 343(2), 345, and 348(3)(iii). English enjoys the status of official language. Studies in English Literature/Language continue to be promoted in a big way in all Indian universities and graduating in English is considered socially prestigious and valuable. Even M K Gandhi, J L Nehru and other nationalist leaders used English and published in it prolifically in the heydays of freedom movement. However, English in post-independence India has emerged as a language of fashion, aspiration and necessity for a certain class of people that Saritha Rai describes as “‘English Only’ Generation” (nytimes.com). Sajith Pai calls this class “Indo-Anglian” and opines that they owe their existence to the “growing westernisation, demand for English education and ... intercommunity marriages” (scroll.in/magazine/867130). Language being a source of culture the adoption of a foreign language alienates a person from his roots and consequently social and emotional issues crop up. Gopika I S’ report “Rise of the Indo-Anglians in Kerala” in *The New Indian Express* (February 16, 2018) highlights the fact that the use of English by the Indo-Anglian families in the public spaces is not appreciated by the locals. Rather it is looked at as “their inherent need to show off” even by the experts in the field though some of the families might be using it out of necessity. (newindianexpress.com) The use of the colonial masters’ language subjugates a person even mentally. Keki Daruwalla has rightly remarked: “Colonial history shows that language can be as domineering as any occupational army. It supplants

myths, whole iconographies, world-view, ideology. It ushers in its own symbols and its own values. An armada of new texts sails in. Old dogmas and bigotries are swept away and exchanged for new ones.” (poetryinternationalweb.net) So, the first confusion is if a person should choose to use one's mother tongue or the coloniser's language.

Even though the first collection of poetry in English (*The Sháir and Other Poems*, 1830) by an Indian, Kasiprasad Ghose, was published five years earlier than Macaulay's Minutes were approved the process of creating English/alien “mind-set” was formally introduced in India with the approval of Macaulay's Minutes by the then Governor William Bentinck in 1835. Macaulay was very clear in his ideas and objectives: “We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, -- a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.” (Minutes 2nd February 1835) The impact of this education was great on the psyche and mental make-up of the Indians. The architect of English Education in India, Thomas Macaulay, himself reported the impact of this education on Indians to his father Zachary Macaulay in his letter dated 12 October 1836 from Calcutta:

“Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. ... The effect of this education on the Hindoos is prodigious. *No Hindoo who has received an English education ever continues to be sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy. But many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity.* ... It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise, without the smallest interference with religious liberty, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in this prospect....” (Trevelyan, 1876: 454-56, emphasis added)

It is just unimaginable that English education had created this impact within eighteen months of the Minutes. Actually, forty Seminaries had been active in teaching for several years in Bengal and the people of all castes showed enthusiasm for English schools. However, in comparison, Muslim population particularly from Madras and Bombay did not show much interest because of their hostility to Macaulay's education policies. This laid the foundation to the start of westernisation of the Indian society. This new breed of westernised Indians looked down upon fellow Indians as inferiors, which lead to further divisions in the society. No wonder that the Indians who go to attend Anglo-Indian schools⁶ feel alienated in the Indian society as they try to imitate the Anglo-Indians both consciously and unconsciously in some of the above traits.

It is quite a logical fall out that those who start imitating and adopting the English language also start imitating the English life style; from writing in English, they are generally led, to convert themselves to Christianity and to settle abroad. The above mentioned facts are also corroborated by a look into the lives of the authors who started writing in English in the early phase.⁷ Of course, there were

some⁸ who resisted the conversion of religion⁹ and adoption of a new idiom and tried to stick to their faiths. That the church influenced and dented the patriotic sensibility is also clear from the following description in the encyclopaedia: “The *Christian Patriot*, the church’s leading Indian weekly newspaper, conceded that with a few notable exceptions Indian Christians kept away from the nationalist movement. It urged Christians to recognize they had a duty toward India and then declared that ‘a real Christian cannot help being at the same time, a true Indian patriot’ (cited in Houghton, p. 203). ... [Bishop Henry Whitehead of Madras] felt political agitation was contrary to the spirit of Christ.” (encyclopedia.com) No wonder one finds a different kind of thematic flavour and treatment of the subject in their writings. For example, Bankim Chatterji wrote an incomplete novel Rajmohan’s *Wife* in English. But his switching over to Bangla as a medium changed his tone and tenor from that of imitation to that of revolution in *Anandamath*. This change in attitude and attitude on account of the choice of language is visible even today in literature as well as journalism. Even in the contemporary times all those who write imitative poetry, copy various isms and perhaps boast upholding a Semitic religion are easily recognised by “big publishers” and brought into the canonical literature. With the globalization the process has become faster as has been indicated by Sajit Pai and others (see supra). Amanuddin has chosen to write in English which is not his mother tongue but is a language of his bread and butter. It can rightfully be concluded that his quarrel is not with the language but with the change of sensibility that it brings with it.

2.3. A Nullity of Imagination

Prafulla Chandra Ray, a well-known Bengali chemist, tried to oppose the education in a foreign language way back in 1932. He held that studying through a foreign language is bound to extinguish all creativity and originality. He comes down heavily on English medium system of education in India when he writes:

The enormous waste of time in the education of a Bengali youth is simply staggering. Six or seven years of the most precious period of a boy’s career are simply wasted in learning or picking up the intricacies of a foreign tongue through the medium of which he is made to acquire knowledge. Such a monstrous and perverse arrangement does not, I believe, obtain in any other country under the sun. Education should always be imparted through the mother-tongue of the learner—the language of nursery. ... When we speak of a man being well informed we do not usually consider the medium of language through which he has picked up his knowledge. We are blindly following a pernicious system, which more than anything retards the acquisition of knowledge.” (Ray, 1932:289)

Similar sentiments have been expressed by Gandhi. By citing his own example he details how he has been a loser by using English as a medium and how a chasm between him and his family was created because of the language:

The pillory began with the fourth year. ... what I took four years to learn of Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Chemistry and Astronomy, I should have

learnt easily in one year, if I had not to learn through English but Gujarati. My grasp of the subjects would have been easier and clearer. ... This English medium created an impassable barrier between me and the members of my family, who had not gone through English schools. My father knew nothing of what I was doing. I could not, even if I had wished it, interest my father in what I was learning. For though he had ample intelligence, he knew not a word of English. I was fast becoming a superior person. Even my dress began to undergo imperceptible changes. What happened to me was not an uncommon experience. It was common to the majority. (Gandhi, 1938)

At another place Gandhi is more explicit about the effects of English education in India:

I find daily proof of the increasing & continuing wrong being done to the millions by our false de-Indianizing education. ... Education through the medium of a strange tongue breaks the concordance which should exist. Those who break this relationship are enemies of the people even though their motives may be honest. To be a voluntary victim of this system of education is as good as the betrayal of our duty towards our mothers. ... It has produced a gulf between the educated classes and the masses. The people look on us as beings apart from them. ... It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English educated Indian, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy and has made of us imitators. ... No country can become a nation by producing a race of imitators. ... The foreign medium has caused brain fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfit for original work and thought, and disabled them from filtrating their learning to the family or the masses." (www.mkgandhi.org/)

If one goes by Ray's opinion and Gandhi's experience one realizes that Indo-Anglians' use of English is neither appreciated nor is desirable as it reduces their mental ability and further cuts them from their culture and their people.

James Cousins denounces the efforts of the Indian authors writing in English to be a part of English literature in very strong words (Cousins, 1918:176-77) on two counts viz. sensibility and language. Since the literature written in someone else's tongue does not reflect originality he cautions the younger writers lest they should become mere imitators: "... You will never sing your own song if you are content to echo another's: four lines struck from the *vina* of your own heart experience or mental illumination will be worth infinitely more to you and the world than reams of mimicry" (Cousins, 1918:156). Cousins considers literature to be a matter of sensibility and wishes the Indians to express theirs by maintaining their unique identity in their writings as well: "Be yourselves first: do not fall under the illusory notion that you are fulfilling your ideal in desiring to write as good blank verse as Tennyson, or as fine lyrics as Swinburne." (Cousins, 1918:155-56) He cautions an aspirant Indian author over his choice of language:

“If they *must* write in English, let it be in the English *language only*: let them keep themselves unspotted of its point of view, temperament, its mannerisms; for their repetitions of these will fail of conviction, which is one of the absolute essentials of art, since they can never disguise the fact that they are imitations, and Nature abhors imitation more that she does a vacuum: there is a chance of filling a vacuum, but none of turning an imitation into an original.” (Cousins, 1918:177)

What Cousins suggests is easier said than done; rather he is envisaging a situation which has not taken shape so far as is evident from the following lament of V K Gokak about the status of Indo-Anglian writing: “... Indo-Anglian writing ... is either predominantly ‘Anglian’ or ‘Indian’. Very rarely is a synthesis of the two perceptible in sustained works of art.” (Gokak, n.d.:163) In this situation, according to Gokak, “a good deal of Indo Anglian fiction or poetry falls short of the level that our greatest writers have touched in their own languages.” (Gokak, n.d.:164) Annie Montaut in her article “English in India” makes a cognitive analysis of the daily lives of the people because of the changed perception because of the foreign language. Throwing light on the issue she writes:

At the bottom of this alienation, variously described by its victims and similarly analysed, is a conflict between cognitive and perceptual patterns: the Western rational consciousness which has been inherited from the colonial past by the Indian national ideology relies on the externalization and objectification of the very notion of ‘culture’, whereas such an externality is totally alien to the indigenous perception. The ‘Indian’ feeling of belonging as an empathic relation with the moving intertwined layers of shared knowledge, beliefs and symbol, nature and culture, experienced from within and not seen as an historical legacy, experienced from the outside, has been described by many writers from as different intellectual and social stocks as A. Coomaraswamy, Nirmal Verma (2000: India and Europe), Ashis Nandy (1980: The intimate Enemy), Anantha Murthy (2008), Gandhi, as well as by foreigners such as Richard Lannoy (The Speaking Tree) or Eric Erikson (on Gandhi).” (Montaut, 2010:19)

It is because of this changed perception of the Indo-Anglians that they are not able to appreciate the indigenous cultural and knowledge paradigms and consequently lose touch with their roots. After being uprooted from his native land India, Syed Amanuddin upon his migration to the US, like an Indo-Anglian in India, must himself be facing a crisis and conflict in his values. The issue becomes all the more complex when the writers claim that they use chaste English in their writings while Indian English is derided by using terms like Babu English, Butler English, Bearer English, Chee-Chee and Kitchen English. To rub salts to their wounds they are confronted with questions like “Is Indian verse in English only sometimes ‘Indian’ and only occasionally poetry?” (Naik, 1973:157) This section may be summed up by citing Salman Rushdie’s opposite view. He lays blame at the door of

Indians for not appreciating Indo-Anglian's writings and attitudes: "For some, English-language Indian writing will never be more than a post-colonial anomaly, the bastard child of the Empire, sirred on India by the departing British; its continuing use of the old colonial tongue is seen as a fatal flaw than renders it forever inauthentic. 'Indo-Anglian' literature evokes in these critics, the kind of prejudicial reaction shown by some Indians towards the country's community of 'Anglo-Indians' – that is, Eurasians." (Rushdie, 1997:xii)

2.4. Hating Hyphens

Barbara Godard considers the hyphen as a mark of both separation and union. (Godard, 1993: 154-55) Though A K Ramanujan had spent many years of his life in the department of south Asian languages and civilizations at the University of Chicago he "wryly described himself as 'the hyphen in Indo-American studies'" (Subramaniam, 2017). The identity of a person may be described on the basis of race, religion, gender, economic status, nationality or blood relations. The question of one's identity is at the core of philosophical, sociological and anthropological and political inquiries. Identity has always occupied the centre stage in literary studies. With a lot of migration taking place because of the new explorations, new jobs, global economies and new and quicker means of transport the hyphenated identities have gained prominence. Since Amanuddin migrated to the US let us recall a bit of American history as well with reference to identity. With the discovery of America the project of American Dream also started taking shape. The new land was available to all (at least theoretically speaking) but the migrant was to forget his/her identity and had to work for American Melting Pot. The image of Melting Pot is no more representative of American dream. It has now yielded place to the image of Mosaic or salad bowl. With the emergence of this new image the discourse of hyphenated identities has also come into existence. With the advent of Post-modernism the notions of finality and ultimate truth have also been put to air. These developments have challenged the concept of self as a unique unit. With the emergence and acceptance of plurality as reality the multiple identities have come to stay. The best way to project them is through hyphenated expressions. The hyphenated expressions also convey a sense of simultaneity. However, hyphenated identities may also indicate fracas in one's personality, actions and words. After all a language functions on the principle of one sign, one signifier and one signified at a given moment.

Though the New Critics would not consider "I" in the poem to be the poet but the persona could be taken to a migrant American having multiple identities like the poet himself. Amanuddin has been a painter, playwright, novelist, critic, teacher and a poet all rolled into one. He has been a Kannadiga, Muslim, Indian, American, all in one. He knows Kannada, Urdu, Arabic and English. He is a born Muslim, brought up in Hindu environs who worked in largely a Christian country. To define such a persona in a single expression is a great challenge. Such a person has to indulge in endless negotiations between spaces, cultures and times to get an identity. Stuart Hall suggests that we should instead think of identity as a 'production' which is never complete but always in process, and always "constituted within, not outside,

representation” (Hall, 1996:4). However, a poet looks neither for fragments nor for incomplete production but looks for a whole. Hyphens no doubt connect but they also leave gaps; hyphenated identities also have certain gaps. The anguish of the persona in hating hyphens is therefore quite justified.

The Indian mindset by and large does not appreciate “hotch-potch of blood-mixing”. Amongst the Muslim society they are worried about the purity of blood so much they prefer to marry amongst the cousins (inter-marriages). Even the Hindu religious scriptures purity of blood has been hinted at. The following verses from the *Bhagvadgita* are being cited to illustrate the point:

*adharmābhibhavāt kṛīṣṇa praduṣhyanti kula-striyaḥ
 strīṣhu duṣhṭāsu vārṣṇeya jāyate varṇa-saṅkaraḥ
 saṅkaro narakāyaiva kula-ghnānām kulasya cha
 patanti pitaro hy eṣhām luṭṭa-piṇḍodaka-kriyāḥ
 doṣhair etaiḥ kula-ghnānām varṇa-saṅkara-kārakaiḥ
 utsādyante jāti-dharmāḥ kula-dharmāśh cha śhāśhvataḥ*
 (*Bhagvadgita*: I:41-43)

(Tr. “With the preponderance of vice, O Krishna, the women of the family become immoral; and from the immorality of women, O descendent of Vrishni, unwanted progeny are born. An increase in unwanted children results in hellish life both for the family and for those who destroy the family. Deprived of the sacrificial offerings, the ancestors of such corrupt families also fall. Through the evil deeds of those who destroy the family tradition and thus give rise to unwanted progeny, a variety of social and family welfare activities are ruined.”
 (*Bhagvadgita*: I: 41-43 www.holy-bhagavad-gita.org/chapter/1/)

However, science values hybrids of various sorts, human beings being no exception to it because science does not follow the rules of morality. In this background Amanuddin’s wish of aborting “affair between an indo and an anglo” both at physical and metaphysical levels is quite understandable.

Anthropologists, sociologists and geographers tell us that human beings have migrated from one geographical location to another and so have their ideas. The Vedic Prayer: *krinvanto vishwam aryam* (*Rig Veda* IX.63.5; Tr. “Let the entire world be cultured”) and *yatra vishvam bhavati ek nidam* (*Yajurveda*, XXXII.8; Tr. “Where the world a solitary abode”) indicate Indians’ wish to treat the whole world as one single family. The following oft quoted Vedic idea *ékaṁ sád viprā bahudhā vadanty* (*Rig Veda* I.164.46 Tr. “That which is One, the sages speak of as Multifarious”) clearly indicates about the existence and acceptance of the multi-realities. The natural corollary is that the proposition of holding only one idea to be valid and good for all and therefore making it prevail is unacceptable to an Indian. Rather, it imbibes the idea that the people at different levels of society, state, country and world may stay and live together holding different viewpoints and worldviews. Besides respecting their mutual differences they look after each other’s needs and interests as in a family different members do and explore the truth. In

the *Atharva Veda* (*bhumi sukta*), the Rishi is delighted in proclaiming himself to be the son of the mother Earth: *mata bhumi putro aham prithviyah* (XII.1.12). The *Sukta* further hails the earth for giving shelter to numerous faiths: *jana vibhrati bahudha vivacasam nana dharmanam prithvi yathoksam*. (XII.1.45 Tr. "The earth that holds people of manifold varied speech, of different customs, according to their habitations") Similarly, the Vedic idea of *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* (Tr. "The entire world constitutes a family") provides ample space not only to the human beings but also to the animals, birds, plants, minerals and other organisms in the ecosystem as it is enshrined in the idea that everything is just the manifestation of God and has one pervading soul (*atma*). As in a unit family everything and everybody becomes a part of the family similarly in this world everything and everybody belongs to one family. The entire *śloka* containing this wish condemns all sorts of discrimination. It reads: *ayaṁ bandhurayaṁ nēti gaṇanā laghucētasām|udāracaritānām tu vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam ||71||* (*Maha Upanishad* VI.71) (Tr. "Discrimination saying 'this one is a relative; this other one is a stranger' is for the mean-minded. For those who're known as magnanimous, the entire world constitutes but a family.") This idea cuts across time and geographical location as is evident from the *Panchatantra*, the *Hitopadesha* and the Tamil Sangam literature. The idea is not just about peace and harmony among the societies in the world, but also about a truth that somehow the whole world has to live together like a family. This is the reason why Hindus think that any power in the world, big or small cannot have its own way, disregarding others. Amanuddin echoes Indian concept of globalization and rightfully condemns "the artificial bridges" and "artificial values" in the name of race, religion and language, "hyphenated minds" and prejudiced offsprings of "unenlightened souls".

Notes

1. It reads as: "**Indo-Anglian** a., of or pertaining to literature in English written by Indian authors; also as sb., a writer of such literature; ... **1883** in K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar *Indian Writing in English* (1962) i. 3 *Indo-Anglian, **1935** A. R. Chida (title) *Anthology of Indo-Anglian Verse*. **1943** K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (title) *Indo-Anglian Literature*. **1962** *Times Lit. Suppl.* 10 Aug. 596/3 Authors such as R. K. Narayan, Dom Moraes, Balachandra Rajan (now called 'Indo-Anglians') find their public in the West, rather than inside India itself. **1969** *Sunday Standard* (Bombay) 3 Aug. (Mag. Sect.) p. vii/7 Anita Desai is one of the most competent amongst the small band of Indo-Anglian novelists who have successfully established that a branch of English literature can grow and flourish as well in India as .. [sic] in Australia or Canada." (1991:882-83)
2. The entry on the term in *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Vol. I) reads as: "**Indo-Anglian** a. & n. (a) adj. of or pertaining to literature in English written by Indian authors; (b) n. a writer of such literature: L19." (1993:1353)
3. Syed Amanuddin was a versatile writer who had written poetry books like *The Forbidden Fruit* (1967), *Tiffin State Hospital* (1970), *Shoes of Tradition* (1970), *The Children of Hiroshima* (1970), *Poems of Protest* (1972), *Lighting and Love* (1973), *The Age of Female Eunuchs* (1974), *Adventures of Atman* (1977), *Gems and Germs* (1978), *Make me your Dream* (1982), *Poems* (1984) and *Challenger Poems* (1988), plays like: *System Shaker: Plays* (1972) and *The King Who Sold His Wife* (1978), a novel *Passage to the Himalayas* (1979), and the critical

works like *Hart Crane's Mystical Quest and Other Essays* (1967) and *World Poetry in English: Essays and Interviews* (1981). He was also the founder and editor of two literary magazines: *Poetry East west* (1967-1972) and *Creative Moment* (1972). His poems have been widely translated into French, Urdu, and Kannada.

4. The entire poem as found in an anthology is as follows:

no i don't want to be
 a hotchpotch of culture
 a confusion of language
 a nullity of imagination
 an abortive affair between an indo n an anglo
i hate hyphens
 the artificial bridges
 between artificial values
 in the name of race religion n language
i damn all hyphenated minds
 prejudiced offsprings of unenlightened souls

i denounce all labels and labelmakers
i refuse to be a moonrock specimen
 to be analyzed labelled n stored
 for a curious gloomy fellow to
 reanalyze reclassify me
 for shelving me again

they call me indo-anglian
 i don't know what they mean
 cauvery flows in my veins
 chamundi hills rise in my mind with stars afloat
 eyes of the goddess smiling on the slain demon
 brindavan fountains sing in my soul their musical colours

but i am not tied down to my childhood scene.
 i have led languages by their ears
 i have twisted creeds to force the truth out
 i have burned candles in the caves of prejudice
 i have surged in the oceans of being
 i have flown across the universe on the wings of my thought

they call me indo-anglian
 the mistaken misinformed folk
 n class me with a small group of writers
 cloistering me
 crippling me
i would rather roam with kalidasa n kabir
or go on a spiritual journey with dante
meditate with khayyam on the mathematics of existence
or sing with ghalib the anguish of love
or drown with li po kissing the moon's reflection in the river

they call me indo-anglian
 it's true i write in english

dream in the language of shakespeare n keats
but i am not an anglo my friend
i am a poet
i have lived forty centuries under various names
i am now amanuddin

(Amanuddin, Syed. (2008). "Don't Call Me Indo-Anglian," In *An Anthology of Commonwealth Poetry*. C. D. Narasimhaiah (ed.), New Delhi: Trinity, 2016. Print.)

Note 5: Anglo-Indian schools have a protection under Indian Constitution (Article 29(1), Article 30(1), Article 337 (irrelevant today as the time limit mentioned in it is long past) and Article 366(2) though confusion prevails over their status as it is not clear if they are the institutions run by linguistic or religious minorities.

Note 6: Most of these schools are "founded on the Biblical principle that 'the fear of the lord is the beginning of wisdom'" and are run on the patronage of parents, old students, well-wishers and the church congregation" (Chitra, Rachel. (November 20, 2017) "Reminder of Anglo-Indian Past, School Stands Tall at 175 Years" <https://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/tracking-indian-communities/reminder-of-anglo-indian-past-school-stands-tall-at-175-years/>)

Note 7: For example, Dean Mahomed, the first Indian to publish a book in English, was baptised in the Roman Catholic church of St. Finbarr's, Cork, in 1791. The religious reformer and playwright Krishna Mohan Banerjee (*The Persecuted: or, Dramatic Scenes Illustrative of the Present State of Hindoo Society in Calcutta*, 1831) converted to Christianity in 1832. Rammohun Roy started as a reformer of the prevailing Brahmanism of the time (by founding Atmiya Samaj in 1815 and Brahma Samaj under the influence of Christianity at Calcutta in 1828) but ended up as a Christian in Arnos Vale Cemetery in Bristol. Michael Madhusudan Dutt embraced Christianity in spite of the objections of his parents and relatives on 9 February 1843. Dutt family (Govind Chunder Dutt and his siblings Romesh Chunder Dutt, Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt) embraced Christianity in 1862. Bhavani Charan Bandyopadhyay renamed himself Brahmabandhav Upadhyay after his conversion to Christianity in February 1891.

Note 8: Like Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Sri Aurobindo, Manmohan Ghose, M K Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu and Harindranath Chattopadhyay

Note 9: The process of religious conversion is still on as is clear from the list of notable converts to Christianity from Hinduism (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_convert_to_Christianity_from_Hinduism)

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EXPRESSED EMOTION TOWARDS INDIVIDUALS WITH MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH CONDITIONS: A STRUCTURED LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract. Expressed Emotion (EE) is a well-validated measure of the family environment of individuals with mental and physical conditions that examines relatives' critical, hostile and emotionally overinvolved attitudes towards a family member with a condition. This review focuses on studies of EE on containing data of the impact of Expressed Emotion on the course of chronic illnesses and clinical outcomes in mental and physical health conditions. The structural literature review is based on the search of articles in peer-reviewed journals from 1991 to November, 2018 in the databases Psyc-Info and PubMed. Taken together, these results suggest that there is an association between EE towards patients with both physical and mental conditions and a poor clinical and personal recovery. Interestingly, the lower levels of EE towards individuals with a condition were observed in partners comparatively with parents, adult children and relatives. However, the results have been obtained only from two populations with dementia and Type I diabetes and have been considered as an important issue for future research.

Keywords: *Expressed Emotion, mental and physical conditions, critical, hostile and emotionally overinvolved attitudes, caregivers, service users.*

Засекіна Лариса. Експресивна емоція як ставлення до осіб із психічними і фізичними захворюваннями: структурний огляд літератури.

Анотація. Експресивна емоція – це термін на позначення ставлення членів родини до особи, яка має проблеми психічного або фізичного здоров'я. Експресивна емоція визначається через вираження критичності, ворожості та гіперопіки з боку члена сім'ї до особи з проблемами здоров'я, що негативно впливає на перебіг її захворювання та процес одужання. Запропоноване структуроване інтерв'ю відображає критичний огляд досліджень з проблеми експресивної емоції упродовж 1991–2018 рр. та ґрунтується на публікаціях в базах Psyc-Info, PubMed. Результати теоретичного аналізу літератури, свідчать що експресивна емоція часто є одним із важливих чинників погіршення фізичного чи психічного станів пацієнтів. Примітно, що найнижчий рівень експресивної емоції спостерігається у партнерів подружжя порівняно з іншими дорослими членами родини: дітьми, батьками, найближчими родичами. Водночас отримані результати встановлено лише в родинах пацієнтів з діагнозами деменція та діабет першого ступеня. Це зумовлює необхідність подальшого вивчення експресивної емоції з пацієнтами різних груп фізичних і психічних захворювань.

Ключові слова: *експресивна емоція, психічні і фізичні захворювання, критичні, ворожі ставлення, гіперопіка, доглядач, пацієнти.*

1. Introduction

1.1. Expressed emotion

Expressed Emotion (EE) is a well-validated measure of the family environment of individuals with mental and physical conditions that examines relatives' critical,

hostile and emotionally overinvolved attitudes towards a family member with a condition (Cherry, Taylor, Brown, & Sellwood, 2018). The EE is in line with the bio-psycho-social model which was conceptualized by Engel (1977), focusing on clinical and personal recovery of service users from medical (clinical symptoms), psychological (thoughts, emotions, behaviours) and social (family relationships) perspectives.

The first conceptualization of EE was based on an assessment of family relationships represented by five types of attitudes towards the individual with schizophrenia: critical remarks, hostility, dissatisfaction, warmth and emotional over-involvement (Brown, Birley, & Wing, 1972). The Camberwell Family Interview (CFI) was considered as the gold standard for EE assessment (Hooley & Parker, 2006).

In present studies there is a tendency to use only the negatively valued EE of criticism, hostility, and emotional over-involvement, since these types of EE appear to be closely linked with the course of chronic illness (Hooley & Parker, 2006). Much of the current literature on EE measurement pays particular attention to the Five Minutes Speech Sample (FMSS), Standardized Clinical Family Interview (SCFI); Level of EE questionnaire (LEEQ); EE Family Questionnaire (EEFQ). The presented tools are appropriate, easy in use and have high predictive validity for EE overall level, criticism and emotional over-involvement both in mental and physical health conditions.

Existing researches recognise the critical role played by EE in the poor prognosis of mental illnesses and their early relapses (Brown et al., 1972). However, evidence consistently suggests that EE is a highly reliable and valid predictor of poor clinical outcome in individuals not only with mental, but also with physical conditions (Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough, Zastowny, & Rahill, 2000).

1.2. Expressed emotion and mental illnesses

Data from several sources has identified the high level of EE associated with poor outcomes and early relapses of mental illnesses, mainly schizophrenia, eating disorders, depression and anxiety, chronic pain, obsessive-compulsive disorders, autism spectrum disorder, Alzheimer's disease and dementia (Ayilara, Ogunwale, & Babalola, 2017; Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

EE in mental health conditions appears to be positively related to poor relationships of carers with the service users, mostly carers' high criticism as a result of the psychological distress and burden (Coomber & King, 2013).

As noted by Safari, Berry, and Wearden (2018) EE in mental health conditions is far more predictive depending on the type of illnesses and the status of the family member. The level of EE is higher in adult children or relatives rather than spouses towards the individuals with dementia (Safari et al., 2018; Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000). Data from several studies suggest that carers express more critical than emotionally over-involving attitudes towards the individuals with dementia and Alzheimer's disease; and the lower level of EE towards the population with autism spectrum disorder than in the samples with other

mental illnesses (Romero-Gonzalez, Chandler, & Simonoff, 2018; Safari et al., 2018; Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

1.3. Expressed emotion and physical health conditions

Notwithstanding the many pieces of evidence for the poor impact of EE on the prognosis of the mental illnesses, very little is currently known about EE in connection with physical health conditions. The recent systematic literature review shows that several attempts have been made to examine the impact of EE on the medical conditions of diabetes, asthma, rheumatoid arthritis, heart surgery and obesity (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

Several reports have shown that EE towards individuals with physical health conditions is not so widespread compared with individuals with mental illnesses (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000). Evidence suggests the rate of carers with a high level of EE in Type 1 diabetes population is 17%, compared with 41.4% of carers with a high level of EE towards the individuals with schizophrenia and 28% of carers towards the population with dementia is 28% (Safari et al., 2018; Wearden, Tarrrier, & Davies, 2000). There is no general agreement also about the association of EE and outcomes of the illnesses in the cases of rheumatoid arthritis, heart surgery and obesity. However, the presented data provides evidence for the association of the critical attitude of carers and the frequency of asthma and epileptic attacks in the service users (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

To date there has been little agreement on what can be taken as positive or negative clinical outcomes of the physical illness. The recent systematic literature review concludes that the self-management and health-related quality of life can be taken as positive outcomes of the physical conditions and EE could have a strong impact on it (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

1.4. Objective

This study therefore sets out to review articles containing data of the impact of EE on the course of chronic illnesses and to compare this impact on clinical outcomes in mental and physical health conditions.

2. Methods

2.1. Selection the corpus of literature

This study uses a descriptive approach to examine EE in both physical and mental health conditions. The structural literature review was based on the search of articles in peer-reviewed journals from 1991 to November, 2018. The databases Psyc-Info and PubMed were searched using inclusion criteria for the articles.

- Articles should represent bio-psycho-social methodology with the holistic and etiological principles for explaining the construct of EE under mental and physical health conditions and its impact on clinical outcomes.
- Articles should represent a classical view of EE or recent data (last three years) of EE in physical and mental health conditions.
- The assessment of EE presented in the articles was carried out either by CFI, FMSS, SCFI, LEEQ, EEFAQ.

- Articles should be published in peer-reviewed journals.

This review follows a literature search with in-depth analysis of the key words and phrases: EE, EE in medical / mental conditions', caregivers' /cares'/significant others' / family members' EE.

The initial corpus contained 33 articles, after the selection procedure based on the inclusion criteria 10 articles were chosen. Most articles excluded from the research did not have up to date information or had other than CFI; FMSS SCFI; LEEQ; EEQQ.methods for assessment.

2.2. Summarizing results

The results of the search based on inclusion criteria are summarized in Appendix.

3. Discussion of literature search

3.1. The convergences of EE in mental and physical health conditions

The results of the literature search show, on the one hand, the expansion of the EE content, referring not only to the psychiatric, but also physical conditions. The expansion of the content of EE is carried out, firstly, through its applications in various clinical settings: schizophrenia, eating disorders, depression and anxiety, Alzheimer's disease and dementia, diabetes, asthma, rheumatoid arthritis, heart surgery and obesity (Wearden, TARRIER, Barrowclough et al., 2000). Secondly, following the bio-psycho-social methodology, enriching of the EE content has been made through its association with important individual and social constructs: self-esteem, meaningful style of life, stigma, family EE profiles (Chan & Mak, 2017; Rienecke, Lebow, Lock, & Le Grange, 2015). Moreover, the positive correlation was found between EE and avoidance attachment and poor mentalisation in carers of the individuals with chronic illness (Cherry et al., 2018). Recent study also suggests that EE profiles exist in the families with individuals with mental and physical conditions; containing four various combinations of low / high level of EE in service users and their cares (Rienecke et al., 2015).

On the other hand, the narrowing of the EE content can be observed, mostly connected with reducing the number of EE types: from five types in CFI (critical remarks, hostility, dissatisfaction, warmth and emotional over-involvement) to three types in other EE assessment tools (criticism, emotional over-involvement, overall level of EE) (Wearden, TARRIER, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

Notwithstanding many advantages of CFI and considering it as a gold standard for EE assessment, FMSS is more often applied in recent researches of individuals with mental and physical conditions. FMSS takes only five minutes for administrating vs. 20 minutes in CFI, which is more appropriate and convenient both for experimenter and respondents. Moreover, FMSS has a strong validity and predictive value in the high level of EE, both in mental and physical health conditions (Wearden, TARRIER, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

There is a large body of literature that is concerned with the poor impact of a high level of EE for the course and outcomes of the chronic illness (Ayilara et al., 2017; Romero-Gonzalez et al., 2018; Safavi et al., 2018; Wearden, TARRIER,

Barrowclough et al., 2000). Particular attention is paid, both to the clinical recovery as reducing medical symptoms of the disease and preserving the good prognosis for its course; and personal recovery as having the meaningful style of life, self-efficiency and self-management by individuals with the chronic illness (Chan & Mak, 2017).

The role of EE in personal recovery under both mental and physical conditions shares the key features, since it refers mostly to the diseases of a chronic nature. In this case the individuals cannot expect full recovery; however, they can hope for stable health conditions, health related quality of life and efficient self-management (Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000). Therefore the family support and reducing the high level of EE is of primary importance for a positive prognosis and outcomes of both mental and physical illnesses.

The impact of the status of family member on EE towards the individuals is similar in physical and mental health conditions. Wearden, Tarrier, and Davies . (2000) found dramatic differences in the rate of carers with high levels of EE between partners and relatives of individuals with Type I diabetes, correspondently 10% and 37%. Similar results were found in the condition of dementia. The higher level of EE was revealed in adult children and relatives rather than spouses, correspondently 40% and 22% (Safavi et al., 2018). High level of EE is particularly frequently observed in mothers of individuals with schizophrenia (Bogojevic, Ziravac, & Zigmund, 2015).

3.2. The divergences of EE in mental and physical health conditions

In contrast to earlier findings of EE in mental conditions, however, no evidence of EE towards individuals with physical conditions was detected for several decades. The most obvious findings to emerge from the analysis is that EE towards individuals with physical conditions is different from EE in mental clinical settings. One unanticipated finding was that EE in physical conditions is less spread than EE in mental health conditions. Recent evidence suggests that 25 % of husbands have demonstrated a high level EE towards their women struggling with rheumatoid arthritis and heart surgery as compared with rates of husbands with a high level of EE towards schizophrenia and bipolar affective disorder, correspondently 41 % and 37 % (Ayilara et al., 2017; Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

The lower percentage of a high level of EE in physical health rather than in psychiatric health conditions may be explained by the fact that the critical remarks in the physical clinical settings mostly refer to the symptoms of disease while in mental clinical settings to the personal traits and behavioural patterns of the individuals with the condition. There is, however, another possible explanation connected with the stigma towards psychiatric disorders which can play the mediating role in the development of the high level of EE in the caregivers (Chan & Mak, 2017).

In contrast to the findings in the population with mental health conditions, there is evidence for the positive impact of the carers' EE on clinical outcomes in the case of Type I diabetes (Wearden, Tarrier, & Davies, 2000). Areas where significant differences have been found include emotional over-involvement in

mental and medical conditions. In contrast to earlier findings in the cases of schizophrenia, carers' emotional over-involvement towards individuals with Type I diabetes is associated with better glucose control. Notwithstanding the positive impact of emotional over-involvement of individuals with Type I diabetes on glucose control, the relation of emotional over-involvement with efficient self-management and psychological adaptation to the diabetes conditions is still unclear (Wearden, Tarrrier, & Davies, 2000). However to determine the effects of EE on health related quality of life of individuals with physical conditions, researches argue that service users with adherence to the diet are the most sensitive to EE (Flanagan & Wagner, 1991).

There are a number of important differences between EE in physical and mental conditions in terms of the EE impact on clinical outcomes. The high level of EE towards individuals with schizophrenia and dementia is associated with early relapses of the illnesses (Bogojevic et al., 2015). The poor impact of the high level of EE towards individuals with physical conditions is associated with poor self-management and poor adherence to the diet (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

The critical remarks towards EE in both physical and mental conditions share a number of key features. Much of the current literature on the high level of EE in mental conditions connect them with worsening the course of the illness in terms of reinforcing negative core beliefs, early relapses and poor prognosis of the outcomes. Whereas in the cases of some physical conditions, notably in asthma and epilepsy, the high level of EE is associated with more frequent attacks than low level of EE. The high criticism was observed in a larger population of mothers of children with frequent asthma attacks in comparison with the population of mothers with low frequency of the attacks, correspondently 6 /7 and 4/18. These results are similar to those reported in the population of mothers with frequent and infrequent epilepsy attacks, correspondently 12/14 and 20/18 (Wearden, Tarrrier, Barrowclough et al., 2000).

4. Limitations and Methodological Issues

First, the selection of the article on the topic of EE was based either on the classical bio-psycho-social methodology of EE study, or on the recent data during the last three years. Therefore many articles highlighted EE in psychiatric conditions were excluded from the analysis. Secondly, the increasing interests to EE towards individuals with physical health conditions determine the development of many new EE assessment tools. However, some of them require examining their reliability and predictive value. Therefore the articles with data obtained by other than CFI; FMSS SCFI; LEEQ; EEFQ were excluded from the research.

5. Conclusion

The aim of the present literature review was to examine the development of the construct of EE in recent studies and compare the carers' EE towards individuals with mental and physical conditions. This study has shown that the content of EE in

recent studies is applied to a broad context including mental and physical conditions. EE is closely connected not only with clinical symptoms of the illnesses but also with personal recovery.

This study has found that generally EE towards patients with both physical and mental conditions has a poor impact on clinical and personal recovery. The level of EE is associated with the status of the carers, both in physical and mental conditions. The partners demonstrate considerably lower levels of EE towards individuals with a condition than parents, adult children and relatives. However, the results have been obtained only from two populations with dementia and Type I diabetes. Therefore this is an important issue for future research.

Regarding the poor impact of EE on individuals with a physical condition, the service users with adherence to the diet are the most sensitive to EE. Firstly, a chronic course of dietary adherence is connected with the mental comorbidities of services users and the psychological burden of their carers. Secondly, individuals with these diseases must adhere to a life-long strict diet to control their symptoms and prevent short- and long-term problems. EE research has shown to have a predictive value not only for these service users' outcomes, but also for treatment compliance. However, little is known about the different impact of emotional over-involvement and criticism on health related quality of life and dietary adherence in individuals with physical diseases. A further study with more focus on the impact of EE on the quality of life and dietary adherence in individuals with physical health conditions is therefore suggested.

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Appendix

Table 1

Studies of EE towards Individuals with Mental and Physical Health Conditions

Authors	Measurement tool	Aim of study	Types of EE	Obtained results
Flanagan et al. (1991)	CFI	Assessment of EE impact on treatment compliance in the population with obesity	Criticism, hostility, emotional over-involvement	The high level of EE predicts the poor diet adherence
Wearden, Tarrier, Davies et al. (2000)	CFI	Assessment of EE impact on management of Type I diabetes	Criticism, hostility, emotional over-involvement, warmth, positive remarks towards individuals with Type I diabetes	Positive impact of emotional over-involvement on glucose control in individuals with Type I diabetes was revealed
Wearden, Tarrier, Barrowclough et al. (2000)	CFI, FMSS	Evaluation of EE towards individuals with mental / medical conditions: schizophrenia, eating disorders, depression and anxiety, Alzheimer's disease and dementia, diabetes, asthma, rheumatoid arthritis, heart surgery and obesity	Criticism, hostility, dissatisfaction, warmth and emotional over-involvement	EE has a great predicative value for poor clinical outcomes and early relapses in schizophrenia and depression. EE negative impact on frequency of epilepsy and asthma attacks was found
Bogojevic et al. (2015)	FMSS	Evaluation of EE towards individuals with	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, overall level of EE	High level of EE was revealed in carers of 71.4 % patients with worsening clinical

		schizophrenic disorder		outcomes. High level of EE is particularly frequently observed in mothers
Rienecke et al. (2015)	SCFI	Examining family EE profiles in the families with the adolescents with anorexia nervosa	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, positive remarks	High level of criticism in parent is associated with the high level of criticism of the adolescent with anorexia nervosa
Ayilara et al. (2017)	LEEQ	Assessment of EE towards individuals with schizophrenia and bipolar disorder	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, hostility	There are no significant differences in EE towards individuals with schizophrenia and bipolar disorder.
Chan & Mak. (2017)	LEEQ	Assessment of EE related to the content of self-stigma and clinical and personal recovery of the individuals with psychiatric disorders	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, hostility	The strong association of EE and self-stigma was defined. The high level of criticism has a poor impact on clinical and personal recovery (self-esteem, self-efficiency, self-management) of the individuals with psychotic and nonpsychotic disorders
Cherry et al. (2018)	EEFQ	Assessment of EE related to attachment and mentalisation of individuals with long-term mental illness	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, hostility	Association of high criticism and hostility with attachment avoidance and poor mentalisation in carers of the individuals with chronic mental disease was revealed
Romero-Gonzalez et al. (2018)	FMSS	Examining carers' EE towards children with autism spectrum disorder	Criticism, emotional over-involvement, overall level of EE	High level of criticism is associated with the growth of behavioural problems of adolescents with autism spectrum disorder. There is a higher rate of mothers with high EE level towards children with schizophrenia than towards children with autism spectrum disorder, 48.6 % and 15.5 %; higher percentage of mothers

Safavi et al. CFI (2018)	Examining relation EE high level to burden and distress in carers of individual with dementia	Criticism, hostility, dissatisfaction, warmth and emotional over-involvement	with high EE level towards children with intellectual disability than towards children with autism, 66.0 % and 9.6-28.7% High level of EE is associated with the burden and distress in the carers of individuals with dementia both in the beginning of the study and in the control stage in 6 months
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REVIEWS

Ukrainian Translation Workshop in Priashiv. **Ukrajinský jazyk a kultúra v umeleckom a odbornom preklade v stredoeurópskom priestore: Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodného vedeckého seminára, ktorý sa konal dňa 27.9.2017 na Katedre ukrajínistiky Inštitutu ukrajínistiky a stredoeurópskych štúdií Filozofickej fakulty Prešovskej univerzity. Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove**, Jarmila Kredátusová, Ed. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, 2018. 216 s. (Opera Translatologica; 6/2018).

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Ukrainian modern academic traditions in the Western Transcarpathian area of Priashiv (Presov in Slovak) go back to the 19-century intellectual institutions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite. After WW2, the main centre of Ukrainian education was the Pegagogical College which was later transformed into a separate university. This university helps the local Ukrainians maintain and develop their rich traditions of learning and research. It is no surprise that the very university hosted the International academic workshop “The Ukrainian Language and Culture in the Literary and Sci-Tech Translation of Middle European Space” (27 September 2017). The workshop brought together specialists in Ukrainian Studies from Ukraine, Slovakia, Czechia and Poland. One year later the conference volume was finalized and published.

The first part of the book contains the historical and bibliographical essays which record the history of Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Czech literary translation. Jarmila Kredátusová’s task was to present the outline of Slovak-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Slovak translation which started progressing rather dynamically only after WW2. She presents its history divided into decades and discusses specific features and some statistical data from each period. In the end, she also describes today’s hardships of this translation in Slovakia (relations with readership, translation criticism, professional qualification) which are similar to ones in Ukraine. The history of Ukrainian-Czech translation is longer and richer. The existing extended papers cover the pre-1989 time rather well, that is why Rita Lyons Kindlerová and Iryna Zabiyaka dedicated their articles to the editions and tendencies of the recent decades. Rita Lyons Kindlerová offers the analysis of translated literature from Ukrainian into Czech and pinpoints the turning moment of the year 2001 when Ukrainian literature started reentering Czech society and have

promising prospects among readers. Conversely, Iryna Zabiya studies the literary presentation of Czechia in Ukraine and considers the most important translations worth translating into Ukrainian. At the same time, she characterizes the pitfalls of and main tendencies. She also designs a list of Czech authors whose writings are Ukraine's translation market from the viewpoint of these translations. Since we lack translation bibliographies and insightful translation monographs, the above articles contribute to a larger possible publication in future which will reveal more sociological dimensions of Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Czech translation.

Papers in the second part focus on literary translation. Liudmyla Siryk outlined similarities in the translation theories of Mykola Zerov and Maksym Rylskyi. Thus, she has proven that Rylskyi's views were the further progress of Zerov's ones, and we have to remember it may be a gesture of respect or substitution: Zerov was murdered in 1937, and Rylskyi fulfilled his duty to preserve and develop the fundamental ideas of his friend and colleague. Anna Choma-Suwała explored the facets of literary interpretations and connections between Oleh Olzhych (Kandyba) and Józef Łobodowski. Łobodowski's translations did not only discover the intellectual poetry by Oleh Olzhych, but they are also a contribution to the Polish-Ukrainian cultural contacts and cooperation. Yuliya Yusyp-Yakymovych addresses to verse translation by investigating the specific features of rendering intonation, rhythm, meter, repetitions, onomatopoeia and aesthetic norms in translation. Adriana Amir's contribution deals with the Slovak-language translation of Vasyl Shkliar's historical novel 'The Black Raven' (done by Vladimír Čerevka) and tackles the issues of reflecting lexical means for showing the real historical context which border on the shaky axiological limits of political correctness. The main aesthetic form of contemporary writing is the usage of non-standard language which is abundant in modern Ukrainian literature. That is why Veronika Dadajová regarded incorrect figures of the literary sociolect as a topical point of literary translation nowadays. Meanwhile, Viera Žemberová interprets Yuriy Andrukhovych's literary and aesthetic experience for Slovak readers by analyzing his novel 'Recreations' whose Slovak translation was published in Priashiv in 2003.

Sci-tech translation is focused on in the third part containing articles on rendering terms and grammatical problems of interlingual translation. The paper by Mária Čižmárová will serve as a practical tool for Ukrainian-Slovak translators and interpreters who will have to render idioms with the floristic component. Similarly practical are the contributions covering two branches of Ukrainian-Slovak specialized translation: commercial translation (by Lesia Budnikova and Valeriya Chernak) and legal translation (by Jarmila Kredátusová and Valeriya Chernak). The study of loan words is the topic of the paper by Jana Kesselová which offers the complex view of loan processes in today's Slovak. However, it would be desirable to discuss Ukrainian sources as well. It is rather a rare case when one volume consists of papers discussing both literary translation and sci-tech translation, but in the presented book, this amalgamation is quite natural and shows the multifacetedness of Ukrainian translation in Slovakia.

The informational contents of all the papers are rather high, and they will be useful for practical research by scholars, translators and critics. The good balance of early ‘classical’ and recent publications creates a complete picture both of the coverage of the topic in the chronological dynamics and the presentation of the academic traditions of institutions where the papers were produced.

This conference volume is an important contribution to Ukrainian Translation Studies in the area of Priashiv which has been shaped and developed by the publications in the literary magazine ‘Dukla’ (published since 1953), the proceedings of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (‘Naukovi zapysky KSUT’ in the 1980s to the early 1990s) and other editions of the Ukrainian Division of the Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House. The book will be useful for really wide readership in academic, literary and professional communities.

Шмігер Т. (2018). Перекладознавчий аналіз – теоретичні та прикладні аспекти: давня українська література сучасними українською та англійською мовами. Монографія. Київ: Львів: ЛНУ ім. Івана Франка. 510 с. ISBN 978-617-10-0245-6

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Рецензована монографія увібрала в себе багаторічну й копітку працю Тараса Шмігера – непересічної особистості, глибокого аналітика, талановитого учня відомого українського перекладознавця Роксоляни Петрівни Зорівчак. Актуальність запропонованого дослідження зумовлює нагальна потреба впорядкування в перекладознавстві моделей аналітичного опрацювання міжмовного та міжкультурного зіставлення текстів, що дасть змогу з'ясувати можливості й обмеження застосування цих моделей. Провідним підходом автор обрав лексикоцентричний, адже «через Слово людина спілкується з Богом, зберігає національну пам'ять, творить багатозначну художню форму, яка живе поза писаним текстом і взаємодіє з музичною культурою, риторичним мистецтвом та історичною наукою» (с. 19).

За мету книга має визначити внутрішні та зовнішні чинники еволюції розгляду перекладеного тексту, схарактеризувати перекладознавчий аналіз із перспективи сьогоденних можливостей і потреб критиків перекладу, випрацювати й уточнити способи зіставлення давньоукраїнських оригіналів і їхніх перекладів сучасними українською та англійською мовами. Це й загалом визначає й аспекти новизни дослідження, позаяк здійснено спробу розширення розуміння перекладознавчого аналізу від одиночного методу до системи аналітичних засобів для вивчення розмаїття текстових компонентів, властивостей і функцій.

Розділ 1 відкриває чітка дефініція терміна «перекладознавчий аналіз», що позначає сукупність критеріїв, які застосовують для визначення відповідності між зіставляваними текстами. Перекладознавчий аналіз автор потрактує як систему мово і літературознавчих методів, які розкривають репрезентацію культурного буття нації у лексиконі її мови, смислової функційності комунікативних структур художнього тексту та інтерпретаційного потенціалу оригіналу з погляду їхнього відтворення засобами цільової мовокультури (с. 165). Вважаючи І. Я. Франка не лише основоположником українського перекладознавства, а й провідником перекладознавчого аналізу, автор фокусує далі увагу на постатях М. Зерова, О. Фінкеля, В. Державина, Г. Майфета, Є. Маланюка, завдяки яким метод розширив свої інструментальні рамки, досягши найбільшої популярності в Україні у другій половині ХХ ст. Сприяли цьому перекладачі, критики й теоретики перекладу – М. Рильський, Г. Кочур, В. Коптілов, Ю. Жлуктенко.

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Цікавим видається визначення й операціоналізація актуальних для перекладу термінів «точності» й «вірності», увагу яким приділяли багато вчених, серед яких були й Г. Кочур і В. Коптілов. Науковці виходили з того, що в центрі розгляду – «якість перекладів» (Кочур 2008:159), що дає підстави доречності послуговування терміном «вірності» перекладу.

Потому Тарас Шмігер ставить слушне запитання: Чи може існувати «теорія критики» перекладу? Замість розлогих і складних теоретичних рефлексій автор уводить для розгляду опубліковані на стикові століть 12 монографічних досліджень із критики перекладу та дотичних до неї праць. Наслідком їхнього опрацювання є накреслення основоположних принципів критики перекладу, зокрема: робота з текстами, а не поняттями й явищами; метою є аналіз; периферійність теоретичних висновків; критика перекладу – не дидактика, тому не займається сертифікацією кваліфікації перекладача. Далі висновує, що в контексті прикладного застосування, найважливіші аспекти критичних студій спрямовуватимуться на стандартизацію перекладного процесу та оцінювання серйозності й складності помилок. Звідси впливає те, що серед головних завдань для розвитку критики перекладу постає вироблення семантично-текстових моделей аналізу.

Також у цьому розділі згадано внутрішньомовний переклад – геть мало досліджену галузь теорії перекладу. Потреба в ньому зумовлює подальший аналіз релігійних текстів перекладу, ожилых для носіїв мови й культури сьогодення. Чи не вперше згадано в контексті внутрішньомовного перекладу властиве й для міжмовного перекладу явище множинності перекладів, що готує читача до появи в подальшому авторових семіотичних інсайтів.

Розділ 2 скеровує читача до нових тенденцій, до яких має «дослухатися» сучасне перекладознавство. Когнітивне осмислення перекладу неможливе без учасника й посередника міжмовної комунікації – перекладача, його когнітивних і емоційних структур. Мета введення когнітивних методів аналізу показує, що в акті перекладу все-таки твориться нова дійсність, породжується «нова інформація» (Лотман, 2004:159), бо неперекладність існує, адже неможливо одну дійсність відобразити засобами іншої дійсності і вважати продукт автентичним. Однак неперекладність існує доти, доки дійсність вихідної мови не стає частиною власного досвіду цільової мови.

Природно очікувати від сучасного автора, який має інтенцію достеменно збагнути сутність нового перекладознавчого аналізу, введення когнітивного аспекту в парі з комунікативним. Отож не менш інформаційно насиченим є Розділ 3, що встановлює комунікативні засади аналізу перекладу, докладно з'ясовуючи звучання усталених (із погляду лінгвістики тексту) категорій тексту, а саме інформативності, когерентності, з перспективи перекладознавства сьогодення. Це – функційність тексту, комунікативна ефективність, естетичність, інформативність, етнічність. Ними окреслено континуум сприйняття й інтерпретації давніх текстів, замість обмеження просторово-часовими межами їхнього виникнення. Простежено перехрещення когніції й комунікації, що засвідчує «бажання усвідомити авторові комунікативні цілі й інтенції».

Сучасним дослідникам, на мій погляд, імпонуватиме зацентрована Тарасом Шмігером головна ідея когнітивного підходу – подібності: ми так часто намагаємося розмежувати, відконтрастувати цільовий і вихідний тексти, що надто захоплюємося пошуком розбіжностей. Натомість, у першому розумінні, перекладознавчий аналіз, пропри його первинне призначення спиратися на відмінності, тяжіє до встановлення подібності функцій мовних знаків у зіставлюваних культурах, даючи простір для вибору перекладацьких рішень. Відтак, як пише автор, «еквівалентність на рівні текстових ознак можна розрахувати на основі культурної подібності, а не тотожності» (с. 304).

Нарешті, останній розділ 4 присвячено перекладознавчому аналізу здебільшого релігійного дискурсу в розрізі культури й аксіології. Культурний підхід до перекладу ставить за завдання поєднати культуру, яка є абстракцією над часом і простором, та читача, який є конкретним реципієнтом у своїй системі координат. В оцінці якості перекладу автор апелює до його цінності у вимірі цільової культури, спрямовуючи таким чином розум читача до ідеї семіотичної інтеракції текстів джерела й перекладу. Приділивши питанню цінності й інтертекстуальності вагому частину аналізу релігійної комунікації, читач наприкінці розділу дає собі звіт, що несвідомо став частиною інтеракції Бога й людини, що має за мету їхнє примирення через текст. Відтак і цінність різнокодових текстів, за термінами Ю. Лотмана, можливо, й зумовлює смислопороджувальна структура у творчому акті інтерпретації: перекладач (читач) повторює, або реконструює процес авторового створення тексту у зворотному напрямі – від тексту – до задуму (Лотман, 2004:217). Усередині «думних світів» (Ibid) автора й читача культурна матриця володіє потенціалом визначення вартості чужоземного слова. І, як не парадоксально це звучить, ступінь його цінності зростає зі ступенем неперекладності тексту, що його включає.

Ці ціннісні риси вдало втілив автор у монографії, яка, переконаний, стане в пригоді дослідникам у галузі перекладознавства, літературознавства, лінгвістики й поезики дискурсу, релігієзнавства. Висновки засвідчують реальність доволі складного завдання інтегрування трьох груп моделей семантичного аналізу у площині перекладу – когнітивної, комунікативної й культурної.

Любов до рідного й чужоземного Слова, близькість до українського культурного контексту – семіотична риса Тараса Шмігера, яка приваблює й налаштовує читача на вкрай позитивне, хоча й подекуди критичне осмислення буденних перекладознавчих феноменів сьогодення.

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RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

ПСИХОЛІНГВІСТИЧНІ ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПЕДАГОГІЧНОГО СПІЛКУВАННЯ В СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ШКОЛІ

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Анотація. Педагогічне спілкування визначається як обмін доцільною інформацією, необхідне взаємопізнання і взаємоузгодження дій педагога та його учнів, що опосередковує засвоєння знань, навичок, умінь, становлення особистості й формування її компетентностей. У межах комунікативного аспекту педагогічного спілкування та з позицій психолінгвістичного аналізу характеризуються основні психолінгвальні бар'єри педагогічного спілкування, а саме: семантичні, фонетичні, стилістичні та логічні. У межах перцептивного аспекту розглядаються основні ефекти й типи стереотипізації в освітньому процесі, а в межах інтерактивного – типи та прояви педагогічних конфліктів. Також авторка описує основні стилі педагогічного спілкування – демократичний, авторитарний, ліберальний та їхні конкретні варіації. Серед результатів дослідження встановлено адекватні стратегії комунікації, зокрема уникнення вербальних конструкцій, які створюють і підтримують комунікативні бар'єри, формують неконструктивні ефекти стереотипізації чи провокують хронічні конфлікти, а також сприяють надмірному поширенню авторитарно орієнтованих стилів педагогічного спілкування.

Ключові слова: психолінгвістичні особливості, педагогічне спілкування, перцепція, конфлікт, стилі педагогічного спілкування.

Zelinska, Oleksandra. Psycholinguistic Features of Pedagogical Communication in the Modern Ukrainian School.

Abstract. Pedagogical communication is commonly defined as sharing relevant information, necessary knowledge, and mutual coordination of teacher's actions with their students. This interaction mediates the assimilation of knowledge, skills, abilities, the formation of personality and their competencies. It is argued that among the main psycholinguistic barriers of pedagogical communication are semantic, phonetic, rhetorical, and logical. Psycholinguistic features of the pedagogical communication encompass communicative, perceptive, and interactive components along with the main styles of this kind of communication: authoritarian, democratic, and liberal. Among the main findings of the study is the definition of the set of strategies such as avoiding verbal constructions that trigger and maintain communicative barriers, non-constructive effects of stereotypization, chronic conflicts, and other means aimed at strengthening authoritarian-oriented styles of communication.

Keywords: psycholinguistic features, pedagogical communication, perception, conflict, pedagogical communication styles.

1. Вступ

В умовах численних, складних, часто болісних змін у нашому соціумі особливої значущості набуває така шкільна освіта, що дійсно дає змогу дитині зростати фізично та психологічно здоровою, особистісно автономною та соціально відповідальною, самореалізованою у різних сферах і духовно збагаченою. У свою чергу, необхідною й навіть ключовою умовою цього є належно організоване й особистісно вмотивоване педагогічне спілкування, поза яким будь-яке навчання й виховання навіть теоретично уявити неможливо.

Педагогічне спілкування (професійно-педагогічне) можна визначити як систему прийомів і методів, які забезпечують реалізацію цілей та завдань педагогічної діяльності, а також організують і спрямовують взаємодію педагога з його учнями й вихованцями. Проблеми педагогічного спілкування присвячені публікації таких психологів, як О. О. Бодальов, Г. В. Дьяконов, В. А. Кан-Калік, Я. Л. Коломинський, О. М. Леонт'єв, А. К. Маркова, А. О. Реан та ін.

Науковці зазначають, що відповідне спілкування охоплює увесь цілісний процес педагогічної діяльності, створює передумови розвитку особистості дитини, постає вагомим тлом її навчання й виховання, формує психологічне самопочуття, здійснює управління соціально-психологічними процесами в колективі. Водночас один з основних засобів такого спілкування – це мова. Отже, вивчення психолінгвістичних особливостей педагогічного спілкування – одне з актуальних завдань науки.

Спілкування – доволі об'ємне за змістом поняття, яке охоплює такі провідні аспекти розгляду, як комунікативний, перцептивний та інтерактивний. У такому контексті педагогічне спілкування – це обмін доцільною інформацією, необхідне взаємопізнання і взаємоузгодження дій педагога та його учня (учнів), що опосередковує засвоєння знань, навичок, умінь, становлення особистості й формування її компетентностей в освітньому процесі (Дьяконов, 1992).

Комунікація у вужчому розумінні – це обмін інформацією між людьми чи спільнотами (Бодалев, 2002). Специфікою комунікативного аспекту власне педагогічного спілкування є той факт, що педагог зазвичай володіє значно більшим обсягом інформації, порівняно з учнями. Водночас, а особливо з огляду на потужний розвиток сучасних інформаційних технологій, окремі учні з певних питань можуть оперувати вагомим масивом знань. Отож, сучасний педагог аж ніяк не повинен авторитарно демонструвати свою соціально-рольову домінантність, а має залучати усіх дітей до активного процесу спільного пошуку нових знань на правах рівноправного діалогу.

2. Методи дослідження

Теоретичний аналіз і синтез, систематизація та узагальнення основних концептуальних ідей та положень сучасної психології щодо педагогічного

спілкування та його психолінгвістичних особливостей в контексті міждисциплінарного підходу; аналіз та узагальнення педагогічного досвіду.

Мета статті – теоретичний аналіз і систематизація психолінгвістичних особливостей педагогічного спілкування та його специфіки в умовах сучасної школи.

Завдання статті: 1) теоретичний аналіз поняття педагогічного спілкування та його основних аспектів (комунікативного, перцептивного, інтерактивного); 2) виокремлення й опис ключових психолінгвістичних особливостей у контексті різних аспектів спілкування; 3) стислий психолінгвістичний аналіз стилів педагогічного спілкування.

3. Обговорення результатів

У зв'язку із причинами різного характеру – чималим віковим інтервалом, соціально-демографічними, статусно-рольовими відмінностями між учителем та його учнями, все ж досить великою залишається ймовірність появи комунікативних бар'єрів – перешкод на шляху адекватного сприймання, осмислення, ретранслявання інформації, що послаблюють педагогічний взаємовплив і погіршують самопочуття всіх учасників комунікації (Семиченко, 2004). Комунікативні бар'єри в умовах педагогічного спілкування дуже часто мають психолінгвістичний зміст. Це такі бар'єри, як:

1) семантичні (термінологічні) – по-перше, навіть у загальноживані поняття («родина», «країна», «добро» й ін.) дорослий та певна конкретна дитина нерідко вкладають доволі різні значення (наприклад, якщо для вчителя «добро» – більш абстрактна категорія, то для учня молодшого віку воно наповнене більш конкретними конотаціями); по-друге, свідомо чи несвідомо педагог може вживати у своєму мовленні складні терміни, малозрозумілі дітям певного віку чи рівня інтелектуального розвитку (наприклад, терміни «толерантність» або «IQ» та ін.); по-третє, варто пам'ятати про відмінності домінуючих видів мислення людини на різних стадіях її онтогенезу (наочно-образного, практичного чи словесно-логічного, теоретичного);

2) фонетичні – нерідко окремі діти мають певні дефекти мовлення, що може значно ускладнювати розуміння такої дитини педагогом; крім того, інколи як учитель, так і окремі учні можуть використовувати маловживані діалекти рідної мови, володіти різною швидкістю висловлювання, «ковтати» окремі слова, вимовляти їх з акцентом, тощо; тому в таких випадках педагог повинен свідомо контролювати й коригувати не тільки учнівське, а і власне мовлення;

3) стилістичні – в умовах специфіки педагогічного спілкування вони виникають, насамперед, тоді, коли учитель користується надто довгими та складними для розуміння учнями реченнями; тут також варто пам'ятати про те, що діти не завжди адекватно розуміють переносне значення деяких відомих приказок і прислів'їв, що здатне спотворювати бажаний сенс і результат комунікації (у спеціальній літературі відомий приклад, як діти

згодом переказували почуту від педагога приказку «Терпи, козак – отаманом будеш», переформатувавши на «Терпи, коза, а то мамою будеш»);

4) логічні – зазвичай дорослий та дитина перебувають на різних стадіях розвитку інтелекту, що пов'язане з віковою специфікою логічних форм осмислення світу; наприклад, у науковій літературі широко описані «феномени Піаже»; відповідно, висловлювання педагога можуть сприйматися й розумітися учнями «по-дитячому», зокрема, неадекватно можуть виконуватися його вербальні інструкції; тому дорослий повинен у своїх вказівках вміти «спускатися» на логічний рівень дитини згідно її конкретного віку, пам'ятаючи при цьому і про «зону найближчого розвитку» учня.

Наступний важливий аспект педагогічного спілкування – перцептивний. Зауважимо, насамперед, що поняття соціальної перцепції було введене Дж. Брунером, котрий наголошував на соціальній зумовленості процесів сприймання людини. У наш час відповідним терміном позначають сприймання поведінки іншої людини, інтерпретацію причин цієї поведінки, її емоційну оцінку, як і побудову особистісних стратегій власної соціальної поведінки (Бодалев, 2002).

В освітньому процесі феномени соціальної перцепції відіграють дуже важливу роль, тому їх усвідомлення сприяє, відповідно, й більш усвідомленому та контрольованому педагогічному спілкуванню. Своєю чергою, вагомою складовою і водночас чинником соціальної перцепції є стереотипізація. Стереотипізація – формування спочатку першого враження, а згодом уже відносно стабільної думки про певну людину на основі попередньо сформованих оцінкових еталонів (Гурковська, 2012). Педагогічні стереотипи – це стійкі, спрощені, схематизовані та емоційно забарвлені уявлення про педагогічну діяльність, особистість дитини, її батьків, а також педагога про самого себе. На нашу думку, у формуванні вагової частки, якщо навіть і не більшості таких стереотипів суттєву роль відіграє мовлення педагога, як і інших залучених у педагогічний процес осіб (дітей, їх батьків, персоналу школи, тощо).

А. О. Реан (2002) виокремлює 6 основних груп соціальних стереотипів, окремим випадком яких є педагогічні стереотипи:

1) антропологічні – проявляються тоді, коли оцінка психічних якостей людини залежить від її зовнішніх, фізичних характеристик; наприклад, дитину з великим чолом педагог чи її однолітки можуть сприймати як більш розумну, а однолітка з надлишковою вагою – як добрішого й веселішого; в мовленні це зазвичай виявляється у наданні учням із певними зовнішніми рисами відповідних прізвиськ із певними конотаціями – «товстун», «довгий», «рудий» та ін.;

2) етнонаціональні – проявляються тоді, коли певні психічні якості приписуються дитині на основі її етнічної, національної, расової належності; наприклад, досі побудують однозначно не підтвержені уявлення про надто «гарячий темперамент» народів Сходу чи, навпаки, емоційну холодність «прибалтів» і т. ін.; в мовленні це теж нерідко проявляється в існуванні певних

прізвиськ чи навішуванні ярликів – «нігер», «чукча» або вже наболіле в Україні «москаль» й ін.;

3) соціально-статусні – пов'язані із залежністю сприймання дитини від соціального статусу її та її батьків, інших родичів; наприклад, учня з багатой родини педагог може оцінювати як більш розбещеного або, навпаки, як більш здібного, а дитину з неповної сім'ї – як начебто «важковиховувану»; в мовленні подібні стереотипи виявляються, наприклад, через словосполучення типу «улюбленець долі», «кумир сім'ї» або «жертва обставин», «знехтувана дитина» та ін.;

4) соціально-рольові – на відміну від попереднього типу стереотипів, у даному випадку на сприймання впливають професія та інші суспільні ролі батьків, інших родичів учня; наприклад, дитина вчителів автоматично може оцінюватися як «дуже розвинена й допитлива», тоді як дитина різноробочого – як «уроджений тугодум», «надто неохайна» й т. ін.; на нашу думку, соціально-рольові та статусно-рольові стереотипи тісно взаємозв'язані та насправді досить складно піддаються диференціації;

5) експресивно-естетичні – пов'язані із залежністю оцінки особистісних якостей дитини від її зовнішності, оскільки зазвичай чим красивішою, привабливішою є певна особа, тим більш позитивно вона сприймається оточенням; тут, з одного боку, варто враховувати той факт, що під зовнішньою привабливістю мається на увазі не тільки фізична врода, а і стиль одягу, манера рухатися, говорити, тощо, з іншого боку, в різних педагогів естетичні еталони можуть суттєво відрізнятися – наприклад, старші за віком прихильніше ставитимуться до більш класичних форм одягу; в мовленні це, відповідно, виявляється у висловлюваннях типу «яка красива й мила дівчинка (красивий та мужній хлопчик)» і т. ін.;

6) вербально-поведінкові – проявляються у залежності сприймання дитини від манери її вербальної та невербальної поведінки (специфіки мовлення, його інтонацій та тембру, міміки, пантоміміки); це – найтипівіший прояв психолінгвістичних чинників у педагогічному спілкуванні; наприклад, учень із тихішим, лагіднішим мовленням часто може сприйматися як добріший та неагресивний; тут варто зауважити, що якщо враховувати взаємозв'язок темпераменту з особливостями мовлення людини, то в окремих випадках такі стереотипи можуть мати реальні підстави, а проте в багатьох випадках вони все-таки є помилковими (як у нашому прикладі зі стереотипізованим визначенням міри «доброты» учня за особливостями його мовлення).

А. О. Реан зазначає, що власне в педагогічній діяльності можуть виявлятися ще два специфічні стереотипи: перший – пов'язаний зі сприйняттям інтелектуально активної дитини як обов'язково ще і старанної, працюючої, чесної («комплекс відмінника») і, навпаки, інтелектуально пасивної – як одночасно ще й хитрої, лінивої і навіть недостатньо охайної; другий – передбачає схильність до приписування «важковиховуваності» чи не усім жвавим, рухливим, непосидючим дітям (Реан, 2002).

На нашу думку, не можна стверджувати про однозначну шкідливість або корисність феноменів стереотипізації у спілкуванні. Адже стереотипи виникають в умовах недостатності інформації про інших осіб – тоді, коли когось відносно мало знаєш або за родом професійної діяльності спілкуєшся одночасно з багатьма людьми. І саме в таких ситуаціях часто опиняється педагог – особливо в умовах сучасної кількісної перенаповненості класів. Отже, він не може цілком уникнути впливу механізмів соціальної перцепції на свою взаємодію з учнями, а проте повинен навчитися критично ставитися до традиційних еталонів соціального оцінювання і до власних педагогічних оцінок. Переконані, що перший крок на цьому шляху – це самоаналіз власного педагогічного мовлення з подальшим його самоконтролем.

І останній – інтерактивний аспект спілкування є характеристикою організації реальної взаємодії між людьми, їх спільної діяльності та її результативності. Така взаємодія найбільш глобально може бути поділена на два основні типи: кооперацію та конкуренцію. Перший із них у рамках педагогічної системи виступає педагогічним співробітництвом між учителем й учнем (учнями) та є оптимальним типом інтеракції, тоді як загостреним варіантом другого типу є педагогічний конфлікт. Останній, як і педагогічну стереотипізацію, не варто однозначно розглядати як позитивне або негативне явище, оскільки тут усе залежить від його учасників, типу, стадії, стилів розв'язання, тощо. Важливим чинником міри конструктивності педагогічного конфлікту, зокрема, є формат і зміст висловлювань, які використовуються в його процесі та на завершенні.

Конфлікт назагал – це зіткнення протилежно спрямованих цілей, інтересів, мотивів, цінностей суб'єктів взаємодії (Ложкін & Пов'якель, 2006). В умовах педагогічного спілкування такими основними суб'єктами є педагог, діти та їх батьки, в окремих випадках – інші члени педагогічного колективу. Педагогічний конфлікт – це прояв загострення суб'єкт-суб'єктних суперечностей, які виникають при взаємодії учасників освітнього процесу та характеризуються переважно негативним емоційним тлом (Рыбакова, 1991).

С. В. Баникіна (2001) розглядає такі основні чинники виникнення педагогічних конфліктів:

I. Загальні – несприятлива економічна і соціально-політична ситуація у країні, регіоні (наприклад, помітне незадоволення сучасних педагогів викликає їх реальна заробітна плата, а також рівень матеріального забезпечення освітніх закладів); непослідовність дотримання принципів державної політики в освіті; змістова та методична недосконалість освітнього процесу; невідредагованість формальних і неформальних відносин в освітньому середовищі.

II. Специфічні – це конфлікти, пов'язані з організацією праці педагогів; такі, що виникають у зв'язку з неконструктивним стилем керівництва, і такі, що зумовлені необ'єктивністю оцінювання дитини, її інтелектуальних й особистісних якостей. Чимало саме специфічних педагогічних конфліктів мають у своїй основі або як одну зі складових психолінгвістичні за змістом

чинники. Наприклад, це – досі поширене в нашій школі висловлювання педагогів про те, що в деяких дітей, начебто, «все завжди так виходить...», що формує психологічну ситуацію пелагічної безвиході й екзистенціальну ситуацію безнадії.

Конкретніше проаналізувати причини та психолінгвістичні особливості відповідних ситуацій можна, скориставшись запропонованою теж С. В. Баникіною (2001) схемою основних типів педагогічних конфліктів у наступних системах взаємодії:

1) «Педагог – дитина» – цей тип конфліктів буває спровокованим як самим педагогом, якщо він неконструктивно організовує педагогічне спілкування, не вміє належно організувати весь клас на занятті, чимсь ображає честь і гідність певної конкретної дитини, «навішує ярлики» на неї (наприклад, від доволі банального «ти – невдаха» до більш радикального «який ідіот»), так і дитиною, котра регулярно порушує дисципліну, не встигає на занятті за однокласниками, тощо.

2) «Педагог – батьки» – конфлікти в цій системі нерідко зумовлюються різним рівнем загальної та педагогічної культури учителя й батьків учнів; також інколи спрацьовує неузгодженість стратегій та тактик шкільного і сімейного виховання, негативне ставлення окремих батьків до педагогів та освітніх закладів у цілому, коли батьки, наприклад, кажуть учителеві: «Ви зобов'язані робити те й те...», або, навпаки, учитель висловлюється до батьків: «Та що ж Ви за батьки...?» й т. ін.

3) «Педагог – адміністратор» – у даному випадку конфлікти може провокувати психологічна несумісність певного вчителя з керівником, керівництвом відповідної освітньої установи, несправедливий, на думку окремого педагога, розподіл матеріальних заохочень між ним та його колегами, авторитарний тиск і жорстка регламентація його професійної діяльності, перекладання «чужих» обов'язків, надмірна завантаженість різноманітними громадськими дорученнями, позаплановий контроль та ін.; у подібних випадках учитель часто скаржиться, порівнюючи себе з іншими: «От він/вона завжди мають більшу премію, більшу свободу дій..., а я мушу за всіх працювати...».

4) «Педагог – педагог» – чинниками цього типу конфліктів зазвичай стають ті ж самі, що і при взаємодії у системі «Педагог – адміністратор»; крім того, нерідко виникають конфлікти між фахівцями-початківцями та їхніми колегами з більшим стажем роботи, між тими, хто має більше й менше різноманітних звань, відзнак, нагород, між працівниками колективу, діти яких спільно навчаються в одному закладі; тобто, даний тип педагогічного конфлікту може розглядатися як варіант типової проблеми «батьки – діти» з усіма відповідними гіперболізованими висловлюваннями.

У найбільш загальному вигляді серед потенційно конфліктних й актуально конфліктних педагогічних ситуацій науковцями найчастіше виокремлюються наступні: конфлікти діяльності, які виникають із приводу невиконання або неповного виконання дитиною завдань учителя; конфлікти

поведінки (вчинків), що виникають із приводу порушення правил поведінки в загальноосвітньому закладі; конфлікти відносин, що виникають у сфері емоційно-особистісних взаємин дітей та дорослих у процесі педагогічної взаємодії між ними. Отже, наявність об'єктивних суперечностей у реальному педагогічному процесі робить конфлікти між його суб'єктами практично неминучими, а розв'язання цих конфліктів – необхідною складовою ефективного управління освітнім процесом. При цьому важливо не забувати про зазвичай доволі вагомі саме психолінгвістичні чинники як у виникненні, так і у розв'язанні різних типів педагогічних конфліктів.

Характеризуючи психолінгвістичні особливості педагогічного спілкування, доцільно згадати і про поняття індивідуального стилю будь-якої діяльності людини. Індивідуальний стиль професійної діяльності, згідно з Є. О. Клімовим, є сукупністю загальних та особливих способів роботи, які дають змогу максимально використовувати цінні якості людини й компенсувати окремі можливі її недоліки (Маркова & Никонова, 1987). Стиль педагогічного спілкування – це індивідуально-типологічні особливості психологічної взаємодії учителя та його учнів. У такому стилі знаходять своє відображення специфіка комунікативних здібностей, навичок, умінь фахівця, його творчі можливості, система взаємин із дітьми, а також особливості взаємин у дитячому колективі. У стилі педагогічного спілкування, якщо дещо перефразувати відомий психологічний вислів, особливості мовлення педагога як виявляються, так і формуються, тому розглянемо основні такі стилі детальніше.

Насамперед зауважимо, що в контексті класичних досліджень К. З. Левіна, склався уже традиційний поділ будь-якої комунікативної взаємодії, у тому числі педагогічної, на три базові стилі:

1. Авторитарний – основними формами передавання інформації виступають інструктаж, команди, вказівки, а формами впливу – вимоги, зауваження, спонукання чи несхвалення, зазвичай у категоричних і навіть різких тонах; типові висловлювання в такому стилі – «Я знаю, що робити, а ти мовчки слухай та виконуй», «Не заперечуй старшому» і т. ін.; авторитарні педагоги використовують в основному монологічне й особистісно-групове мовлення, уникаючи індивідуальних його варіацій.

2. Демократичний – формами передавання інформації зазвичай виступають пропозиції, поради, обговорення, а формами впливу – переконування, підтримка, підбадьорювання; типові висловлювання – «А поміркуймо над цим разом», «Як, на твою думку, краще виконати це завдання?» і т. ін.; тут частіше використовуються діалогічне та індивідуальне спілкування з дітьми, й таким чином створюється позитивне емоційне тло освітнього процесу.

3. Ліберальний – проявляється в повному або частковому самоусуванні педагога від реалізації завдань та досягнення цілей освітнього процесу, відпускання даного процесу в цілому або окремих його складових «на

самоплин»; типові висловлювання – «Робіть, як самі знаєте», «А чому це я повинен усе Вам пояснювати?» і т. ін.

Водночас, у реальній практиці освітньої діяльності стиль спілкування кожного конкретного педагога складно «втиснути» в рамки одного з описаних стилів. По-перше, залежно від ситуації один і той само вчитель може використовувати та поєднувати в різних пропорціях різні стилі; по-друге, за основу виокремлення стильових особливостей педагогічної діяльності загалом та спілкування зокрема можуть братися й інші критерії, у зв'язку з чим виокремлюють й інші стилі.

Так, В. А. Кан-Калік (1985) виокремлює 5 головних стилів педагогічного спілкування:

1. Спілкування на основі захопленості спільною творчою діяльністю – передбачає дружній захоплений пошук і спільні досягнення, пов'язаний з поєднанням професіоналізму та любові, тяжінням учителя до своїх учнів; типові висловлювання в рамках такого спілкування можна розглядати як значною мірою аналогічні щодо демократичного стилю, і, як стверджує автор типології, саме таке педагогічне спілкування є найбільш продуктивним.

2. Спілкування на основі дружнього налаштування – пов'язане зі щирою доброзичливістю, взаємною зацікавленістю, взаємодопомогою і підготовлює перехід на вищезгаданий найоптимальніший стиль педагогічного спілкування; типові висловлювання – «Ти впорашся з цим», «Ти зможеш» і т. ін., інакше кажучи, це – так звані «Ти-висловлювання»; але важливо контролювати, щоб даний стиль не долав межі панібратства та блазнювання, стаючи аналогічним до загострено ліберального стилю.

3. Спілкування-дистанція – передбачає надмірне підкреслювання авторитету, старшинства, домінантної ролі педагога; типові висловлювання тут значною мірою перегукуються з авторитарним стилем і можуть провокувати емоційне відчуження, а нерідко і яскравий конфлікт між учителем та учнем (учнями).

4. Спілкування-залякування – можна вважати ще більш негативним і жорстким продовженням попереднього стилю педагогічної взаємодії, що виникає унаслідок байдужого або й ворожого ставлення учителя до дітей; типові висловлювання – «Ти в мене ще побачиш!», «Якщо не будеш виконувати завдання, то тобі буде тільки гірше» й т. ін.

5. Спілкування-загравання – цей стиль виникає та розвивається здебільшого унаслідок бажання педагога встановити контакт із дітьми й одночасного страху перед потенційною імовірністю неуспіху; типовими його психолінгвістичними індикаторами можна вважати не тільки вербальні аспекти (класичне «Дітки, послухайте мене, я Вас дуже люблю...»), а й невербальні, пов'язані з демонстративно ласкавим голосом, манірними жестами, прогладжуваннями дитини по голові й т. ін.

В будь-якому випадку, вагомою складовою стилю педагогічного спілкування виступає мовлення педагога – класичне україномовне або з діалектами, емоційно виразне чи знебарвлене, науково складне або спрощене,

гучне або тихе, з яскравими жестами чи без них. І все це формує загальну картину і результативність педагогічної діяльності, її назагал гуманістичну чи не гуманістичну спрямованість.

4. Висновки

Отже, педагогічне спілкування має чимало вагомих психолінгвістичних особливостей, які можна систематизувати, виходячи з різних основ: з основних аспектів спілкування (комунікативного, перцептивного, інтерактивного), а в їх межах, у свою чергу, з огляду на типові комунікативно-педагогічні бар'єри, головні соціальні стереотипи або типи педагогічних конфліктів; можна також спиратися на відмінності стилів педагогічного спілкування.

Важливо підсумувати аналіз різних підходів до цієї проблеми наголосом на тому, що в будь-якому випадку процес розвитку професійного педагогічного спілкування повинен мати усвідомлений характер, що спирається на самоаналіз власної професійної діяльності. Зокрема, педагогу слід уникати таких вербальних конструкцій, які здатні провокувати й підтримувати комунікативні бар'єри між ним та дитиною, неконструктивні ефекти стереотипізації чи хронічні конфлікти, а також сприяти надмірному поширенню авторитарно орієнтованих стилів педагогічного спілкування. Загалом, сучасний учитель має майстерно володіти технікою «Тивисловлювань», які дійсно підтримують гуманістичний підхід у сучасній освіті, сприяють формуванню багатьох соціальних компетенцій у дитини, формуючи сприятливий соціально-психологічний клімат у всьому шкільному колективі.

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