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Modal Adverbs – a Means
for Conveying Judgements

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Abstract

The paper deals with modal adverbs and aims to justify their being a means for conveying judgments. It consists of two parts – a theoretical overview and a sample of research into modal adverbs as modality markers. The theoretical part is an informative text aiming to delineate the notion of modal adverbs. The research part presents a study on their functioning as modality markers communicating confidence in the truth value of the proposition and offers an inventory of such adverbs.

Keywords: modality, narrow and broad modality, modality markers, modal adverbs, emphasizers, disjuncts

1 Introduction

Czech/Slovak linguistic research has included studies on modality (and/or modal meaning) since the middle of the last century. Their focus, however, has for the most part been on syntactic constructions and the expression of verbal mood. In the search for a comprehensive taxonomy of the phenomenon of modality I observed a gap in this kind of information. This prompted me to do desk research and, in doing so, to explore the nature, typology and inventory of modality with special focus on modality markers other than the category of mood. In the survey, I draw on past achievements of Czech/Slovak and non-Czech/Slovak linguists rather than on current trends. A truly thorough study by a Slovak linguist is that by Ďurovič (1956). Since there has been no Czech/Slovak publication that outweighs its significance to date, I believe that Ďurovič's achievements and findings are still valid, even fifty years later. Other Czech and Slovak authors with contributions relevant for the intentions of this paper are Erhart (1984) and Nižníková (1994); non-Czech/Slovak authors providing ideas relevant for the intended taxonomy include Huddleston (1988), Palmer (1986), Siewierska (1991) and Coates (1983).

Matthews (2005: 228) defines modality as "[a] category covering either a kind of speech act or the degree of certainty with which something is said." The semantic trait of confidence in the truth value of the proposition is an illustration of the subjective character of an utterance; it can be present in sentence structuring, vocabulary choice, or stylistic differentiation. Based on anecdotal evidence, the speech of a speaker of English, at least in comparison with a Slovak, exhibits more involvement, and is much richer in subjectiveness markers. The inference that English is a language with a fascinating incidence of modality adverbs and evaluative words is supported by a comparative study carried out to examine the expression of epistemic modality (Panocová, 2008). Panocová came to the conclusion that the total number of modality markers was remarkably higher in the production of native speakers of English than in non-native speakers' production. The wealth of modality adverbs in English makes it possible for comprehensive research into modality markers to be undertaken. Paradis carried out a study (1994) on the lexical forms 'quite', 'rather', 'fairly' and 'pretty' in contemporary spoken British English and she claims that they form a notional paradigm, namely that of compromisers within the category of degree modifiers. She defines them as "cognitive synonyms that occupy the middle of an abstract intensity scale, approximating a mean degree of another word" (1994, 157). Her study served as the impetus for studying the usage of modal adverbs and proposing a notional paradigm of modal adverbs.

Research on markers of broad modality necessitates suitable discourse. Communicative situations marked with modality occur in both spoken and written modes of interaction, though they differ in frequency and intensity of occurrence. The principle that governed the choice of source material for the purposes of this study was the need for an insight into the common standard currently in use by speakers of English. This is faithfully observable in conversation, the most natural form of communication. Conversation implies the involvement of several parties; in this way several speaker styles are available, which adds to the authenticity and truth value of the data obtained. Consequently, internet chatting was chosen as the target discourse and the language of synchronous chatrooms was chosen as the target source for research purposes. The research corpus was composed of chat sessions, the transcripts of which were downloaded from www.lycos.com in April 2003.

In section 1, it is my aim to examine the definition of modality, discuss modality in narrow and broad senses, and explore the inventory of broadly defined modality. Section 2 is a brief insight into chat discourse, the type of discourse that served as the research corpus. Section 3 presents research into modal adverbs communicating the meaning of confidence in the truth value of the proposition expressed; the aim is to arrive at notional paradigms of modal adverbs and introductory words and to produce an inventory of target modality markers for each grammatical function and phrase in which they occur.

2 Theorizing about Modality and Modality markers

Modality is commonly referred to as modal meaning present in the deep sentence structure. Its omnipresence derives from a natural desire to encode the speaker's subjective perception of the reality in the sentence and/or utterance. One way of treating a modal meaning is to consider objective and subjective modalities (the innermost facets of modality). As these terms suggest, objective modality is inherent to predication and reflects the relationship between the proposition of the utterance and the extra-linguistic reality;

subjective modality reveals the involvement of a speaker, hence the relationship concerned is that between the speaker and the proposition of the utterance (Encyklopédia jazykovedy 1993: 278–279). Modality is generally defined as a means of expressing a relationship between a speaker and an utterance, in a stricter sense a speaker and the truth-value of an utterance. Hence it is neither objective (reflecting the relationship between the proposition of the utterance and the extra-linguistic reality) nor subjective (reflecting the relationship between the speaker and the proposition of the utterance), but resembles a triad consisting of a speaker with a subjective stance on the extra-linguistic reality utilizing means objectively existing in the language.

As Ďurovič (1956: 14) asserts, modality is the essential 'predication-building' constituent since it determines the sentence type and structure. The attitude of a speaker (subjectiveness) is revealed through the application of attitudinal, persuasive and volitional modalities that respectively take the form of a statement, an order, or a question (Nižníková, 1994). The speaker, the key element in the modality triad, can either present understanding/knowledge or contribute assessment of the situation. Modality is also present in how the speaker expresses the truthfulness of the proposition of the utterance. It seems that identifying verbal and other-than-verbal indicators (i.e. those of predication and those of proposition) yields, respectively, narrow and broad definitions of modality. This is outlined in the following references, which aim to offer, in basic terms, a concept of narrow and broad modality.

Modality, in the narrow sense, for Erhart (1984: 117), is a context-sensitive selection of one of three gramemes – a statement, a question, and a wish. The norm is that the utterance composed of the grameme 'statement' is formally realized as a declarative; the presence of the grameme 'question' is paralleled with the syntactic type of an interrogative; the grameme 'wish' is assigned to either imperatives or exclamatives. Some semblance of a mismatch can occur consistent with the communicative intentions. Whatever the case, it is obvious that we are dealing with modalities operating on a predication; hence *bona fide* modal forms are given prominence over other language means. This can be supported by quoting Lock (1996: 193): "A narrow definition of modality encompasses only the *modal auxiliaries* ... and their uses, and sometimes also adverbs functioning as *Modal Adjuncts*, such as *possibly*, *probably*, and *certainly*" [his italics and caps]. 'Narrow' modality can be equated with the modality of the predication center.

Modality, in the broad sense, in Erhart's view (1984: 117), comprises 'nuances' in the formal realization of the utterance. A statement can be meant as a fact, a possibility, a subjective obligation (and/or request), an objective necessity, etc. Lock's view is similar in that (1996: 193) "[a] broad definition would encompass all expressions of interpersonal meanings that lie between *it is so* and *it is not so* or between *do it* and *don't do it*" [his italics]. The desired illocutionary force can also or primarily be arrived at by means other than those in a verbal complex, *i.e.* modal adverbs/adjectives/nouns, and the like. The language has at its disposal means not necessarily participating in forming the predication center, yet contributing to communicating the speaker's stance toward the truth-value of the whole utterance or its part, *i.e.* communicating modal meaning (Ďurovič 1956: 25). Accordingly, 'broad modality' means more than the modal meaning of the predication core. Its scope is expanded so as to include all possible manifestations of the subjective attitude of a speaker.

Lexical items like modal adjectives and modal adverbs, evaluative and modal introductory words, and hedges are modality markers that do not belong in the predication

center. They do not take part in forming the grammatical predicate; this, however, does not exclude them from being in a relationship with the logical predicate (Ďurovič 1956: 30). They operate on the proposition level in that they do not alter the propositional content; they merely modify it (deny, question, or confirm it). Huddleston's (1988: 80) list of modal adjectives and modal adverbs includes "... modal adjectives, such as *possible, likely, probable, certain, sure, necessary,* and modal adverbs, such as *perhaps, maybe, possibly* and other derivatives from the adjectives" [his italics]. In Lock's (1996: 193) view, expressions such as possibly, probably, and certainly (modal adjuncts, as he calls them) can sometimes be attributed to modality in the narrow sense; though he does not make it clear what 'sometimes' refers to. Lock (1996: 203) further maintains, "[m]odal Adjuncts are the second system of the grammar dedicated to the expression of modality. They are usually realized by adverbs such as *certainly* and *possibly*, but may also be realized by prepositional phrases such as *without doubt* and *in all probability*" [his italics]. Irrespective of how these expressions are labeled, the projected modal meaning derives from their lexical meaning (certainty, possibility, necessity, etc).

Ďurovič (1956) pays meticulous attention to evaluative and modal introductory words. Although his study focuses on inflectional languages, it can also serve as the impetus for considering such expressions to be modality bearers in English, an analytical language. Interestingly enough, they compare well with what are termed 'disjuncts' in English. Ďurovič distinguishes between the two groups, suggesting that they are different in nature. What unites them, he claims, is that they map on an utterance that has already been ascribed modal meaning. What distinguishes them is that evaluative introductory words are indifferent to the modality of the utterance, as opposed to modal introductory words. These can be easily located on a scale with the outermost points 'yes' and 'no', with 'maybe' in between. In other words, its position is somewhere between affirmation and negation. The result of its combination with the modal meaning of the predication center is the ultimate modality of the utterance (Ďurovič 1956: 27). The expressions in question are formally identical with modal adverbs. What makes them different is the position they take; they keep a distance from the predication center, expressing the stance of the speaker towards the utterance. Ďurovič's examples can be translated in the following way: *Unfortunately,* I did not manage it. *I'm really* sorry I did not manage it (evaluative introductory words are in italics); Pavel *must* be back (the modal introductory word is in italics).

Modal meanings are necessarily linked with a particular set of *modal markers*; hence it is thanks to the appropriate modal markers that the addressee succeeds in identifying what a speaker intends to mean. Some utterances are overt manifestations of modal meaning; others carry modal meaning with no explicit marker present. Either way, the predication and/or utterance are marked by modality; the different degree of a speaker's commitment to the truth-value of the utterance can be communicated. Many modal meanings are marked lexically, through modal markers residing in the lexicon, rather than grammatically, by means of the grammatical category of mood.

3 A Brief Insight into the Target Discourse

Recent years have provided evidence that communication systems increasingly change the possibilities of verbal interaction and greatly affect the way in which people communicate. The internet provides a variety of ways to engage in virtual reality. Computer-mediated

communication comprises e-mail, synchronous chatgroups, asynchronous chatgroups, the Web, and virtual worlds, as outlined by Crystal (2001). Although he delimits the five situation types, Crystal admits a possible, and sometimes even unavoidable, overlap; for instance, we need to log onto a particular website to become a member of a discussion group. Each of the situation types exploits a distinctive set of language means, which is determined by its user/s.

The discourse of the internet represents a novel interaction, for most part on the boundary between speech and writing. Internet chatting, in many respects, bears a resemblance to conversational language. Synchronous chatgroups available on the internet offer multi-party interaction and connect people of different ages, interests, or intentions; this, together with the medium used, predetermines the choice of language means. Synchronous chat is a proving ground for considering a parallel between computer-mediated chat and face-to-face conversation in terms of a rhetorical channel. Chat discourse, being in essence written language, is likely to be marked with ambiguity. In such a setting, the choice of lexis is made on the informal-neutral-colloquial scale; grammatical precision ranges from standard to slightly careless. Vocality, facial expressions, gestures, body posture, or proxemics are substituted by a vast array of symbols, acronyms, or other graphic conventions that aim to disambiguate the transmitted meaning and help the chat discourse approximate oral communication.

The linkage between synchronous chat and face-to-face conversation provides a foundation for the successful description of chatroom participants' interaction. Essentially written communication is established among those wishing to converse. What is at the very core here is either two-party or multiparty interaction which takes place between speaker/s – hearer/s; technically speaking between writer/s – reader/s. Two-party interaction applies in the case of private chat; multiparty interaction exists in public chatrooms/chatgroups. In the subsequent discussion, I focus on the interaction in chatgroups, the research corpus, and provide answers to the following questions: Who are the participants? What is their status? How is their interaction organized?

Who are the participants? The studied corpus consists of chat sessions taking place in real time and to a certain extent taking the form of an interview. These are moderated events, in which the moderator serves as a mediator between the person interviewed and those submitting questions and comments. The moderator is the Lycos website staff member assigned particular power to control the course of the 'conversation'. The person interviewed is a celebrity pursuing a career in arts and entertainment (to name some, W. Valderama – That 70's Show, A. Davoli – The Sopranos, R.D. Anderson – Stargate SG-1, J. Gray – Men are from Mars..., C. Aguilera). People with computer access to the site, craving to have the interviewee answer their questions, or merely wishing to contribute their views, moral support or expressions of affection, represent the third party. Access to the internet from any place in the world and the phenomenon of anonymity (see below) might raise the question of who the participants are in terms of nationality. The interviewers, in a way, form a virtual community. What connects them is a shared interest in pursuing a discussion on shared issues; hence mutual knowledge is a prerequisite for an engagement. Moreover, what binds them together and makes them members of such a community is the awareness of the comparative distinctiveness and the ability to abide by the stereotypes of the generated text.

What is their status? In the triadic participant structure of the chat, an uneven balance can be noticed among the three parties in that their status is not equally identifiable. The discourse concerned is a paragon of discrepancy in self-identification on the parts of an interviewee and interviewers. The latter form an in-group audience whose real identity cannot be traced, as opposed to the former whose presence is the very impetus for the chat to take place; and this implies general familiarity with the interviewee's background. The events moderator has, in this respect, a special position originating in his/her relative anonymity and compliance with the linguistic or other behavior in accord with the assigned role. The issue of anonymity vs. identifiability is one of the features peculiar to public synchronous chat. CMC is a situation where people choose to make themselves either anonymous or identifiable to others. The participants' social status is typically left unrevealed unless one chooses to expose such information. The revelation can be made during an exchange of messages, or some nicks might serve as prompts; however, this information cannot be taken for granted. Such disclosure, as exemplified below, might make available information on the participant's name, geographical location, age, or preference in entertainment options.

> **anna_miles:** Do you miss anything when you are on tour (or anyone :)
> **Sblover:** Do you know anything about Sweden? Have you been there? It's a nice
>   country!
> **Pamela0:** Susan, we still have SB in Ireland and I think you did such a great job.
> **Minneapolis_Mighty:** Can you talk about your new song 'Safe' a little? I love it.
>   Keep chillin'.
> **billabong101:** What did your parents think of the movie [Aus word]
> **Events Moderator:** I have a 14-year-old daughter. Do you think this film's
>   appropriate for that age level?
> **survivorlover:** Who was your favorite teammate?

Public chat, because it provides a chance to be unidentified, endows the interactants with space for equitable communication and allows for a lesser degree of conformity to norms and expectations. The participants do not feel intimidated (as might sometimes be the case in face-to-face conversation), and they engage in a keen fashion, irrespective of possible cultural differences.

How is their interaction organized? As already mentioned, the chat analyzed here is a moderated event bearing a resemblance to a conversation or an interview. The person to be interviewed is announced in advance in a calendar of events provided by the Lycos website. Those who wish to be members of a chatgroup submit their contributions; these come to the moderator before they are passed on to the guest. Control over the conversation is undertaken by the moderator, whose role Crystal (2001: 133) particularizes in the following way: "Moderators exercise varying amounts of power – for example, deciding whether a message to appear or not. Other groups allow their moderator to have editing as well as filtering powers..." The conversational nature of the interaction within the chatgroup entails a dialogic structure. The three parties are engaged in an exchange of meanings in a turn-taking pattern. "Turn-taking is determined through a dynamic collaboration between the participants" (Freiermuth, 2001: 170). In computer-mediated chats, however, turn-taking is fixed by the channel, not handled by speakers. In face-to-face conversation this is natural, and hence takes place unconsciously. In communication through a computer,

however, it is administered by the system and controlled by the moderator (if a moderator is present). In both domains, logical organization requires adjacency pairs, i.e. questions are followed by answers, comments by appreciation or refusal, etc.; "... adjacency pairs are seen as sequentially implicative because this is how they are treated in talk" (Schiffrin, 1988: 268–9). The ways speakers indicate a turn exchange in traditional communication can range from eye contact through remaining silent to directly addressing the addressee. In the chat analyzed here, turn-taking cues are in the hands of the moderator who receives the contribution, has the guest reply, and relays that to all logged-in users.

By virtue of its distinctiveness, computer-mediated communication has established a noteworthy position in the communication system. Its possibilities merit linguistic contemplation, and its language material represents invaluable evidence of language dynamics. I consider this kind of discourse suitable for analysis owing to its being informal, often emotive, and providing a forum for an unlimited number of interactants. The moderator has control over the event but not over the actual language utilized by 'speakers', which adds to its value as a source for the present study. The linguistic means of the chat analyzed here are influenced by and derived from oral forms of communication, which has certain characteristic features. These are associated with vocality, conversationality, familiarity, contextuality and expressiveness, five features proposed by Mistrík (1997: 502–7). A brief commentary on each of them, supplemented with examples, is provided below.

Vocality is a defining feature of oral communication; yet, as Mistrík admits, its manifestation through the written mode is also possible. Vocality is linked with prosodic features that have a significant share in communicating meaning. The vocality projected in the written form automatically brings about wordiness, capitalization, or successive recurrent usage of graphemes or punctuation marks in order to substitute for the indication of prominent units or emotion-laden intonation patterns.

> **The Band Travis:** I'm absolutely, definitely psyched!
> **shoter350:** Leigh Nash, I am a HUGE fan of the song you sing INNOCENTE..
> **GoOdChArLoTtE_826:** OK PEACE OUT..................I LOVE YOU GUYS!!!!!! SOOOOOOO MUCH!

Conversationality implies the dialogic mode of a conversation, which is inherently associated with contact-establishing means, such as address (hypocoristic addressing of guests being very common) [1], evaluation comments [2], politeness strategies [3], discourse markers [4], as well as those providing feedback [5].

> **ukkev5:** Peter [1], do you appear on British television?
> **Events_Moderator:** I hate to say it [3], but we have to wrap this up in a few minutes We'll take just a few more questions and comments.
> **Events_Moderator:** Well [4], folks, it's time to wrap up the chat! Thanks, J.C…
> **left_philly:** Will you do a promotion tour in Germany?
> **Lisa_Lopes:** Absolutely! [2/5]

Familiarity is linked with a private setting which tolerates lexical and grammatical slips. Though this is not the case in the chat analyzed here, such discourse supplies many instances of such imprecision. Crystal (2001: 165) provides the following observation: "Grammar is chiefly characterized by highly colloquial constructions and non-standard

usage, often following patterns known in other dialects or genres ... Nonce formations are common – running words together into a compound, or linking several words by hyphens. Word play is ubiquitous. New jargon emerges."

> **Sherrie_Austin:** I've managed to have a career doing what I love to do. Get up everyday and sing and write songs. I can't think of anything I love to do more. [missing 'that]
>
> **Corbin_Bernsen:** ... I had different role models. My mother on a professional level, Walt Disney on a creative level, and the Beatles on a musical level [missing a copular verb]
>
> **Evan_Dorkin:** ... I thought the book would be more well received by them than the Harvey's, but you never know about these things. ['better']
>
> **AJs_sis_69:** ... I have this one big question that's been eating me since the day ... [slang]

Contextuality in the discourse entails the participants' awareness of the situation and the issues talked about, and is clearly exhibited by their relevant contributions. A single utterance like **exgoose2: And then some into the '80s!** does not say much about the topic and/or standpoint discussed. The involvement of the speaker and the shared knowledge allows for successful interpretation of elliptical structures, or deixis.

> **lilGouki:** How many episodes of Batman Beyond did you do? **Evan_Dorkin:** Just one. And Sarah and co-wrote Splicers. ... [ellipsis]
>
> **Brandy:** … I just can't wait to hold her in my arms. [deixis]

Expressiveness mirrors the speaker's attitude toward the communicated idea. The possibility to act without any feelings of apprehension and inhibition frees the interactants to express their attitudes or emotions. Diminutives, augmentatives, interjections, emphatic expressions, multiple use of a grapheme within a lexical unit – these are some of the language devices included in the inventory of expressive means.

> **con-artistry:** I would love to see you in concert! You are absolutely fantastic. Love, Helen.
>
> **Karri_Ann_Allrich:** Wow! I love that symbol! You must feel stuck.
>
> **Jennifer_Blanc:** Never give up! Perseverance is *the* most important.
>
> **Eartha_Kitt:** ... so all I can say now is . . . RRRRRROWWWWWW!

The five features capturing the essence of private, spontaneous conversation prove to be, with some adaptation, quite relevant in chat discourse. This is becoming more of an issue nowadays, as the arrival of new communication technology has cast doubt upon traditional approaches to language-in-use description. The rhetorical mode of the discourse echoes the verbal performance that is traceable to oral communication.

4 Research on Modality Adverbs

4.1 The Background of the Research

The Target Modal Meaning

Communication comprises different communicative situations in which the information presented reflects the speaker's evaluation of the extra-linguistic reality. Ideas are by no means meant to be equal as to the validity, persuasiveness, or emotions conveyed. Speakers subconsciously interrelate what they say with how they feel about it; that is to say the evaluation of the extra-linguistic reality reveals our feelings and attitudes. The markers present in the surface structure mark the utterance as subjective and evaluative and at the same time carry certain modal meanings. Various modal meanings can be expressed in an utterance (inference, confidence, judgment, possibility, necessity, likelihood, requirement, or ability, etc.). I carried out a study to observe the expression of epistemic modality focusing on modal adverbs carrying the meaning of confidence in the truth value of the proposition.

Target Modality Markers

Mere sentence building is governed by the speaker's attitude to the core information. Narrowly viewed modality can be equated with the modality of the predication center, and thus is expressed by means of modal verbs, each bringing a particular modal meaning, e.g. can (the meaning of possibility or permission), must (that of obligation), should (obligation or advisability), etc. Broadly defined modality means more than the modal meaning of the predication core. Its scope is expanded so as to include all possible manifestations of the subjective attitude of a speaker; it can be expressed through interrogatives, imperatives, negation, modal adverbs, evaluative and modal introductory words, or hedges. This research focuses on modal adverbs and evaluative and modal introductory words.

Modal adverbs (*cf* Huddleston 1988) and evaluative and modal introductory words (*cf* Ďurovič 1956) are lexical devices functioning as markers of modality. They represent notions which in English grammar are termed emphasizers and disjuncts (*cf* Greenbaum et al 1990). In order to bridge the two terminological approaches, the following lines briefly describe the grammatical position and justify my decision to identify modal adverbs with emphasizers and introductory words with disjuncts.

The grammatical position (based on Greenbaum et al 1990, Quirk et al 1985) treats adverbials with respect to the grammatical function that they fulfill in a clause. Generally, four grammatical functions of adverbials are identified – adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts. Though both adjuncts and subjuncts are elements typified by being integrated into the structure of a sentence, they are different in nature. The former seem to be equal to other sentence elements, while the latter are seen to have a subordinate role, that of adding further information, explanation or ideas into a passage that would be complete without this extra information. Disjuncts and conjuncts, by contrast, occupy a more peripheral position in the sentence. Disjuncts are superordinate to the rest of the sentence. Position-wise, they are detached from the other elements, and they provide an observation, a personal comment on the content and truth value of what has been said. Conjuncts serve at once to connect two separate utterances and to express the semantic relationship obtaining

between them (e.g. that of time or contingency) (Quirk et al 1985: 501–647). The lexical units presently under focus are subjuncts, strictly speaking emphasizers and disjuncts.

Lexical units referred to as emphasizers can be attributed to subjuncts with the semantic role of modality. As Quirk et al (ibid) put it, adverbials of modality can change the truth value of a sentence, and they can do so in three ways: they can emphasize, approximate, or restrict, which can be respectively exemplified by 'certainly', 'probably' and 'only'. Emphasizers enter into a partnership with non-gradable expressions. In a way, they are similar to intensifiers in that they add to the force of their partner expressions. They are even similar to disjuncts in that they comment on the utterance. The alteration of the truth value of a sentence is a consequence of their presence, largely in mid-position. Disjuncts are distinguished from other adverbials by their superiority over the other sentence elements. As Quirk et al (1985) put it, it is not their form which makes them different from adjuncts or even from subjuncts, nor is it the positions in which they are placed – it is their ability and/or inability to operate as the focus of a cleft sentence, to become the focus of focusing subjuncts, to come within the scope of predication or pro-forms, and to be elicited by question forms, i.e. the four features defining an adjunct and not applicable to disjuncts. By making an observation on the actual content of an utterance and on its truth value, disjuncts serve as a means of communicating certainty or evaluation. For most part they appear in the initial position, clearly detached from the rest of the sentence, but the mid-position is not rare either (Quirk et al 1985: 504, 612).

Discussion of target modality markers is typically associated with positive contexts, *i.e.* a positive predication. Negation, being a modality marker itself, is not included in the corpus analysis. Negative contexts, or negative predications, bring about a shift in the meaning of the utterance. Typically, if an emphasizer accompanies a negative verb form, the achieved effect is different from what it would be otherwise. It seems that negation rests upon a specific set of language means serving the purpose of emphasis. Celce-Murcia, Larsen-Freeman (1983: 101) maintain that "[s]entences with a 'no determiner' in the verb phrase such as 'We had no rain since March' or an indefinite pronoun beginning with 'no-' in the verb phrase such as 'I saw no one' function semantically as emphatic counterparts of sentences … with NOT or N'T and some form of 'any' in the verb phrase" [their small caps]. Bearing in mind the complexity of the semantic change that accompanies a shift from a positive to a negative linguistic environment; negative predications were not included in this research. Even so, negative structures are marginally commented on where relevant.

Research Aims

The research draws on corpus-based observations and aims to survey lexical modality markers and to observe their collocational range and the valence patterns within which they occur in order to propose a tentative notional paradigm of modality adverbs and evaluative and modal introductory words. Since postulating a paradigm necessitates defining the linguistic features that delineate the members of a paradigm, the primary aim is to define the features on both paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes[1] (*cf* Paradis 1994).

Data collecting and processing

The paper presents findings on the use of emphasizers and disjuncts expressing the meaning of confidence in the truth value of the proposition. The corpus material (297 606

words) was studied to collect structures with the target adverbs. The study of the corpus provided 25 lexical items:

absolutely	clearly	literally	precisely	surprisingly
actually	definitely	naturally	purely	totally
appropriately	essentially	obviously	really	truly
basically	interestingly	perfectly	seriously	unusually
certainly	largely	possibly	simply	virtually

These were considered in accordance with the criteria set for forming a notional paradigm of modal adverbials. The corpus was studied to collect examples of emphasizers and disjuncts, which were subsequently grouped according to the phrases in which they occurred. The following phrases were considered: adverbial phrase, adjectival phrase, noun phrase, prepositional phrase, and verb phrase. The research attempted to identify possible properties shared by adverbials (adverbs) on both paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, i.e. respectively semantic traits and positional characteristics. The goal was set to delineate a notional paradigm for (1) modal adverbs and (2) evaluative and modal introductory words.

1. The paradigm of modal adverbs is to be formed based on the shared semantic trait of confidence in the truth value of the proposition, and the grammatical function of emphasizer.
2. The paradigm of evaluative and modal introductory words is to be formed based on the shared semantic trait of confidence in the truth value of the proposition, and the grammatical function of disjunct.

The following section consists of five subsections each devoted to a particular phrase (adverbial/adjectival/noun/prepositional/verb phrase). The subsections follow the same structure; they consist of corpus findings and samples. If useful, a remark on negative structures is added. The occurrence of modality markers in the corpus material is presented in graphs. The effect projected by them is specified by referring to the semantic roles defined for adverbials, *i.e.* emphasizer (E) and disjunct (D), and is presented in tables.

4.2 Research Findings

4.2.1 Adverbial Phrase

Findings
An adverbial phrase is composed of head and modifier; both functions are performed by an adverbial. The classic position that an adverbial phrase occupies is within a verb phrase; the adverb affects the lexical unit that directly follows it. The study of the corpus provided adverbial phrases with 4 emphasizers (modal adverbials) and 3 disjuncts (introductory words).

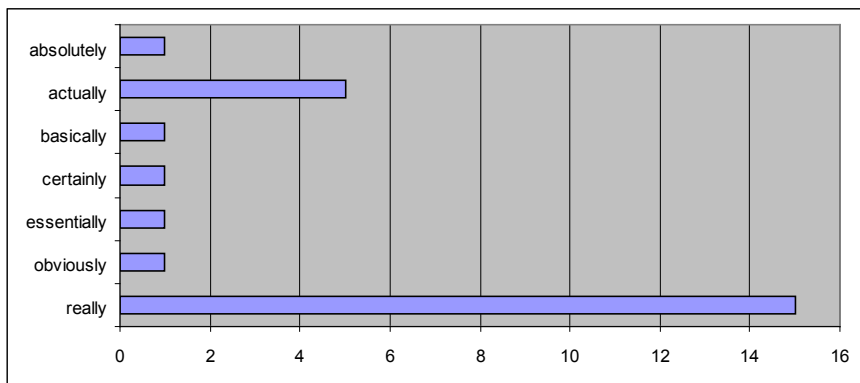Graph 1 *The occurrence of modality markers in an adverbial phrase*

Table 1 *The inventory of modality markers in an adverbial phrase*

EMPHASIZERS	absolutely, actually, certainly, really
DISJUNCTS	basically, essentially, obviously

Corpus samples

Emphasizers

The_Band_Fuel: Inspiration can come from <u>absolutely anywhere</u>.

colobos0: … The sound really blow me away. [18/49]Duncan_Sheik: It's <u>actually just</u> the vocal that's running through a Leslie…

Glenn_Close: It's <u>certainly very</u> different from being an actor {laughs}…

Daniel_Quinn: ... And this is <u>really almost</u> beyond their control …

Disjuncts

Ricky_Manning: ... The title <u>basically just</u> means, that they like me . . I guess.

William_Gazecki: Yes, there have been a small number of reports, again, mostly 10 or 15 years ago, of people being <u>essentially very</u> near or in the circle.

The_Outer_Limits: Pen: It would be MGM's choice and we would <u>obviously only</u> do it if we had a story that we felt worked as well in that medium as our shows work on the small screen.

4.2.2 Adjectival Phrase

Findings

An adjectival phrase involves an adjective and an adverb functioning as head and modifier respectively. The phrase typically occurs within a verb phrase, yet the position in a subject phrase is also possible. The adverb keeps the immediate company of a right-hand partner, an adjective. The study of the corpus provided adjectival phrases with 15 emphasizers (modal adverbs) and 6 disjuncts (introductory words).

Graph 2 *The occurrence of modality markers in an adjectival phrase*
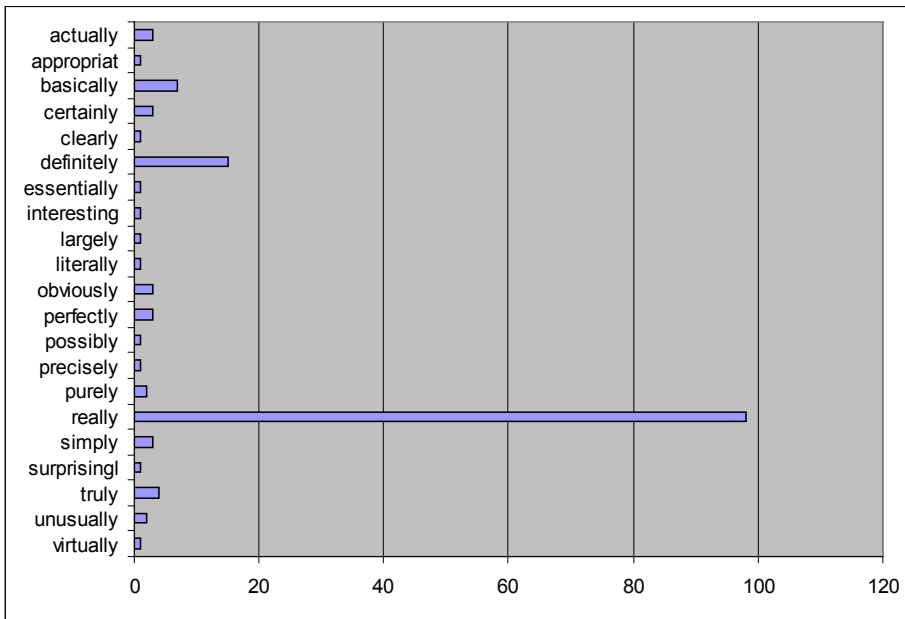
Table 2 *The inventory of modality markers in an adjectival phrase*

EMPHASIZERS	actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, largely, literally, perfectly, possibly, precisely, purely, really, simply, truly, unusually, virtually
DISJUNCTS	appropriately, arguably, basically, essentially, interestingly, obviously, surprisingly

Corpus Samples

Emphasizers

> jack_citie: Lmao.. Chevelle.. you guys are actually good for a new band, so I won't mock you.. but.. Can I ask you who you are touring with?

> Leonard_Maltin: I don't think they've been shy in the slightest. But they are certainly aware that other, large scale movies are opening before then...

> Stephen_E_Brock: Let me say this about faith. A resilient belief system, or faith, is clearly powerful in helping any individual cope with adversity. …

> ym_Prom_Fashion: YES!! African-American skin looks beautiful with primary colors. Red is definitely the perfect choice for you. And again, don't forget the red lipstick! :)

> enter_the_zone: … the band was largely ignored by the commercial vulture?

> John_Gray: … The pace of life is so stressful today, women by nature tend to be more considerate of the needs of others. They are literally more aware of what's going on around them, particularly in terms of other's personal needs. …

> YM_Prom_Beauty_and_Hair: … and either one is perfectly appropriate for prom …

ASKPearlJam Ed_vacuation-guest says: What do you guys enjoy most about being in the studio together, creating quite **possibly** the BEST MUSIC EVER!!!!!!!?

Rob_Brezsny: An excellent question is one that by definition is **precisely** appropriate for the woman that you're talking to. ...

Duncan_Sheik: I think these days I've been trying to write lyrics that are just **purely** descriptive of certain sets of experiences that may happen to me in a given day or a given hour…

O-TOWN_Chat - Dan: I play WAY too much XBox nowdays! It can get **really** addictive.

saturn_78: ... Are you <u>simply</u> handed the script and embellish it with your own ideas…?

LMNT-Bryan: That was **truly** an amazing experience…

Dirk_Been: … and it's well documented for its **unusually** high population of snakes...

Morty_Lefkoe: It is **virtually** impossible to change your behavior permanently if you don't change your beliefs first.

Disjuncts

ym_Prom_Fashion: ... Try a white strappy sandle and a bright white handbag, and maybe even a white floral corsage. It will lighten up the black dress and make it look appropriately summery.

SunsetHals: Do you ever feel like you missed out on your childhood or on being a typical kid, or were you able to live a basically normal teenage life?

ChuckNevitt: Isn't the parody genre tired? Wasn't the film you're essentially spoofing - Scream - a parody itself?

Eartha_Kitt: Yes, I'm very glad to do this, it's very interestingly funny to me. It's something NEW in my life. It's convinced me that I should have learned technology! ...

zorg_5e: If they are aliens, are they obviously way smarter than us, and ?

Rob_Schneider: A lot of these animals were surprisingly easy to work with. ...

Negative structures

The following examples exhibit structures which have a negative element as part of the predication, yet are classified as evaluation-providing. The adverb occurs within the verb phrase immediately before the negative element. Such a position of an adverb reveals the speaker's intention to give emphasis and call attention to the opposite of what is being said, and earns the adverb the tag of emphasizer.

Events_Moderator: True. He was **definitely not** a warm and friendly kind of guy.

Michael_Reaves: … In fact, I'm **really not** *qualified* for any other type of job! …

4.2.3 Noun Phrase

Findings

The head-and-modifier structure of a noun phrase has various realizations. In the noun phrases analyzed here, the function of a modifier is taken by an adverb; the head can be a single-word lexical unit, i.e. a noun (a pronoun or a determiner), a multiple-word expression, or a noun group with modifier–head–qualifier structure. Some structures are on the boundary with those classified as adjectival phrases. Nevertheless they are included in this

section, because in effect the modifiers relate to the whole group rather than to the unit immediately following it. The study of the corpus provided noun phrases with 11 emphasizers (modal adverbs) and 3 disjuncts (introductory words).

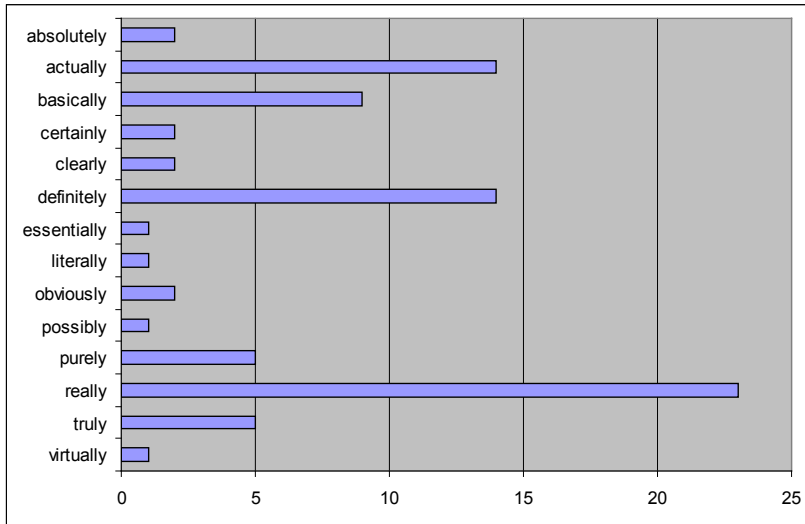Graph 3 *The occurrence of modality markers in a noun phrase*

Table 3 *The inventory of modality markers in a noun phrase*

EMPHASIZERS	absolutely, actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, literally, possibly, purely, really, truly, virtually
DISJUNCTS	basically, essentially , obviously

Corpus Samples

Emphasizers

> Ronnie_Marmo: It was actually the summer that the Dodger's left Brooklyn. ...
> Sean_Gibbon: … and you should be able to find it online, certainly all the chain bookstores. ˙
> Daniel_Quinn: … As such, it was clearly a novel of education or a teaching novel. ...
> Leigh_Nash: ... and it was definitely the band's choice as well. ...
> James_Patterson: ... I've had this come to me literally 1000s of times since the story. ...
> Eric_Levin: ... That was possibly a backlash against '70s political correctness.
> jasonsstormx: …Under the hockey mask, is it purely makeup, another mask or what?
> Vanessa_Angel: It was a blast! They are really fun guys...
> xfilegrl42 : Hello Mr. Patterson: This is truly an honor. I absolutely love your novels. ...

Morty_Lefkoe: ... Virtually everybody who goes through all the steps of the process will eliminate the belief …

Disjuncts

wilmer_valderrama: Actually, the 70's Show and bascially any sitcom has probably the best schedule in the industry.

Barry_Pepper: ... But that's essentially the problem with the judicial system ...

Darnell_M._Hunt: Well, obviously all of us who are considered citizens of this nation are …

Negative structures

The following structures exemplify an adverb directly affecting a negative pronoun or determiner. The impact communicated is that of emphasizing or providing evaluation. The prevailing order of elements is such that a negative element follows an adverb, though this is not necessarily so. With a pronoun or determiner as a head, the adverb keeps its function of emphasizer and disjunct irrespective of its position in relation to the negative element.

Daniel_Quinn: The renaissance transformed Europe, but there was absolutely no plan there, no program.

Andrew_Davoli: Yes, it's actually not this film.

Yehuda_Berg: ...Create a robot from basically nothing,...

Vanessa_Angel: I'm not a BAD cook. {laughs} But I'm certainly not a chef. ...

Sarah_Tomczak: Kelly is speechless! Justin is definitely no loser, though. Both performers were amazing!

SPEAKER_SoapOperaGuest: Most people will be very cool about it, so there are really not a lot of downsides.

Daniel_Quinn: ... But at the moment, there is simply no place for them in the system.

Stargate_SG1-Richard: ... there are virtually no limits to what can be done.

4.2.4 Prepositional Phrase

Findings

In the studied prepositional phrases, the functions of modifier and head are performed respectively by an adverb and a prepositional group – the latter consisting of a preposition and a noun group. The study of the corpus provided prepositional phrases with 5 emphasizers (modal adverbs) and 2 disjuncts (introductory words). The sample within negative phrases exemplifies 'absolutely' in the prepositional phrase functioning as an emphasizer when preceding a negative element.

Graph 4 *The occurrence of modality markers in a prepositional phrase*
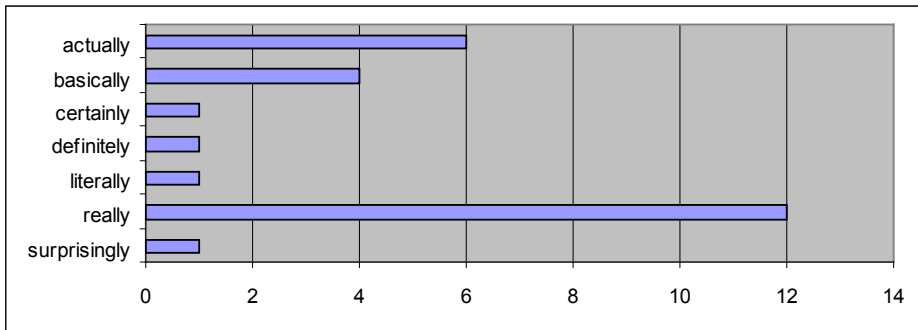
Table 4 *The inventory of modality markers in a prepositional phrase*

EMPHASIZERS	actually, certainly, definitely, literally, really
DISJUNCTS	basically, surprisingly

Corpus Samples

Emphasizers

Janusz_Kaminski: ... No delays whatsoever. We actually finished ahead of schedule.

Tom_Loreto: I'm certainly in contact with all my colleagues, techniques. ...

wilmer_valderrama: Well, I'm definitely into the process of lighting a lot. ...

BlessidUnionOfSouls: Jeff: Wausau, Wisconsin was off the hook; completely, literally, off the hook.

zpiel: Are homeless people really "beyond civilization" if they still depend on civilization's spillover for their survival?

Disjuncts

Ronnie_Marmo: ... It was basically like high school, but we all got paid for being there...

Chuck_Campbell: You're right on that one! I got into acting surprisingly by mistake.

Negative structures

michael37110: Did he kill himself because of the argument or was it more?

Suzane_Northrop: Absolutely not because of the argument...

4.2.5 Verb Phrase

Findings

A verb phrase necessitates a different treatment than that given to the phrases discussed so far, since it consists of a head and its component, but not necessarily a modifier. The head is realized by a verb form (single or complex); a whole range of syntactic partners occupies the position of components – noun phrase, adjectival phrase, adverbial phrase, or prepositional phrase. The typical position of modal adverbs is next to the word that

they qualify. The study provided verb phrases with 12 emphasizers (modal adverbs) and 4 disjuncts (introductory words).

Graph 5 *The occurrence of modality markers in a verb phrase*
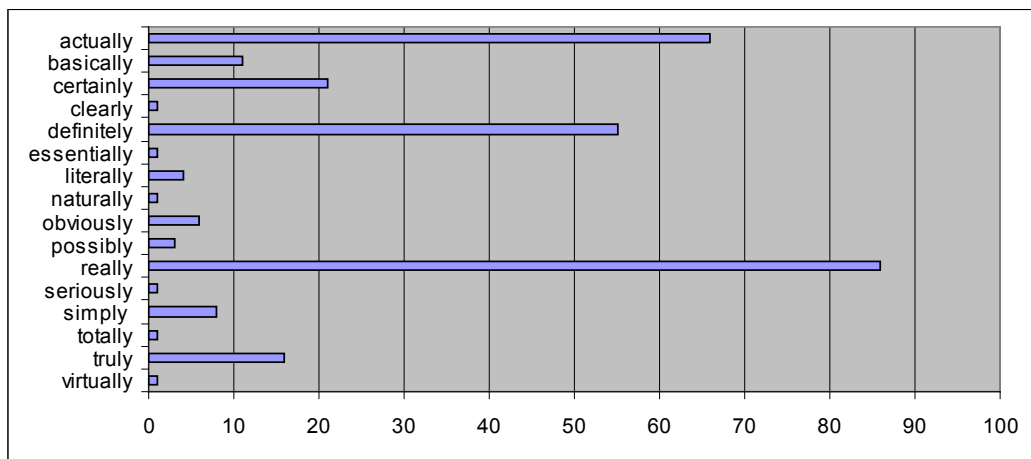
Table 5 *The inventory of modality markers in a verb phrase*

EMPHASIZERS	actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, literally, possibly, really, seriously, simply, totally, truly, virtually
DISJUNCTS	basically, essentially, naturally, obviously

Corpus Samples

Emphasizers

Toby_Keith: We actually are doing meet and greets, a lot of them are for radio and some winners.

Ben_FoldS: Well, that certainly is a great thing and a great compliment. ...

John_Gray: {laughs} I think you're right, and in my lectures women clearly take a lot more notes.

Ben_Gillies: I think not being able to tour for this album will definitely affect the success of it...

Events_Moderator: I've literally grown up watching the MDA Telethon...

Ron_Perlman: I was trying to stay as lean as I possibly could. ...

Tom_Lenk: ... I have a great part that I love on a series that I really admire...

Wesley_Jonathan: I seriously was watching Everwood the other day…

Pam_Spurr: ... Simply enjoy the moment of those dreams…

7on_McLean: That was the hardest thing I ever had to do. It totally frustrated me...

Michelle_Williams: I liked it, you know, and then you know of course, I truly missed my sisters.

Daniel_Quinn: ... The industrial revolution has virtually taken over the world and it too was not done with any plan...

Disjuncts

> SPEAKER_SoapOperaGuest: (Josh) If you really don't flaunt it, you can basically sneak through anywhere.
>
> Tracy_Hogg: … If you show emotion to the spitting, the child essentially observes that as attention…
>
> Stephen_E_Brock: …Recognize that even though teens are naturally moving away from their parent's guidance...
>
> Sasha: … However, there are obviously some instances that I know work really, really well.

Negative structures

The corpus provided the following negative structures. In a *pre-negative-element position,* the function that the adverbs fulfill is that of an emphasizer and/or a disjunct. Two adverbs (actually, really) occurred in a *post-negative-element position*; 'actually' keeps the same function in both positions, 'really' performs the function of emphasizer vs. adjunct.

pre-negative-element position:

> J.C._MacKenzie: God forbid, no! I'm absolutely not. I couldn't be more different from him. ...
>
> James_Patterson: … I actually didn't like to read in high school, and then when I was around 19, I started reading everything ...
>
> Peter_Guralnick: I certainly have never heard that.
>
> Michelle_Williams: ... I definitely don't want to impose my beliefs on everyone…
>
> Mandy_Moore: … Gosh, … I would just tell you, you know, obviously not to give up...
>
> Lucy_Woodward: ... I can't comment about Rachel, because I really don't know her.
>
> John_Gray: ... He may simply not know how to respond or relate to this expression. ...
>
> Brandy: ... If I could use another avenue to get my music heard, I would totally not be in the business. I love doing what I do, but I don't love being in this business.

post-negative-element position:

> Lucy_Woodward: … I really am glad we got the opportunity to do this. I've never actually done this before, and I feel like we're talking on the phone, so thank you so much and keep in touch!
>
> Evan_Dorkin: I don't really get to do much topical material owing to my schedule. …

5   Conclusion

The research made it possible to arrive at a list of lexical items capable of operating as modality markers. Table 6 presents notional paradigms of modal adverbs and evaluative and modal introductory words, as well as adverbials functioning as both modal adverbials and introductory words. Graph 6 presents their incidence in the studied corpus.

Table 6 *Notional paradigms of modal adverbs and introductory words*

Modal adverbs (grammatical function of emphasizers)		*Evaluative and modal introductory words* (grammatical function of disjuncts)		*Adverbials functioning as both*
absolutely	precisely	absolutely	naturally	absolutely
actually	purely	actually	obviously	actually certainly
certainly	really	appropriately	really	clearly definitely
clearly	seriously	basically	seriously	really seriously
definitely	simply	certainly	surprisingly	totally
literally	totally	clearly	totally	truly
perfectly	truly	definitely	truly	
possibly	virtually	essentially	unusually	
		interestingly		

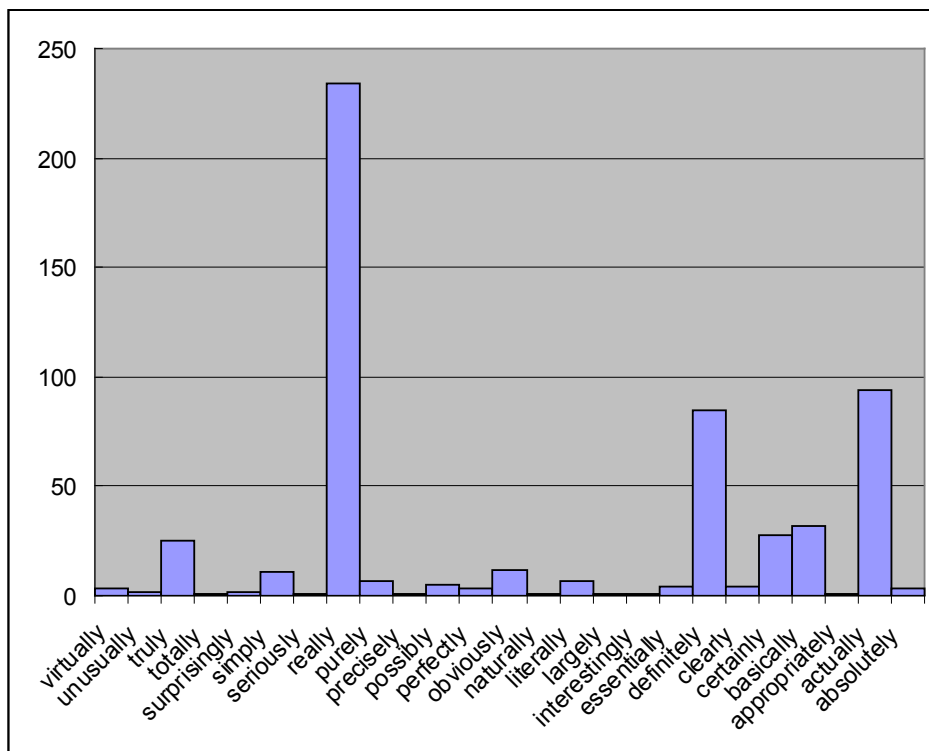Graph 6 *The incidence of modal adverbs in the studied corpus*

Table 7 provides an inventory of adverbials for grammatical functions of emphasizers and disjuncts and for a sentence unit. Graph 7 presents the overall frequency of modal markers in particular phrases.

Table 7 *The inventory of the target modality markers for each grammatical function and a valence pattern*

$A_{DV} P$	Emphasizers	actually, certainly, really
	Disjuncts	basically, essentially, obviously
$A_{DJ} P$	Emphasizers	actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, literally, perfectly, possibly, precisely, really, truly
	Disjuncts	appropriately, basically, essentially, obviously, surprisingly, unusually,
NP	Emphasizers	absolutely, actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, literally, possibly, purely, really, truly, virtually
	Disjuncts	essentially , obviously
PP	Emphasizers	actually, certainly, definitely, literally, really
	Disjuncts	basically, surprisingly
VP	Emphasizers	actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, literally, possibly, really, seriously, simply, totally, virtually
	Disjuncts	basically, essentially, naturally, obviously

Graph 7 *The overall frequency of modal markers in particular phrases*
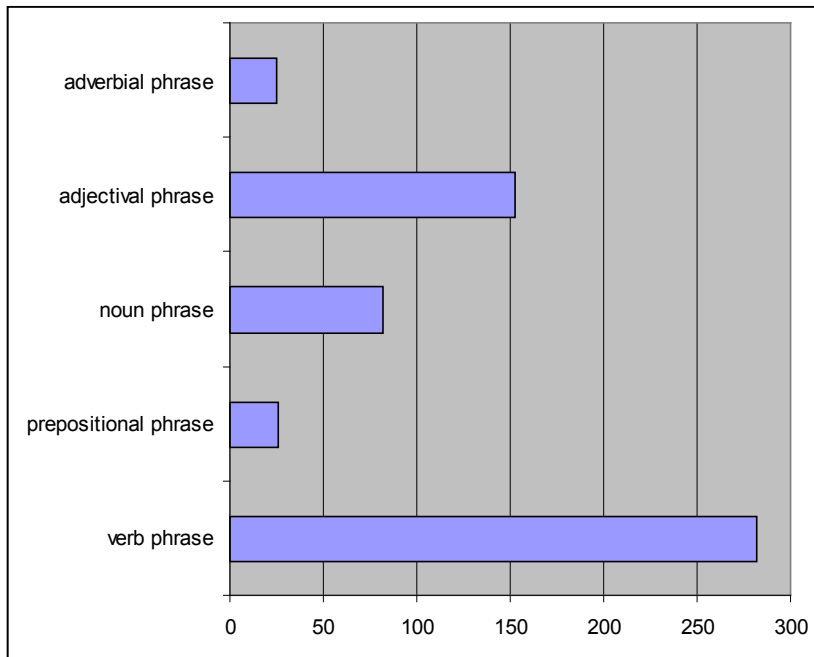
This paper addresses modal markers; drawing on the fact that each utterance is modalized, it was considered what lexical means could participate in communicating modal meaning. Whether or not a speaker chooses to refer to the reality by means of overtly present modal markers, it does not impose any variation whatsoever on the status of the extra-linguistic reality concerned. In utterances with modal markers we are presented with

how a speaker perceives reality rather than the reality itself, for example He is there vs. He is certainly there – the truth-value of the former is considered higher than that of the latter. The communicative intention is a decisive factor that manifests a degree of commitment to the truth value of a communicated idea. No matter what kind of modal meaning is to be transmitted, by and large it carries information about a speaker and their attitudes and feelings, and creates a spirit of genuine (or less genuine) involvement in a communicative situation.

Notes

[1] Paradis (1994: 157) maintains that they form a paradigm on account of common features from both paradigmatic and syntagmatic points of view. In her words, "They are all polysemous and polyfunctional words, whose meanings are determined by a crucial semantic trait 'to a moderate degree' on the paradigmatic axis, and by a semantic-syntactic, selection-licensing mechanism on the syntagmatic axis."

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'You love the open road…':
Building identities and relationships
in car advertising discourse

Christopher Hopkinson

Abstract

This paper addresses the construction of identities and relationships as a manipulative strategy in advertising discourse. Based on a corpus of British and Czech promotional brochures, the study applies an approach grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis, identifying ways in which text-producers attempt to create simulated identities for themselves and their readers. The author addresses the texts' construction of virtual relationships between the addresser and the addressee in terms of positive and negative 'face'. The study also discusses the extent to which the corpus reveals contrastive differences in strategies and discourse preferences between the British and Czech texts.

Keywords: advertising discourse, manipulation, mental models, Critical Discourse Analysis, communication strategies

1 Introduction and aims

Studies of advertising and media discourse grounded in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis frequently focus on the ways in which these discourses create **identities** for their participants (i.e. both the addresser and the addressee) and construct real and/or virtual **relationships** between those participants. The present paper reports on a study of **advertising discourse** from one specific market – the automotive industry.

Advertising discourse is essentially **manipulative**, as its primary communicative intention is to positively influence the addressee's perception of the products and companies being promoted and thus to achieve commercial gain. Addressers (i.e. the producers of advertising discourse) make use of a range of **communication strategies** in an attempt to

manipulate the addressee's perception; among the most effective are strategies of building identities and relationships.

This study reports on an analysis of a corpus of texts consisting of British and Czech commercial presentations by car manufacturers. The texts were taken from websites and brochures downloadable from the internet.

The analysis represents a continuation of the author's previous research – outlined in Hopkinson – which examined communication strategies used in commercial websites promoting food and drink producers. The **aims** of the present research were formulated in response to some of the tentative conclusions arrived at in the previous study, which are outlined in section 2. The primary aim of the present study was to map **core strategies of building identities and relationships** in a new set of data from a different sector of the economy (in this case, commercial presentations by carmakers). Secondly, the distribution of these strategies throughout the corpus was analyzed and compared with the previous (food and drink industry) data in order to determine whether any **contrastive differences** exist between the British and Czech subcorpora which may reflect cross-cultural differences in discourse preferences.

The present corpus was compiled in January 2010 and totals approximately 130,000 words. The data consists of 100 presentations of 50 cars produced by 13 European and Asian manufacturers. Each presentation of a particular car exists in two versions – one for the British market (on a UK website) and one for the Czech market – so the British and Czech subcorpora are directly comparable. The automotive industry was chosen mainly because of the international nature of the sector, which enables a direct comparison of two different ways of presenting exactly the same product.

While being large enough to yield potentially generalizable results, the corpus is also manageable enough in size to enable manual analysis to be undertaken. The analysis was primarily **qualitative**. However, simple quantifiable indicators of certain discourse tendencies were also taken into account wherever it proved to be practically possible. These **quantitative indicators** cannot capture the full complexity of the analyzed phenomena; nevertheless they represent a rough guide to certain properties of the discourse that are of relevance to the aims of the research.

2   Theoretical framework of the analysis

It has already been mentioned that advertising discourse is essentially **manipulative** in its intentions and strategies. Its ultimate goal is to manipulate the addressee's perception of the product, the producer, and the addressee him/herself.

Manipulative media discourse, and the strategies it uses to achieve its aims, have been studied extensively by researchers working within the paradigm of **Critical Discourse Analysis** – whether as part of research into media discourse in general (e.g. Fowler; Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*; Fairclough, *Media Discourse*; Reisigl & Wodak), in studies of advertising discourse (e.g. Čmejrková; Cook on advertising in Czech and English respectively), or in studies devoted specifically to manipulation (e.g. two 2006 papers by Van Dijk). The present study applies essentially the same conceptual framework and analytical criteria as the research reported in Hopkinson. It draws on the concepts introduced and developed by the researchers listed above, which in turn are grounded

in a **Hallidayan systemic-functional framework** emphasizing the systemic and social elements of language use (e.g. Halliday).

Van Dijk (*Discourse and Manipulation*) has developed a **cognitive approach** to manipulative discourse based around the notion of **mental models** – that is, the models of the communicated reality and the communicative situation which the discourse activates (or attempts to activate) in the minds of its addressees. In order to manipulate their readers, the producers of advertising texts attempt to 'plant' in the reader's mind mental models both of the **product** (emphasizing its positive qualities) and of the roles and identities of the two main participants in the discourse – the **producer** of the product and/or the text[1], and the **reader**[2]. Producers thus attempt to align the reader's mental models with **target mental models** that are compatible with the producer's interests. In Van Dijk's words: "Given the fundamental role of mental models in speaking and understanding, manipulation may be expected to especially target the formation, activation and uses of mental models […] If manipulators are aiming for receivers to understand a discourse as *they* see it, it is crucial that the receivers form the mental models the manipulators want them to form […]" (*Discourse and Manipulation* 367)

From the 1990s onwards, Van Dijk has developed a distinction between two types of mental models. Firstly there are '**semantic models**'. Van Dijk defines a semantic model as "a subjective representation of the events or situation that discourse is *about*." (*Discourse, Context and Cognition* 169) This type of mental model corresponds to Fairclough's category of '**representations**' – the ways in which a discourse conceptualizes and represents the reality it describes (Fairclough, *Media Discourse* 5). Secondly there are '**context models**' (also termed 'pragmatic models' by Van Dijk), which are explained as "subjective definitions of events or situations, but in this case not of the situation we talk *about* but the situation *in which* we now participate when we engage in talk or text. That is, contexts are the participants' mental models of communicative situations." (Van Dijk, *Discourse, Context and Cognition* 170) This type of mental model corresponds to Fairclough's concepts of '**identities**' and '**relationships**' (*Media Discourse* 5). Any discourse of this type will attempt to shape the reader's perception (i.e. the reader's mental models) of his/ her own identity, as well as the identity of the producer. Inseparably connected with this notion of identity is that of the (virtual) producer-reader relationship which the discourse attempts to construct.

This study deals with mental models of two main types:

a) Mental models involving the **identity of the producer** – both in terms of the persona adopted by the producer (e.g. an expert or a friendly advisor) and in terms of the producer's (virtual) relationship with the reader – a relationship that may be modelled as being distant or close, formal or familiar. These are Van Dijk's '**context models**' – i.e. mental models of the communicative situation in which the participants are involved – and as such they correspond broadly with Halliday's **interpersonal component** of language.

b) Mental models involving the **identity of the reader** in relation to the product. The discourse frequently positions the reader not merely as the potential consumer of the product, but as the actual owner of the car, constructing a potential identity for the reader based on this (virtual) ownership. In this case, the mental models do not concern the reader's identity as a participant in the communicative situation; instead they construct an identity based on the discourse's representation of the reality described. As such, they

correspond with Van Dijk's '**semantic models**' and primarily involve Halliday's **ideational component** of language.

The manipulation of these two types of mental models belongs among the core communication strategies in advertising discourse, and forms the main subject of the present paper. Previous research on this subject by the present author (focusing on internet presentations from the food and drink industry) found that the Czech commercial websites more often backgrounded the reader in the discourse, creating a more **impersonal tenor**, whereas the British websites more frequently foregrounded the reader, attempting to draw the reader into the discourse and simulate a relationship based on **familiarity and mutuality**. As a potential explanation for this contrastive difference, it was suggested that the observed difference may be due to the **generic instability** of commercial websites, which may be drifting away from a more objective, informational type of discourse towards the generic properties of advertising proper; it was hypothesized that this process may be more advanced in the British discourse community than in the Czech community (Hopkinson 32–33).

The present paper uses essentially the same conceptual framework and analytical criteria as the author's previous research outlined above, but applies them to discourse from a different sector of the economy – the car industry. It aims to expand and build on the previous research in an attempt to reveal similarities and differences between the discourse preferences and manipulative strategies used in presentations from two different discourse communities (the UK and the Czech Republic) and two different sectors of the economy.

The following three sections of this paper (sections 3–5) present the results of the corpus analysis with regard to the two main types of mental models outlined above. The construction of **producer-identities** is examined in section 4, while **reader-identities** form the subject of section 5. However, before moving on to discuss these two core strategies of manipulation, section 3 first deals with the producer's options for the **linguistic encoding** of the three main entities represented in the text (producer, product, reader), touching on the strategic implications of the producer's choices.

3   The linguistic encoding of entities in the discourse

At the heart of advertising discourse are three entities: the producer, the product, and the reader (addressee). A key aspect of the manipulation outlined in the previous section is the text-producer's choice of how each of these three entities should be encoded in the discourse. This involves the decision as to which of the entities should be represented in the text, and how they should be encoded linguistically.

3.1   Encoding the producer and the product

On one 'side' of the communicative situation are two closely related entities – the producer and the product. When constructing a presentation, the text-producer is faced with the option of giving greater prominence to one or the other entity, or giving equal prominence to both.

In some presentations, the producer is entirely or almost entirely backgrounded in favour of the product, which is strongly foregrounded. The producer is thus implicitly

present, though not explicitly encoded in the text. For example, one presentation consists entirely of product descriptions such as

(1)   *A car that combines refined elegance and top-flight performance with impeccable control and unequalled safety [...]* (Alfa Romeo GT)[3]

The only explicit mention of the producer in the presentation cited above is the brand name attached to the product. In other presentations, the text foregrounds processes but backgrounds agency. The producer is the implicit agent, concealed behind the process. In both English and Czech texts, this is mainly realized via passive structures:

(2)   *Inside, every piece of technology, every new feature, has been examined and the learnings gleaned from a variety of different industries applied to them. The result is a car that's as innovative as it is chic.* (Ford Fiesta)

In strategic terms, this **backgrounding of the producer** may be explained as part of an attempt to focus the reader's attention entirely on the product, without the potential distraction of the producer's presence in the text.

However, other presentations choose to foreground both the product and the producer. The producer is typically encoded in **exclusive 'we'** forms. This can be seen as the default encoding option in the corpus:

(3)   *Vorsprung durch Technik isn't a slogan. It's **our** way of seeing the world. It is the driving force behind **our** history of innovation that continues into the 21st century. Indeed, many technologies that Audi pioneered remain in **our** cars today.* (Audi A3)[4]

Occasionally, **inclusive 'we'** forms are used with the intention of drawing the reader into the discourse and creating a bond between the producer and the reader based on shared membership of an **in-group**. This represents an attempt to manipulate the reader's mental model of the producer's identity, to position the producer as a partner of the reader, with both participants involved in a relationship based on mutuality and sharing. In the following example, the text shifts from exclusive 'we' to the most universal type of inclusive 'we' – that based on membership of the same species:

(4)   *We have continually strived to look at ways of making engines that are cleaner and more efficient. But there's one piece of advanced machinery **we all have** that can help with fuel economy, and that's **our brains**.* (Honda Civic Hybrid)

Alternatively, the in-group membership may be based on shared lifestyle:

(5)   *As **we spend more and more time in our cars**, being comfortable is essential.* (Škoda Fabia)

The use of this inclusive 'we' encoding is entirely marginal in both the English and Czech subcorpora; exclusive 'we' dominates throughout.

The foregrounding or backgrounding of the product and the producer does not always remain stable throughout a single presentation. The text-producer may alternate between product-orientation and producer-orientation to achieve certain strategic goals; this involves not merely the selection of options from a paradigm, but also a **syntagmatic** dimension. A particularly common strategic shift is from product-orientation to producer-orientation at points in the text when potentially emotive issues – such as safety or the environment – are discussed. All three of the following examples are taken from presentations in which the

producer is otherwise entirely backgrounded in favour of the product. However, when an emotive issue is raised, the producer seizes the opportunity to step into the discourse and take centre stage:

(6a) *And we've thought of your children's safety too and provided a three-point rear seat attachment for Isofix child seats.* (Alfa Romeo 159)

(6b) *Child safety is as important to us as it is to you.* (Citroën C3)

(6c) *At Mitsubishi Motors we believe everyone can contribute to a cleaner environment, including us.* (Mitsubishi Colt)

This shift of orientation – suddenly drawing attention to the previously backgrounded producer – represents an attempt to manipulate the reader's mental models of the producer's identity by presenting the company as caring and considerate, thus promoting a positive corporate image.

This syntagmatic strategy of orientation-shifting can not only be used to shift the reader's attention *to* one of the entities in the discourse, but may also divert attention *away from* an entity instead. The following example is taken from a presentation in which the product is otherwise strongly foregrounded throughout. However, when the text turns to the issue of breakdowns, the orientation suddenly shifts away from 'it' (the car) and instead focuses on 'you' (the reader/consumer):

(7) *Every Škoda is covered by Škoda Roadside Assistance. So **if you break down**, even if **you**'re on holiday or on business in Europe, **you** can use the freephone number to call someone to come and help **you**.* (Škoda Octavia)

In strategic terms, this represents a subtle attempt to divert the reader's attention away from the possibility that the product may be unreliable, by conceptualizing the central entity in the breakdown situation not as the car (i.e. 'if the car breaks down') but as the driver ('if you break down').

In some cases, the discourse co-opts other voices to speak on behalf of the producer. Typically these third parties are the voices of customers (whether authentic or fictitious) who have bought the product and are satisfied with their ownership experience:

(8a) *"I'm proud of my Colt. It's stylish, distinctive and sporty – full of character!"* (Mitsubishi Colt)

(8b) *"The interior is beautiful and original, more comfortable than I ever could have imagined."* (Alfa Romeo MiTo)

(8c) *"It's as if this little Alfa, glued to the road, showed me the way, recovering in situations where I really thought it wasn't possible. Great! Nice one Alfa!"* (Alfa Romeo MiTo)

These co-opted voices tend to be graphically separated from the main text, located on the periphery of the page or screen and featuring different colours and fonts. They also tend to adopt a more informal and expressive tenor than the main text (e.g. via the use of exclamation marks, as in two of the examples above), providing a more emotional evaluation of the product as a counterpoint to the main text's more technical, expert discourse. In strategic terms, the juxtaposition of two different voices – one more technical and one

more emotional – represents an attempt to appeal to the reader on two different levels at the same time.

3.2 Encoding the reader

On the other 'side' of the communicative situation, opposite the producer and the product, is the reader (addressee). The reader is usually encoded in the text either explicitly via second-person forms, or implicitly via speech acts implying the reader's presence in the discourse (challenges, recommendations, rhetorical questions, invitations, and so on). Typically, the reader is positioned either as being the potential owner of the car, or as the owner already:

(9)   *The Accord cockpit has been designed to enhance your driving experience.*
        It's the combination of comfort and ergonomic design that allows you
        to concentrate on what's important – the road. (Honda Accord)

This encoding of the reader-as-consumer exemplifies the technique of **synthetic personalization** (e.g. Fairclough, *Language and Power* 52): although the addressee is a mass audience, the producer attempts to create the illusion that each individual reader is being addressed personally. In strategic terms, the foregrounding of the reader/consumer represents an attempt to draw the reader into the discourse by suggesting that he/she has a stake in it – thus creating involvement and holding the reader's interest.

It has been noted above (when discussing examples 6 and 7) that the text's orientation may shift from the product to the producer, or from the product to the reader/consumer, in order to achieve certain strategic goals. This syntagmatic strategy also applies to the text's representation of the reader/consumer. For example, a second-person encoding of the reader/consumer may shift to a third-person encoding when unpleasant or worrying topics are discussed. This is shown in the following example, which is taken from a presentation consisting of a set of texts in which the reader/consumer is otherwise consistently encoded as 'you'. However, when the subject of accidents is broached, the encoding suddenly shifts to the third person:

(10)   *In the event of an accident, the pedals retract to reduce potential injury to*
        ***the driver's** feet and ankles. [...] The steering column absorbs the impact*
        *of any collision, and collapses away from **the driver** into the dashboard*
        which can substantially reduce the likelihood of injuries. (Ford Focus)

In strategic terms, this shift represents a subtle attempt not to draw the reader in to the discourse, but rather to do the opposite: to temporarily distance the reader from the worrying scenario described in the text and thus to prevent the reader from associating ownership of the product with personal experience of such scenarios.

The **distribution** of these encoding choices throughout the corpus can be quantified by counting the number of presentations (out of a total of 50 in each language) which feature >2 explicit encodings of the three entities discussed above. This is admittedly quite a crude measure, nevertheless it does provide a rough indication of which encoding strategies are more universal and which are more culture-specific or peripheral.

Table 1   Explicit encodings of entities in the discourse

encoding type	number of presentations featuring >2 occurrences of the particular encoding type	
	British corpus (N = 50)	Czech corpus (N = 50)
explicit encoding of product ('it'-orientation)	50	50
explicit encoding of producer ('we'-orientation)	30	23
explicit encoding of reader/consumer ('you'-orientation)	48	42

Unsurprisingly, all of the presentations featured explicit encoding of the product. The explicit encoding of the reader/consumer in the discourse ('you'-orientation) was also strongly represented, and can be viewed as a core strategy in the corpus examined here. The explicit encoding of the producer ('we'-orientation), though far from being a peripheral phenomenon, is less frequent. The corpus also reveals a slight contrastive difference in discourse preferences between the British presentations and their Czech counterparts; the lower frequency of 'we' and 'you' encodings in the Czech texts suggests that the Czech discourse is somewhat less pseudo-interactive and somewhat more impersonal in its tenor. This tendency is in accordance with a similar tendency revealed in the author's previous research into promotional texts from the food and drink industry. Nevertheless, due to the relatively small size of the sample in the present research, this should be regarded as a tentative conclusion only.

4   Producer-identity and virtual producer-reader relationships

A central process in the manipulation of the reader's mental models is the construction of an identity for the producer – both in terms of the persona adopted by the producer and in terms of the producer's (virtual) relationship with the reader. The subject of manipulation here are Van Dijk's '**context models**' – i.e. the reader's 'pragmatic' mental models of the communicative situation in which the participants are involved. As such, this type of manipulation involves primarily Halliday's **interpersonal component** of language use.

This section first examines the ways in which text-producers project their own identities ('voices') into the discourse, and then moves on to discuss the text's simulation of a relationship between the producer and the reader.

4.1   Constructing a producer 'voice'

The term 'voice' is used here in Fairclough's sense, to refer to the **persona** of the text--producer as projected into the text and forming part of the producer's self-representation. Fairclough (*Media Discourse* 128 ff.) shows how radio presenters adopt a particular voice or persona in order to achieve the strategic goals of their discourse. The persona may be that of an expert, or the presenter may play the role of an 'ordinary bloke' (ibid. 137) in order to position himself closer to his audience. The same principle applies to the producers of commercial presentations. The present author's previous research focusing on

presentations from the food and drink industry found that the default voice of the producer was simply that of the enthusiastic manufacturer, but that other voices were also adopted; the producer may also play the role of a friend, an advisor, a guide, an expert, a host, and so on (Hopkinson 34–37).

The range of producer-voices in the car industry texts examined here is narrower, being essentially limited to **two personas**: a default voice and a more familiar voice posing as a friend or acquaintance of the reader.

The **default voice** exists in isolation, making no reference to the existence of the reader/consumer. As in the texts from the food and drink industry, here too the producer simply plays the role of the enthusiastic and competent manufacturer creating the product:

(11)   *We're working to use less fuel, release less CO2 and waste less energy. It's why*
         we've incorporated a number of more efficient technologies into the Audi A3.

In order to shape readers' perception of the producer, the texts frequently **personalize or emotionalize** this default producer-voice by presenting it as the the holder of opinions or the experiencer of emotions. This may help to soften and humanize what might otherwise be a rather faceless corporate image:

(12a)   *Why reducing CO2 emissions makes us really happy […] At Honda, we*
         see a challenge, where others see a problem. (Honda Civic Hybrid)
(12b)   *At Honda we love challenges. It makes us think differently and*
         it produces innovative solutions […] (Honda Civic)

The other type of voice adopted by the producer in the corpus texts goes beyond this default role and is more **familiar** in tenor, with the producer posing as an acquaintance or friend of the reader. Unlike the default voice, this more familiar voice does not exist independently; it always acknowledges or implies the presence of the other participant in the discourse – the reader/consumer. The strategic goal of this voice is to 'plant' in the reader's mind the mental model of a reader-producer relationship based on trust, confidence and good will. As part of this strategy, the producer may claim or imply knowledge of the reader's lifestyle:

(13)   **When you arrive home after an enjoyable night out**, *flash*
         the left stalk and the headlights will stay on for a short while,
         illuminating the way to your door. (Ford Fiesta)

The use of this familiar voice may also involve the implication that the producer and the reader share a certain experience. In the following example, it is implied that the situation in question (i.e. not having enough room in your car to fit in everything you want to take) is well known to both participants:

(14)   **Imagine not having to decide what to leave behind.** *Colt has plenty of*
         space for you and everything you need to take with you. (Mitsubishi Colt)

These two producer-voices frequently alternate within the text of a single presentation, allowing the producer to project a dual persona – competent and professional, yet at the same time approachable.

4.2 Constructing a virtual producer-reader relationship

The choice of the producer's persona has clear implications for the nature of the virtual producer-reader relationship that is simulated by the discourse. The construction of such relationships is a central communication strategy employed by the producers of commercial texts, who frequently attempt to manipulate the reader's mental models in order to 'plant' the existence of a certain type of relationship in his/her mind. This strategy has two main goals. Firstly it is part of the attempt to engage and hold the reader's attention by suggesting that the reader is genuinely involved in the discourse as a party in a potentially reciprocal relationship with the producer. Secondly, the construction of a positive relationship helps to reinforce the positive image of the producer in the reader's mind, thus making the reader more likely to accept the producer's claims and suggestions.

Two key aspects of this relationship-constructing strategy will be discussed in the following paragraphs: firstly producers' attempts to simulate reciprocal communication between the two participants, and secondly the way in which the discourse positions these two participants in a relationship which is either close or distant, familiar or formal.

4.2.1 Simulating reciprocity

Commercial presentations involve one-way monologic communication from producer to reader, with no direct face-to-face contact. However, as part of their attempt to construct a virtual producer-reader relationship, text-producers employ a range of means to create the illusion of interactive communication between the two participants. This corresponds with Fairclough's observation of a general trend towards **conversationalization** in mass media discourse (*Media Discourse* 9 ff.).

A central means of suggesting that the reader is involved in personal communication with the producer is the use of **pseudo-reciprocal speech acts** performed by the persona of the producer and directed at the reader. These speech acts fall into two main types: questions and invitations.

Rhetorical **questions** frequently play a text-structuring role, functioning as **structural cues** for the presentation of information which poses as the 'answer' to the question. A form typically associated with interactivity (the question) is thus co-opted in order to simulate a dialogic exchange:

(15)   So you've read a little about some of the Fabia's features, but
         what else do you need to know? Well, it's available in hatchback,
         estate and the fuel efficient, low CO_2 emitting GreenLine.

This structural feature is often used to frame **problem-solution** patterns; the producer first introduces the problem, then offers a solution:

(16a) *So having all this space is great, but how are you going to load*
       it all in? How about doors that open almost 90 degrees for
       easy access? At Honda we understand that answers sometimes
       come from asking the right questions. (Honda Civic)

(16b) *In a hurry? Put your trust in the Carminat TomTom*
       navigation system. (Renault Clio)

A second function of rhetorical questions is to imply that the producer and the reader share the same views, to **simulate consensus** between the two participants. Often the 'answer' is left unstated, though it is clearly implicit in the discourse:

(17)   *Would you put a part into your Audi that wasn't the same quality*
       as the factory fitted original? You can rest assured that only Audi
       Genuine Parts will be used on your vehicle. (Audi A3)

However, the 'answer' may also be stated explicitly, confirming that the producer and the reader are of the same mind:

(18)   *Zdá se Vám povrchní, je-li kladen důraz na zevnějšek?* **Nám také.**
       Proto se pod plně pozinkovanou karoserií nového vozu Polo skrývá
       skutečný charakter. [Do you think that it's superficial when emphasis is
       placed on external appearances? **So do we.** *That's why real character*
       is hidden under the new Polo's fully galvanized body.] (VW Polo)

In addition to questions, **invitations** are the other main type of pseudo-reciprocal speech act that is used in an attempt to simulate interaction between the producer and the reader. These usually take the form of imperatives:

(19a) *Set change in motion. Drive the evolution. There are many*
       roads to the future. Choose yours. (Fiat Punto)

(19b) *Feel every movement. Experience full-on performance. Measure*
       quality by attention to detail. Appreciate the bespoke craftsmanship.
       See precision as a way of life. […] (Renault Laguna)

Invitations may also be formulated as questions:

(20)   *So now the introduction's over, why not have a look at*
       the Fabia in a little more detail? (Škoda Fabia)

The **distribution** of these pseudo-reciprocal speech acts throughout the corpus can be quantified by counting the number of presentations (out of a total of 50 in each language) which feature speech acts of the types outlined above (examples 15–20). Like the data in Table 1, this too is a relatively crude measure, as the concentration of pseudo-reciprocal features in texts varies between presentations, being denser in some and sparser in others.

Nevertheless, even this simple count serves to provide a rough indication of the extent to which the strategy is represented across the entire corpus:

Table 2 Number of presentations featuring pseudo-reciprocal speech acts

British corpus (N = 50)	Czech corpus (N = 50)
37	29

Although the majority of both the British and Czech presentations make at least some use of these rhetorical devices, their lower frequency in the Czech texts suggests that the Czech discourse is somewhat less pseudo-interactive and more impersonal in its tenor. This tendency accords with similar tendencies observed when discussing the data in Table 1. It also tallies with the results of the author's previous research as outlined above.

4.2.2 Closeness or distance in virtual relationships: positive and negative 'face'

The second main aspect of relationship-constructing strategies to be discussed at this point is the way in which the discourse positions the two participants in a relationship which is either close or distant, familiar or formal.

The producer-reader relationship can be conceptualized on the basis of the notion of *face*, which has found wide application in pragmatic approaches to language (e.g. Brown & Levinson, Scollon & Scollon). While some discourse attempts to construct a virtual relationship based on the reader's **positive face** wants (involving mutuality, closeness and sharing), other discourse displays a preference for **negative face** (i.e. emotionally neutral relationships based on non-intrusion into the private space of others); this distinction could also be conceptualized (as by Scollon & Scollon) as **involvement face** and **independence face** respectively. Both types of relationship have certain strategic advantages in commercial presentations such as those examined in this study. A virtual relationship based on negative face respects the reader's privacy and avoids the intrusiveness of positive-face discourse, which could potentially irritate the reader. However, a relationship based on positive face can also offer potential advantages: it can 'plant' in the reader's mind the mental model of a reader-producer relationship based on trust, confidence and good will, which may make the reader more predisposed to accept the producer's claims.

The focus in the following paragraphs is on ways in which producers construct **virtual relationships based on positive face**. (Negative-face discourse, by contrast, is based on the non-use of the techniques and features discussed below.)

Text-producers use a variety of means to simulate relationships based on positive face, mutuality and familiarity. Some of these means have been discussed above: e.g. the **pseudo-reciprocal speech acts** (examples 15–20). In addition, producers may make various claims which imply personal knowledge of and familiarity with the reader's views, experiences, reactions, desires, or personality.

Familiarity (and agreement) with the reader's **views** is implied by the texts cited as examples 17 and 18 above. These examples use rhetorical questions addressed to the reader and prompting an answer that is in accordance with the producer's stated or implied views. Related to this technique are cases when the producer makes general value-statements that

invite agreement from the reader; this is part of an attempt to bring the reader on-side and create consensus between the two participants:

(21)　***Driving should be a blast. Motoring is there to be enjoyed.***
And in your Mazda MX-5, heart-racing excitement and wind-in-your-hair exhilaration is all but guaranteed.

Producers also construct texts which imply that the two participants share the same **experiences** – as in example 14 above. A frequent linguistic realization of this technique is the use of demonstratives to signal that the experience described is well known to both participants:

(22)　*There's best-in-class visibility at both the front and rear, improving general driving safety and making **those** awkward reverse parks a thing of the past. […] We've reduced road noise to a minimum, so there's no need to squirm and grit your teeth when faced with **that** pending section of harsh motorway concrete.* (Mazda 3)

The producer may also claim to know and be able to predict the reader's **reactions**:

(23)　*One glance at its impressive lines and the dynamic qualities of the Focus are immediately apparent. Gaze at it for a few seconds longer and you will appreciate the meticulously crafted details and innovative design flourishes.* (Ford Focus)

This technique is frequently realized via the use of ambiguous second-person forms that could be interpreted either as a genuine mode of address aimed at the reader, or as generic 'you' forms:

(24)　*Something strange happens when **you** sit inside the Citroën C5 – **you** feel excited and relaxed, all at once. […] It's a pleasantly thrilling sensation. Controlled power. **Your** heart wants to pump. **Your** head wants to control. So the Citroën C5 pays equal homage to both.*

The producer may also claim to know the reader's personal **desires**:

(25)　*You've always wanted a roadster. A two-seater. The driving exhilaration that goes with it. And now, you can experience it all with the convenience of a power-folding hardtop. Introducing the Mazda MX-5 Roadster Coupe.*

– or to know the reader's **personality**:

(26)　*On the one hand you relish adventure – you appreciate the joy of an open road and the lure of an empty track. On the other hand you acknowledge the practical side of life – the frequent, sometimes tedious need to transport a number of people and varying amounts of kit from point A to point B as safely as possible.* (Mitsubishi Outlander)

In addition to pseudo-reciprocal speech acts and claims implying personal knowledge of and familiarity with the reader's life, text-producers may reinforce the simulation of a

positive-face relationship by using stylistic features associated with **orality** or informal face-to-face communication:

(27)   *Whereas other cars of this size can feel, **well**, a bit dull, the Mazda6 knows exactly what it means to have a great time.*

Elements of **humour** can also be deployed in an attempt to simulate a relaxed, familiar relationship. These may be based on wordplay, often involving a clash between literal and metaphorical meanings:

(28a)   *But what would these cutting-edge safety measures be without you having an uninterrupted view of the road lying ahead? Our new windscreen wiper system with three wash jets will make sure of that. Covering 20% more of your windscreen and proven to work like clockwork at high speeds and in temperatures below 0°C. **All clear?** Perfect.* (Seat Ibiza)

(28b)   *Nový Golf **sahá po hvězdách a získal jich pět**: V nárazovém testu EuroNCAP dosahuje nejlepší Golf všech dob příkladných výsledků.* [*The new Golf **reaches for the stars and has won five of them**: in the EuroNCAP crash test the best Golf of all time achieved exemplary results.* – i.e. a '5-star' rating in the crash test] (VW Golf)

Due to the complexity of the concepts of positive and negative face, the **distribution** of positive vs. negative face-based relationships in the corpus cannot be reliably determined using objective and precise quantitative methods. Given the large number of contributory factors, it is not methodologically viable simply to count and statistically analyze selected linguistic indicators that determine, for example, whether a British presentation displays a stronger orientation towards a positive-face relationship than its Czech counterpart presentation. For this reason, any such comparative judgement necessarily involves a degree of subjectivity. Nevertheless, this does not render a contrastive approach entirely invalid; while acknowledging the methodological flaws and limitations outlined above, a subjective but informed judgement is still capable of offering general insights and providing a rough indication of differences in discourse preferences between the British and Czech presentations. Each of the 50 English presentations was therefore compared with its Czech counterpart and a judgement was made in each case as to whether there was a noticeable difference in the level of positivity or negativity of face.

Table 3: British vs. Czech presentations: positivity / negativity of face
        in the relationship constructed by the discourse
        N = 50

British presentation displays more positive face than its counterpart	no noticeable difference in face	Czech presentation displays more positive face than its counterpart
16	31	3

In over half of the presentation pairs, there was no noticeable difference in the relationship constructed by the British and Czech discourse. Where there was a discernable difference in face, it was mainly the British presentations that displayed a more positive face-based relationship. These results are in accordance with the general tendency already

observed in the present paper and in previous research (Hopkinson); namely that the Czech discourse is more impersonal in tenor, whereas the British discourse displays a stronger preference for pseudo-reciprocity and the construction of producer-reader relationships based on simulated mutuality and closeness.

5   The identity of the reader/consumer

Whereas the previous section has examined strategies for constructing identities of the producer (including the producer's role in the virtual relationship between the two participants), this section now turns to discuss the ways in which commercial presentations attempt to manipulate the reader's mental models of his/her own identity, shaping the reader's self-image.

In the commercial presentations examined here, the reader's identity is primarily defined by **association with the product**. For example, the discourse frequently positions the reader not merely as the potential consumer of the product, but as the actual owner of the car:

(29)   *Take time to admire your new Polo.*

– and attempts to plant in the reader's mind a mental model of a potential identity based on this virtual ownership. Alternatively, the discourse may characterize (in glowingly positive terms) the type of person who owns a particular car, explicitly or implicitly inviting the reader to join the **in-group** of owners. This technique involves an appeal to the reader's ego: the reader can acquire a desirable potential identity by associating him/herself with the product:

(30)   *For those who love undiluted Italian spirit. For those who long to travel for the pleasure of it. For those who are always looking for a great deal. For those who hate compromises. For those who want to do their bit for the environment. For those who fancy something uniquely cool. For those with a weakness for beautiful things…* (Fiat Panda)

As has been noted earlier, these mental models do not concern the reader's identity as a participant in the communicative situation – e.g. as a party in the producer-reader relationship. Instead, they create an identity based on the discourse's representation of the reader/consumer as part of the reality described. As such, they correspond with Van Dijk's '**semantic models**' and primarily involve Halliday's **ideational component** of language.

The construction of the reader/consumer's identity involves two main mechanisms: firstly the metonymic transfer of attributes between the product and the consumer, and secondly the encoding of the product and the consumer in terms of their semantic roles. Each of these mechanisms is now discussed in turn.

5.1   Metonymic transfer of attributes

A key technique for constructing reader/consumer-identity is the metonymic transfer of attributes (in the semantic sense of the term 'attribute'). Metonymy is based on a relationship of contiguity between two entities – in this case the product and the reader/consumer. Frequently in advertising discourse, positive associations or intangible attributes of the product are symbolically transferred to its consumers, or vice versa. The consumer's

identity is thus defined by his/her choice of car, or the car is defined by the type of people who drive it. This strategy is particularly prevalent in automotive industry advertising because cars are frequently presented not merely as practical tools, but as lifestyle accessories which reveal something about their owners' personality.

The identity of the consumer may be expressed simply and **overtly** in the text, as in example 30 above. In some cases, a parallel is drawn between a positive personality trait of the car's owners and a similarly positive attribute of the car (in the following example, their understated style):

(31) *Do you prefer the labels to be discreetly inside your clothes? Mondeo drivers seldom rely on others for reassurance, they instinctively know when something is right. The elegant, muscular exterior and well-equipped interior are designed with uncompromising quality, but they aren't designed to draw attention for attention's sake.* (Ford Mondeo)

A related technique involves the **personification** of the product, which is described as possessing human qualities that mirror those of its owners:

(32a) ***Fun and rebellious**, this model is aimed at those who aren't afraid to stand out from the crowd and change the rules.* (Fiat Punto)

(32b) *A **thoughtful** vehicle. Designed for thoughtful people.* (Honda CR-V)

Alternatively, the transfer of attributes may take place more **covertly**, without direct reference to the identity of the consumer. Instead, the car is presented as the embodiment of an abstract concept (such as sophistication or style), and this quality is then implicitly transferred to its owners, setting up a desirable potential identity which the reader can 'buy into'. Again, the technique of **personification** is frequently used in order to reinforce the potential transfer of human-like qualities from the car to its consumers:

(33a) *A **temperament** already evident in the front-end with its **bold** shield [...] The elegant **personality** of a luxury saloon is reflected in the generous space available to the driver and passengers [...] a refined sporting **spirit** [...]* (Alfa Romeo GT)

(33b) *Viewed from any direction, Lancer is **broad-chested**, low slung and **muscular**. There is nothing superfluous, no design for design's sake, just an extremely purposeful and attractive car that looks **born** for the open road.* (Mitsubishi Lancer)

Whereas example 33a implicitly transfers **personality features** to the consumer of the car, example 33b also focuses on **physical features**. This technique of personification may also involve the construction of a **gender identity** for the product (and by extension, for the reader/consumer). Example 33b clearly appeals to a male target readership with its emphasis on macho qualities. By contrast, the following example (33c) is based on stereotypically feminine attributes. In both 33b and 33c, the personification of the product is subtly underlined by the omission of the definite article. The unmarked form 'the Lancer'

or 'the Clio' becomes 'Lancer' or 'Clio', thus appropriating a form of naming typically associated with animate referents:

(33c)   ***Clio arrives, oozing class**. A flash of sunlight outlines the **elegant**
            silhouette, the **purposeful shoulders**, those streamlined headlights.
            Clean contours cut through the air **gracefully**.* (Renault Clio)

5.2   Encoding of the consumer and the product in terms of semantic roles

Another important mechanism for the construction of reader/consumer-identity is the encoding of the consumer and the product in terms of their semantic roles. Both entities can be conceptualized by the discourse as playing certain semantic roles in relation to each other. Of particular relevance here are the roles of **agent**, **patient** and **instrument**, and the linguistic encoding of these roles and their holders through the system of **transitivity** (in the Hallidayan sense of the term). This assignation of semantic roles is related to the over-all perspectivization of the text – i.e. the text-level decision to foreground or background certain ways of encoding the described reality.

    The text-producer essentially has a choice between two opposite poles, which may be termed 'strategic perspectivizations': the agent role may be assigned either to the consumer or to the product. If the consumer is encoded as the agent (typically realized as the subject of the sentence), then the underlying 'ideology' (to apply a term from Critical Discourse Analysis) is one in which the consumer has control over the situation described by the text. This strategic choice of encoding can be termed '**consumer-perspectivization**'. At the heart of this choice of encoding is an appeal to the reader/consumer's desire for control. It may subtly reinforce the reader/consumer's positive self-image because the product is represented as enabling the consumer to be more than just a passive recipient; instead, the consumer is an active entity, achieving his/her goals with the help of the product, which is assigned the semantic role of instrument or facilitator:

(34a)   *An audible warning **helps you judge** the distance between
            your car and any obstacle behind you.* (Ford Focus)
(34b)   *[a computer system] provides useful suggestions regarding acceleration
            and gear changes that will **allow you to optimise** the car's fuel
            economy and **minimise** its environmental impact.* (Fiat Punto)

    A second type of perspectivization – halfway between the two opposite poles outlined above – assigns the agent role jointly to the consumer and the product. This option is relatively rare in the corpus examined here, and can be seen as a marginal choice. The consumer and the product are represented as **co-agents**:

(35)   *Select the setting that's perfect for you, and Fiesta will keep it
            that way with its advanced air conditioning.* (Ford Fiesta)

    This option may involve a strategy of personification, in which the car is represented as an entity with human emotions:

(36)   *Sat at the wheel, you feel a sense of synergy with your car. You're both
            ready for a great time. And you look the part, too.* (Mazda MX-5)

At the opposite end of the scale from the consumer-perspectivization is an enco-ding choice that can be termed '**product-perspectivization**'. The car is represented as the agent, while the consumer (if represented at all) plays the patient role:

(37)   *[…] you can trust our premium business saloon to **get
        you there**, safely and in style.* (VW Passat)

This perspectivization is frequently employed in connection with the product-personi-fication strategies outlined above. For example:

(38a)   *The Alfa Brera wraps driver and passengers alike
        in a **warm, welcoming embrace**.*
(38b)   *Even when it's stopped, the Citroën C5 doesn't **sleep**. It's constantly **on alert**
        for dangerous situations, with anti-theft alarm and deadlocks fitted as standard*

The ideology of the car-as-agent encoding is based around the passivity of the consu-mer; it is the product that dominates the situation described. The consumer is presented as a passive vessel, whose only role is to be surprised or impressed, to be the recipient of impressions, to have his/her senses satisfied:

(39a)   *From any angle, the Citroën C5 saloon inspires awe and desire.*
(39b)   *New Citroën C3 will stir your senses on every trip. 360 degrees of
        inspiration. You'll sense it the instant you get into a new Citroën C3 […]*
(39c)   *The precision of its lines takes your breath away […]* (Renault Megane)

Another typical encoding within this product-perspectivization strategy involves the de-agentization of the driving process; the driver/consumer and the act of driving are frequently backgrounded, hidden behind nominal forms (in the following examples, *drive* or *journey*):

(40a)   ***Every journey is a special experience** in the Passat,
        thanks to Volkswagen's superb range of economical, high-
        torque petrol and diesel engines […]* (VW Passat)
(40b)   *The Citroën C4 is also alive with technology that **delivers a thrilling drive**.*

It is thus not the consumer who controls the car, but the car that provides the consumer with an enjoyable experience. In strategic terms, product-perspectivizations can be seen as part of advertisers' attempts to subliminally break down readers' resistance to manipula-tion. This choice of encoding subtly attempts to build or reinforce a mental model in which the reader/consumer is willingly subordinated to the product. In such cases, the discourse can be said to symbolically legitimize the roles expressed in the text, including the consu-mer's submission to the power of the product. A similar strategy was found in the author's previous research analyzing presentations from the food and drink industry. Texts promo-ting alcoholic drinks or high-fat, high-sugar foods – which may be potentially addictive substances – frequently use product-perspectivization which symbolically legitimizes the product's potential control over its consumers (Hopkinson 57–58).

With regard to the strategies for constructing reader identities as discussed in this sec-tion, the corpus under investigation reveals no significant **contrastive differences** between the British and Czech presentations. Clearly the chosen strategies differ from product to

product, but the goals and mechanisms of identity-construction appear to be universal, at least in the corpus investigated here.

6 Conclusions

The primary aim of the present study was to **map core strategies of building identities and relationships** in commercial presentations by carmarkers. These strategies belong among the most important techniques of manipulation used in advertising discourse. Through strategies of building identities and relationships, text-producers attempt to align the reader's mental models with target mental models that are compatible with the producer's interests. Three core strategies were analyzed: firstly the encoding of three entities (producer, product and reader) in the text; secondly the construction of an identity (voice) for the producer and the way in which this voice helps to construct a virtual producer-reader relationship; and thirdly the construction of an identity for the reader/consumer.

The second aim of the present study was to analyze the **distribution** of these strategies throughout the corpus in order to determine whether any **contrastive differences** exist between the British and Czech subcorpora which may reflect cross-cultural differences in discourse preferences.

The corpus did indeed reveal a slight contrastive difference in discourse preferences between the British presentations and their Czech counterparts. In terms of the encoding of the three core entities (producer, product, reader) in the text, the lower frequency of 'we' and 'you' encodings (producer-orientation and reader-orientation respectively) in the Czech texts suggests that the Czech discourse, viewed as a whole, is somewhat **less pseudo-interactive** and **more impersonal** in its tenor than the British discourse. This observation is also backed up by the distribution of two more parameters in the present corpus. Firstly, the frequency of **pseudo-reciprocal speech acts** was lower in the Czech texts. Secondly, there was a slight difference in preferences regarding the construction of virtual producer-reader relationships on the basis of either **positive or negative face**: in cases where there was a discernable difference in face between the British and Czech presentations of the same product, it was mainly the British presentations that displayed a more positive face-based relationship.

A similar tendency was observed in the author's previous research into commercial websites from the food and drink industry. In this previous research it was suggested that the observed contrastive difference may be due to the generic instability of commercial websites, which – as the internet becomes an increasingly important medium of commercial communication – may be drifting away from a more objective, informational type of discourse towards the generic properties of advertising proper. It was hypothesized that this process of 'generic drift' may be more advanced in the British discourse community than in the Czech community, which would account for the observed difference in discourse properties (Hopkinson 33). However, the presentations analyzed for the present study represent a different genre than the food and drink industry texts. The car presentations are essentially promotional brochures, and as such they can be considered representatives of a well-established and stable genre. An explanation based on generic 'drifting' does not convincingly apply to the corpus analyzed in the present study. Therefore, it may instead be hypothesized that the observed slight cross-cultural difference in discourse preferences

is more widely present in British and Czech advertising and commercial discourse as a whole.

This tentative hypothesis opens up a potential avenue for future research which would verify its validity using different data sets. Specifically, comparable advertising presentations of the same product aimed at the British and Czech markets could be gathered from other sectors – not only the car industry, but also various other types of internationally marketed consumer goods. From a methodological viewpoint, the toughest challenge will evidently be to develop an objective and reliable way of capturing quantitative data in order to enable a rigorous statistical analysis to be undertaken. It would also be instructive to expand the contrastive element of the research by carrying out a similar analysis on a data set including texts originating in a wider range of cultures; for example the English-language part of the data set could include texts from Britain, the USA, Australia, South Africa and so on. This would enable firmer conclusions to be reached as to possible cross-cultural differences in discourse preferences.

Notes

[1] For the purposes of this analysis, the producer of the product and the producer of the text can be telescoped together into a single analytical entity (on the 'addresser' side of the communicative situation) without significant loss of conceptual clarity. The terms 'producer' and 'text-producer' are thus used interchangeably here.

[2] Given that the discourse examined in this study is primarily written, the addressee is generally referred to as the 'reader'.

[3] Where possible, illustrative examples are given in English. Czech examples are followed by a working translation in square brackets.

[4] In all cases, emphasis in the examples (in bold type) is added by the author.

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Corpus

The primary sources below are listed by example number. All were accessed in Jan 2010.

(1)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_brochure/ GT%20Glossy%20Brochure%20APR%2008.pdf

(2)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Fiesta/Technicalhighlights

(3)   http://www.audi.co.uk/content/dam/audi/production/ PDF/PriceAndSpecGuides/a3-s3.pdf

(4)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/civichybrid/CivicHybrid.pdf

(5)   http://www.skoda.co.uk/pdf/brochure_fabia.pdf

(6a)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_ brochure/159_&_159_SW_Glossy_Brochure_SEP_09.pdf

(6b)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c3/brochure.pdf

(6c)   http://www.mitsubishi-cars.co.uk/colt/colt-brochure.aspx

(7)   http://www.skoda.co.uk/pdf/brochure_octavia.pdf

(8a)   http://www.mitsubishi-cars.co.uk/colt/colt-brochure.aspx

(8b)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_ brochure/MiTo_Glossy_Brochure_NOV_08.pdf

(8c)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_ brochure/MiTo_Glossy_Brochure_NOV_08.pdf

(9)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/ accordsaloon/Accord_Saloon.pdf

(10)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Focus/Safetyandsecurity

(11)   http://www.audi.co.uk/content/dam/audi/production/ PDF/PriceAndSpecGuides/a3-s3.pdf

(12a)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/civichybrid/CivicHybrid.pdf

(12b)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/civic3door/Civic_TypeS.pdf

(13)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Fiesta/Technicalhighlights

(14)   http://www.mitsubishi-cars.co.uk/colt/colt-brochure.aspx

(15)   http://www.skoda.co.uk/pdf/brochure_fabia.pdf

(16a)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/civic3door/Civic_TypeS.pdf

(16b)   http://www.renault.co.uk/Resources/PDF/Brochures/New_Clio.pdf

(17)   http://www.audi.co.uk/content/dam/audi/production/
        PDF/PriceAndSpecGuides/a3-s3.pdf
(18)   http://www.volkswagen.cz/modely/nove_polo/prednosti/design/
(19a)   http://www.fiat.co.uk/contactconsole/requestbrochure.
        aspx?mediaCode=106&hash=showroom/home
(19b)   http://www.renault.co.uk/Resources/PDF/Brochures/New_Laguna.pdf
(20)   http://www.skoda.co.uk/pdf/brochure_fabia.pdf
(21)   http://www.mazda.co.uk/showroom/mx-5/
(22)   http://www.mazda.co.uk/showroom/mazda3/Unrivalled/
(23)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Focus/Exteriordesign
(24)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c5-saloon/brochure.pdf
(25)   http://www.mazda.co.uk/showroom/mx-5/mx-5_roadster/
(26)   http://www.mitsubishi-cars.co.uk/outlander/brochure.aspx
(27)   http://www.mazda.co.uk/showroom/mazda6/overview/
(28a)   http://www.seat.co.uk/generator/su/com/newIbiza08/
        site/highlights/safety/main.html
(28b)   http://www.volkswagen.cz/modely/novy_golf/
(29)   http://www.volkswagen.co.uk/assets/common/
        pdf/brochures/polo-v-brochure.pdf
(30)   http://www.fiat.co.uk/contactconsole/requestbrochure.aspx?mediaCode=106&
        hash=showroom/home
(31)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Mondeo
(32a)   http://www.fiat.co.uk/contactconsole/requestbrochure.aspx?mediaCode=106&
        hash=showroom/home
(32b)   http://www.honda.co.uk/cars/_assets/downloads/cr-v/CR-V.pdf
(33a)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_brochure/GT%20
        Glossy%20Brochure%20APR%2008.pdf
(33b)   http://www.mitsubishi-cars.co.uk/lancer/lancer-brochure.aspx
(33c)   http://www.renault.co.uk/Resources/PDF/Brochures/New_Clio.pdf
(34a)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Focus/Technicalhighlights
(34b)   http://www.fiat.co.uk/contactconsole/requestbrochure.aspx?mediaCode=106&
        hash=showroom/home
(35)   http://www.ford.co.uk/Cars/Fiesta/Interiordesign
(36)   http://www.mazda.co.uk/showroom/mx-5/
(37)   http://www.volkswagen.co.uk/new/passat
(38a)   http://www.alfaromeo.co.uk/NEWALFA_UK/download_brochure/Bera%20
        Glossy%20Brochure%20APR%2008.pdf
(38b)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c5-saloon/brochure.pdf
(39a)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c5-saloon/brochure.pdf
(39b)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c3/brochure.pdf
(39c)   http://www.renault.co.uk/Resources/PDF/Brochures/Megane_H_SH.pdf

(40a)   http://www.volkswagen.co.uk/assets/common/pdf/brochures/passat-brochure.
         pdf
(40b)   http://www.citroen.co.uk/Assets/pdf/new-cars/c4-hatchback/brochure.pdf

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Gestures, English Spoken Discourse and Czech Dubbed Text in an American Feature Film

Lenka Sedlářová

Abstract

This paper presents the results of an interdisciplinary analysis in the fields of functional sentence perspective and nonverbal communication, based on the English spoken text, Czech dubbed text and gestures made by the actors in the American film American Beauty (1999). The data for the analysis were taken from the multimodal database created by the author of the paper. The interaction between the gestures and the English and the Czech texts respectively is analyzed by means of the theory of functional sentence perspective. Co-occurrences of the gestures and particular communicative units are presented. The functions of particular gestures in relation to the spoken texts are also taken into account. The way in which the gestures and the English text interact is contrasted with the interaction of the Czech dubbing and gestures. The author describes the discrepancies between the two language versions of the film.

Keywords: g estures, nonverbal communication, gesture-speech analysis, functional sentence perspective, communicative units, multimodal corpus, dubbing, film.

1 Introduction

When watching a feature film, the Czech audience can easily distinguish between cases when there is an original Czech soundtrack and when the soundtrack has been dubbed into the Czech language. The present paper addresses the question of the discrepancies arising between the Czech dubbed text and the original feature film *American Beauty* (1999)

affecting the overall impression of the film on the audience, with the main focus on hand gestures.

The approach used in the present paper presupposes that communication is a complex process taking place through two channels – verbal and nonverbal. Some scholars state that nonverbal means constitute 70% of all the means used in everyday spoken communication (Škvareninová 4). Contrary to Škvareninová's claim, the present analysis was expected to reveal that hand gestures merely support the spoken word in a feature film, and are therefore more or less redundant.

The present study has an interdisciplinary character, which stems from the fact that the analysis considers two aspects of the analyzed material – verbal and nonverbal. The analysis of the text will be approached by means of the theory of functional sentence perspective (e.g. Firbas *Functional*) as well as speech act theory (Austin; Searle). The analysis of the gesture will exploit the results of the interdisciplinary analysis of gestures and speech (Sedlářová *Hand*), and the classification of gestures presented by one of the world's leading scholars investigating nonverbal communication in human interaction, Mark Knapp.

2   Theory of functional sentence perspective

Systematic research into the theory of FSP was begun by Vilém Mathesius (*O takzvaném, Obsahový, Jazyk* 174–179), and was later developed by Jan Firbas, who formulated the pluripartitive approach (e.g. *On defining, Functional, Text*), and Svoboda (e.g. *Diatheme, Kapitoly, Encyklopedický*). More recent research has been carried out mainly by Chamonikolasová, as well as by Hurtová, Adam and others.

In the early stages of the research into FSP, attention was paid to the issue of word order (Mathesius *Jazyk* 174–179; Svoboda *Kapitoly* 9). Word order, or more precisely linearity, is one of the four factors of FSP. It concerns ordering constituents carrying any semantic content at the level of the sentence, text or phrase (Svoboda *Kapitoly* 11). In the present paper linearity is considered at the level of the clause. In the Czech language, word order is used to place the constituent which makes the greatest contribution to the development of the communication (carrying the highest degree of communicative dynamism = CD) towards the end of the clause. It is a tool of rhematization. By contrast, the constituents carrying the lowest degrees of CD are placed at the clause beginning. This is only possible due to the flexibility of word order in Czech. However, in the English language word order is used to signal syntactic-semantic relations. Thus it is less flexible, and other factors come into play.

The remaining three factors of FSP are semantics, context and intonation. Some constituents in the sentence have semantic content which predestines them to carry less communicative importance than the others. Having analyzed several thousand sentences, Firbas came to the conclusion that there exist semantic scales which reflect increasing degrees of CD of the constituents within one distributional field of CD (Firbas *A functional view*). The Presentation Scale and the Quality Scale order the constituents with particular dynamic semantic functions as follows (Svoboda *Kapitoly* 12–15):

- – Presentation Scale: • scene (setting) • presentation on the scene • phenomenon presented on the scene
- – Quality Scale: • scene • quality bearer • quality • specification(s) • further specification(s)

Sometimes Phenomenon on the Presentation Scale may become Quality Bearer on the Quality Scale; this was the stimulus for designing the Combined Scale: • scene (setting) • presentation on the scene • phenomenon presented on the scene • quality bearer • quality • specification(s) • further specification(s).

Context is regarded as another factor of FSP. There are three distinct types of context according to Firbas ("A functional view"): a) immediately relevant textual context b) immediately relevant situational context, and c) immediately relevant experiential context. Constituents derivable from the context are labelled as context-dependent, while non-derivable or new constituents are context-independent. Context-independent constituents are more likely to carry higher degrees of CD than dependent ones.

The last factor of FSP is intonation, which is understood as the interplay of several prosodic features. It has been proved that the places of prosodic prominence tend to carry high communicative importance – i.e. the highest degrees of CD (Firbas *Functional*). The result of the interplay of the above-mentioned four factors of FSP forms the relative degree of CD carried by a particular constituent within a certain distributional field of CD.

The following communicative units have been determined in the database and considered in the analysis: Theme, Diatheme, Transition, Transition Proper, Rheme.

It has been proved that in an American feature film, facial expressions of all types except those with a deictic function co-occur with the constituents carrying the highest degrees of CD, i.e. rhemes proper (Sedlářová *Nonverbal*). Rhemes proper appear to be accompanied by facial expressions most frequently due to their high communicative importance. However, other aspects also play their roles, such as turn-taking or the frequent final position of rhemes proper in a sentence. Facial expressions are used in order to draw the addressee's attention to such linguistic elements, to support them, and to reinforce the delivery of the messages. Visual prominence has been defined as referring to the quality of the most visually distinctive points in a film. "The factors contributing to visual prominence involve stroke phases of gestures (peak phases), movements distinct from the others in terms of their volume (size), shape and force used in their production, their place of production, as well as their level of abstraction" (Sedlářová *Nonverbal* 119). The places of visual prominence seem to co-occur with the places of the highest degrees of CD in an American feature film (Sedlářová *Nonverbal* 118–128).

3 Speech act theory

The present study also exploits the theory of speech acts as formulated by John L. Austin and developed by John R. Searle (Austin; Searle). It refers to "a theory which analyses the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of speaker and hearer in interpersonal communication" (Crystal *A dictionary* 427). A speech act is a communicative activity (a locutionary act), involving the intention of the speaker while speaking (an illocutionary force), and the effect the speaker achieves on listeners (a perlocutionary effect). In a summary, the basic presupposition of this theory is that people produce utterances with intentions. Having heavily drawn on Searle, I have classified the intentions, or illocutionary acts or forces, into the following categories:

  – Representatives (the speaker believes that such a state of affairs is true),
  – Directives (the speaker makes the listener do something),
  – Commissives (the speaker commits himself/herself to doing something in future),

– Expressives (the speaker expresses his/her feelings),
– Declarations (the speaker brings something about in the world).

Evidence has been provided that in an American feature film, illocutionary acts are frequently indicated by means of nonverbal elements – hand gestures (Sedlářová *Hand*). A certain type of gesture prevails in a particular speech act, thus representing a communication strategy underlying and supporting the performance of the act.

4 The nonverbal aspect

For the purposes of the present study, Knapp's classification of gestures has been adopted (cf. Figure 1; or Knapp 187–207). The gestures are primarily divided into speech-independent gestures and speech-related gestures. A speech-independent gesture conveys a concept. It has a clear meaning which is conventionalized (e.g. thumbs up, or giving someone the finger). A speech-related gesture which is related to the speaker's referent expresses a certain aspect of the concept conveyed in the spoken text redundantly, in another (nonverbal) mode (e.g. the iconic gesture of widely extended hands showing the large size of an object, or a deictic gesture pointing at an object which is mentioned in speech). A gesture indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent frequently indicates a particular speech act, or more precisely, speakers' intentions (e.g. an explanation accompanied by gesturing with the open palms). A gesture that acts as visual punctuation for the speaker's discourse has the function of emphasizing the rhythm of the utterance. Gestures organizing the spoken dialogue between two interactants include e.g. those regulating turn-taking (i.e. the hands placed alongside the speaker's body indicating the end of the utterance, in contrast to the speaker's hands gesturing in front of his/her body, etc.).

Figure 1: Knapp's classification of gestures

speech-independent gestures or emblems, i.e. autonomous gestures	
speech-related gestures	gestures related to the speaker's referent – concrete or abstract
	gestures indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent
	gestures that act as visual punctuation for the speaker's discourse
	gestures that assist in the regulation and organization of the spoken dialogue between two interactants

5 Aims, material and method

The main hypothesis adopted prior to undertaking the analysis presented in this study was the following: There are discrepancies between the ways in which the hand gestures performed by the American actors in the film *American Beauty* (1999) are related to the English original text and the Czech dubbed text respectively. This section outlines the aims and methodology used in this study.

The study makes use of both qualitative and quantitative analysis. It sets out to investigate the functions of the hand gestures and the ways in which the hand gestures interact with the English spoken text and support it in communicating the message to the audience. Analogously, the interaction between the hand gestures and the Czech dubbed text will

also be analyzed. The results of the two analyses will be contrasted in order to reveal any discrepancies between the original (American) and the dubbed (Czech) version of the film (the two versions will hereafter be referred to also as the English version and the Czech version).

The analysis of the interaction of the hand gestures and the text will be twofold. Firstly, the hand gestures and their relation to distinct communicative units of functional sentence perspective (hereafter abbreviated as FSP) will be analyzed in the English and Czech versions. Secondly, distinct functions of the gestures and their relation to the spoken text will be considered. Finally, the two analyses will be compared and any discrepancies between the English and Czech films identified and discussed.

The material used for the analysis of the hand gestures and its interaction with the spoken text has been taken from the *American Beauty database* (unpublished Appendix to a PhD thesis adapted and published as Sedlářová *Nonverbal*). The database and the process of its creation are described in detail in the above-referenced monograph. However, several basic characteristics will be mentioned here.

The *American Beauty database* was created on the basis of the film *American Beauty*, a DVD recording distributed in the Czech Republic by Universal Pictures (Czech Republic) s.r.o. as *Americká krása* (2003). The software tool used to create the database was *Elan* (*Elan for Windows 3.5.0*, 2006) [Software], which is a professional multimodal annotator programmed by Birgit Hellwig at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.

The film itself lasts approximately 117 minutes. The total length of the section out of which the analyzed distributional fields of communicative dynamism were selected was 35 minutes. The total length of the analyzed text (distributional fields of CD) reached approximately 8 minutes. There were 129 individual gestures (some of them lasting over several communicative units or the whole distributional field of CD). The length of the sections containing the gestures themselves without pauses was 92 seconds. Ninety-three distributional fields of CD were analyzed in 134 annotations. Each individual annotation contains information on the number of the scene and distributional field of CD in which the gesture occurred, as well as on the function of the gesture in terms of Knapp's classification (Knapp 187–207) (cf. Figure 1). The following table (Figure 2) provides the results of the analysis of the occurrence of distinct gesture types in the database analyzed.

Furthermore, the communicative unit or units which co-occurred in the respective versions of the film with the particular hand gestures have been indicated. Finally, the description of the analyzed text in terms of speech acts has been added to the annotations.

Figure 2: Occurrence of distinct types of hand gesture

Type of gesture	Number of occurrences	Percentage
emblems	2	1.6%
gestures related to the speaker's referent – concrete or abstract	39	30.2%
gestures indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent	73	56.6%
gestures that act as visual punctuation for the speaker's discourse	14	10.9%
gestures that assist in the regulation and organization of the spoken dialogue between two interactants	1	0.8%
	129	100.1%

6 Analysis

The analysis of the multimodal database was expected to reveal discrepancies between the Czech dubbed text and the hand gestures in the English original feature film *American Beauty* (1999). Twenty-nine out of 129 hand gestures which have been analyzed were performed alongside different sentence constituents (communicative units) in the respective versions. However, only in 15 gestures did the change of the communicative unit seem to affect the function of the gesture conspicuously. The use of the word 'conspicuously' implies that the audience might have noticed the discrepancy, and its disturbing effect may have influenced the overall impression of the film on the viewer. Fourteen gestures were made alongside constituents which were different in the Czech version than in the English one without much impact on the function of the gesture. The following analysis (cf. Figure 3) aimed to investigate factors which had a crucial impact on distorting the functions of the gestures in relation to the Czech text.

Figure 3: Types of discrepancy between the gestures and the Czech text

Types of discrepancies	Affecting the function of the gesture		No change in FSP functions	Total
	conspicuously	inconspicuously		
Discrepancy in emphasis	4	13	0	17
Rhythmic discrepancy	7	0	0	7
Semantic discrepancy	4	1	0	5
No discrepancy	0	0	100	100
Total	15	14	100	129

The observations of the functions of the analyzed gestures revealed the following types of discrepancy:
- Semantic discrepancy
- Discrepancy in emphasis
- Rhythmic discrepancy

Semantic discrepancy involved cases of Czech words which were not in accordance with the hand gestures semantically. The occurrence of semantic discrepancy thus presupposed the existence of gestures related to the speaker's referent – concrete or abstract. Such gestures are frequently performed to support and nonverbally illustrate a concept conveyed by the speaker's words. The speaker's referent may be concrete, i.e. it is present in a situational context and can be referred to by means of pointing (cf. Example 1), or by means of looking at it, but it can also imitate its shape or another quality which can be visualized. Alternatively, the speaker's referent may be abstract, i.e. it is a concept present in our mind which is delineated with a gesture of metonymical character (cf. Examples 2 and 4). Grey highlighting hereafter indicates words which are spoken simultaneously with the performed gestures under discussion.

A semantic discrepancy in a gesture related to a concrete referent of the speaker is shown in Example 1. When the actor playing the role of Lester says the Diatheme "Craig" in the English version, he points his left thumb towards Craig's office. In the Czech version the deictic (pointing) movement of the thumb, however, occurs alongside the Transition "platit". The gesture is performed at such a distance from the Diatheme to which it is actu-

ally related that the Czech audience are not able to identify its referent with Craig, Lester's colleague. The Czech text is thus irrelevant to the gesture. Or more precisely, the gesture does not illustrate the words spoken by the actor.

Despite the described discrepancy, the audience receives the message via the verbal channel, and encounters no difficulty in identifying the referent of the word "Craig". This finding shows that the verbal mode of the message in Example 1 carries more weight than the nonverbal mode. The deictic gesture mentioned above is actually redundant, though it pragmatically supports the coherence and delivery of the message.

Example 1

(English version)
Lester: "That's somebody who's gonna get fired because Craig has to pay women to fuck him."
(Czech version)
Lester: "Takže někdo dostane padáka, protože Craig musí platit ženskejm, aby mu podržely."
(scene 2, distributional field of CD 23)

Example 2 shows a gesture referring to an abstract referent accompanying words which do not match the meaning implied by the gesture. The actor moves his hands in circles at waist level with the aim of illustrating the action or process of 'freeing up some cash'. However, no such or similar concept is expressed in the Czech words "Kasa je prázdná." (meaning roughly "There's no money."). The gesture performed alongside the Czech words creates an awkward impression. What adds to this impression is the fact that the movement starts during the pause between two utterances in the Czech version. Obviously, the rhythmic pattern of the visual mode was not observed by the Czech actor dubbing Lester. Therefore it can also be listed among the rhythmic discrepancies.

Example 2

(English version)
Lester: "Times are tight. You gotta free up some cash."
(Czech version)
Lester: "Časy jsou zlý.   Kasa je prázdná."
(scene 2, distributional field of CD 16)

Discrepancy in emphasis is illustrated in Example 3. The analysis revealed that gestures participating in this type of discrepancy are classified as indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent. The position of the hands and palms in such gestures may indicate that the speaker agrees, disagrees, explains, defends his/her views, tries to control the situation, or suppress the addressee's feelings, makes a firm statement, expresses his/her feelings, considers the statement important, confidential etc. Such gestures illustrate the speaker's intention, or the illocutionary force of the speech act. Semantically, they are not primarily connected with a particular constituent or a communicative unit. They are instead related to the utterance as a whole. Therefore they frequently last throughout the

duration of the entire utterance. In the database such gestures are usually performed during Expressives or Representatives to support the performance of these speech acts.

Example 3

(English version)
Brad: "Nobody's getting fired yet!"
(Czech version)
Brad: "Nikdo tu zatím padáka nedostal!"
(scene 2, distributional field of CD 25)

The gestures indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent frequently acquire another dimension in speech; the hands or fingers in a particular position are sometimes moved with force during particular communicative units in order to emphasize them, thus signalling their higher relative degrees of communicative dynamism in relation to the other communicative units (cf. Sedlářová *Nonverbal*). Discrepancy in emphasis occurs when the Czech dubbing actor does not observe this nonverbal emphasis, and says a Czech word carrying a relatively low degree of CD alongside this visual emphasis.

The gesture in Example 3 is related to the speech act of Representative. The illocutionary act is to oppose the addressee's statement. The right palm is open and faces the addressee, thus signalling opposition or defence (cf. Škvareninová 131). The gesture is performed throughout the duration of the utterance. The speaking actor moves the hand with force on the Rheme "Nobody's" in order to emphasize it. By contrast, in the Czech version it is the Diatheme "zatím" (meaning "yet") that is emphasized with this gesture. The Czech thematic communicative unit is lower in its relative degree of CD than the English one. However, in spite of the fact that the relative degree of CD does not correspond to the nonverbal emphasis, the message is successfully delivered to the audience.

The last type of discrepancy is linked with the rhythmic pattern of the speaker's nonverbal behaviour. This type of discrepancy could occur with any speech-related gestures. While the discrepancy in emphasis involved correct rhythm but visual emphasis on the wrong communicative unit, rhythmic discrepancy occurred when the Czech dubbed text did not observe the rhythm of the gestures at all. Example 4 illustrates rhythmic discrepancy which occurs in two consecutive gestures. The gestures supported the concepts of the words "justified" and "firing" respectively; they were related to the speaker's referents. The former gesture was made with the actor's left open palm waving to the left as if he were pushing the justice away. The latter gesture was made with the left thumb pointing away behind the speaker's shoulder as if the employee he was referring to as "somebody" was being thrown out in that direction. Due to the linear proximity of the gestures and the respective words, both gestures could easily be associated with the respective Czech words to which they were related, even though their placement after the Czech corresponding words makes the entire section look awkward in the Czech version. However, the message again seemed to be delivered successfully.

Example 4

(English version)
Lester: "And he's basically there to make it seem like they're justified in firing somebody because they can't just come right out and say that."
(Czech version)
Lester: "A ten je tam v podstatě proto, aby ospravedlnili, že někoho vyhazujou. Oni zřejmě nemůžou jen tak přijít a říct to."
(scene 2, distributional field of CD 37)

7 Conclusion

This study has aimed to reveal distinct types of discrepancy occurring between the Czech text and the hand gestures in the film *American Beauty* (1999). The first aim was to determine individual communicative units co-occurring with the gestures in the English and Czech versions. The results of these analyses were then contrasted. The contrastive analysis revealed that out of 129 gestures, 29 were performed alongside different sentence constituents (communicative units) in the Czech text than in the original. Nevertheless, out of the 29 gestures which involved a change in function, only 15 distorted the delivered message to some extent, accounting for 11.6% of the total number of analyzed gestures. The remaining 14 gestures with discrepancy in FSP function were mainly those indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent, i.e. expressing and supporting particular intentions. In general, such gestures are semantically related to the entire utterance. As they are performed rhythmically, they can occur on any communicative unit which does not carry a lower relative degree of CD and is thus not suitable for emphasis. The functions of these gestures in the communication between the audience and the film have been preserved.

Different types of discrepancy between the Czech text and the hand gestures affecting the functions of the gestures have been identified and classified into semantic discrepancy, discrepancy in emphasis and rhythmic discrepancy. Not surprisingly, semantic discrepancy occurred mainly with gestures related to the speaker's referent. Discrepancy in emphasis occurred mainly with gestures indicating the speaker's relationship to the referent. Rhythmic discrepancy occurred with any types of speech-related gesture.

All three types of discrepancy seemed to be caused by the fact that the actors working in the Czech dubbing had not observed the visual aspect of the film when speaking. Despite causing awkwardness by means of distorting the function of the gesture in relation to speech, the discrepancies mentioned above did not prevent the audience from receiving the delivered message. They only weakened it, limiting it or some of its aspects to one channel – i.e. the verbal one.

The above observations point to the conclusion that the verbal and nonverbal aspects of the film make different contributions to the message of the film delivered towards the audience. While the hand gestures only support the message, contributing to better communication, it is the verbal aspect that is crucial to whether the audience receive the message or not.

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Questioning and Responding Practices in Medical Interviews Revisited (Part I: Doctors)

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Abstract

The paper presents partial results of a long-term project involving research in the field of medical interviewing. The main goal of the project is to search for communicative strategies of doctors and patients that are capable of conveying empathy and trust. Via an interdisciplinary analysis, based on data excerpted from the most recent edition of the British National Corpus, the author attempts to bring quantitative and qualitative evidence that doctor–patient interaction has recently undergone significant modifications, resulting in the social redefinition of the asymmetrical roles of the main protagonists. The first part of the treatise focuses particularly on the communicative strategies of doctors, drawing attention to their questioning and responding practices.

Keywords: medical interviewing, questioning and responding practices, doctors, interdisciplinary research, British National Corpus

1 Introduction

Recent years have brought a significant increase of interest in research into the realm of institutional talk. With respect to the field of **medicine**, it has been suggested (e.g. Furst 1998, Humphreys 2002) that recent **social changes** have modified the traditional model of the doctor–patient relationship, being of distinctively asymmetric character, and prepared the ground for a gradual **weakening of hierarchies** and **redefinition of roles** in favour of the patient. The shifts are to be spotted particularly in the ways in which the main protagonists interact.

According to Coulthard & Ashby (1975), three main types of sequences occur in doctor–patient interaction: (i) **eliciting** (the doctor's question followed by the patient's response), (ii) **directing** (the doctor's command succeeded by the requested action realized by the patient), and (iii) **informing** (information given by the doctor accompanied by an acknowledgement from the patient). As shown, among others, by Waitzkin (1984), the latter two occur much less frequently, while elicitation is of primary importance.

"Asking questions is a very important part of your visit to the doctor. By asking questions your doctor can help clear up doubts, concerns, or worries" (Roter & Hall 1992: 102). Questions "introduce, develop and dissolve topics" (Paget 1983: 71), and enable the dialogue participants to exchange information (West 1983: 76). As Mishler (1984) argues, the centrality of questions is rooted in the fact that they constitute a key mechanism by which **the doctor's power** can be exercised and the process of consultation controlled.

In contrast to what Mishler (1984) states, the aim of this paper is to bring some evidence that doctors' questions may also constitute a key mechanism by which the **equality** of the doctor–patient relationship can be exercised and the medical interview processed in a more **empathic** manner. My claim is that the successful engagement of empathy[1] and creating an **atmosphere of trust** is of essential importance for both doctors and patients, streamlining their communication and thus improving the delivery of medical treatment.

For the purposes of the analysis I have taken advantage of the spoken component of the *British National Corpus* (XML Edition 2007) and its collection of transcribed and anno-tated medical interviews. I have selected 50 medical interactions, all of them **dyads**, with the total text amounting to 34,376 words. In order to be successful in meeting my research objectives, I have combined the **quantitative**[2] perspective of medical science with the **qualitative** viewpoints of conversation analysis and discourse analysis (cf. Wynn 1995).

2   In search of definitions and classifications of questions

Though one may think that establishing the status of a **question** cannot be difficult, the reality is not so simple. You can find definitions in most dictionaries – both outdated: "An interrogative sentence calling for an answer; an inquiry" (*Britannica* 1964: 1034) or "A sentence in an interrogative form, addressed to someone in order to get information in reply" (*The Random House* 1975: 1083),[3] and rather more up-to-date: "A form of words addressed to a person in order to elicit information or evoke a response, an interroga-tive sentence" (*Collins English Dictionary*). However, from the perspective of **discourse--oriented linguistics** these definitions are too narrow, as they do not take account of the **contextual variability** of particular communicative situations (cf. ten Have 1991, Urba-nová 2005).

Two major concerns have been raised in relation to the definition of a question, both regarding the 'struggle between function and form' (see, e.g., Karttunen 1977, Weber 1993). The first argues that in spoken face-to-face interaction, functional questions do not necessarily appear in the interrogative arrangement, i.e. with **subject–verb inversion**. The second concentrates on the problem of **sentence completeness**, and attempts to show that the form of questions is frequently not sentence-like, but varies; sometimes an utterance may consist of one or two syllables (e.g. *Like?*, *Really?*), yet it can still be recognized as a question.

In this respect, Sacks et al. (1974) suggest an 'operational definition' of a question, which arises from its function as the first part of a **question–answer** adjacency pair and is closely related to the **turn-taking mechanism**. In other words, a question can be defined as a verbal (or nonverbal[4]) element that requires and is followed by an answer.

For the purposes of this research, taking all the above perspectives and views into consideration, I understand the question in the same way as Humphreys (2002: 20): "The definition of *question* includes any utterance requiring a response within the context of the

interaction, regardless of form (interrogative, declarative, etc.); any formal question; and any utterance that receives a response as though it were a question" (Example 1).

(1)　　D:　　**No change at all?**　　(question)
　　　　P:　　No. No change. No.　　(answer)

(BNC/H4J/23–24)

In the process of the present analysis, I have divided the excerpted questions into **doctor-initiated** and **patient-initiated**, and have classified them according to the phase in which they occur within the medical interview. Moreover, in accord with the functional target of elicitation, I have distinguished six categories of questions. My classification draws on Tsui (1992), who applies a functional description of questions, stating that **elicitations** are targeted towards: (i) **information**, (ii) **confirmation**, (iii) **agreement**, (iv) **commitment**, (v) **repetition**, and (vi) **clarification**. As Urbanová (2003) notes, these categories tend to blend into each other, and so it is more suitable to view them as members of a **cline**, representing different degrees of **symmetry–asymmetry** relations between participants in the communicative event.

"Pragmatically speaking, the functions representing extremes on the continuum, i.e. information and clarification on the one hand and repetition on the other, represent **asymmetrical relations** in conversation: the participants are 'not sharing the same ground', whereas the functions in the middle of the continuum, i.e. confirmation, agreement and commitment, reflect **mutuality** and are thus symmetrical" (Urbanová 2003: 45). The most beneficial contribution of this interpretation of questions based on tenor, as far as my investigation is concerned, is its potential to reveal questioning strategies which belong among the **patient-centred** communication devices and are capable of conveying empathy and trust in medical consulting.

Before approaching the actual analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, let me first offer a selective summary of results from previous studies concerning questioning practices in medical consultations (Chart 1). These findings, arrived at in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, will be compared with more recent findings of my own. Although the results refer to doctors as well as to patients, the following sections of the paper will focus predominantly on the questioning practices of **doctors**. Whether there have also been changes in the way patients pose questions will be specified in the second, independent part of this treatise, to be published in the subsequent volume of *Ostrava Journal of English Philology*.

Chart 1: Findings resulting from previous studies on questioning practices
in doctor–patient interaction

Study	Research results
Byrne & Long (1976)	Doctors expect patient-initiated questions to occur towards the end of the consultation, i.e. during the treatment phase.
Boreham & Gibson (1978)	Most patients do not pose questions about diagnosis and treatment, even if they are not informed.
West (1983)	Out of 773 questions observed, 91% were initiated by doctors, 9% by patients.
Shuy (1983)	Requests by patients for clarification often resulted in diagnostic labelling, rather than increased understanding.
Frankel (1983)	In a study of ten medical interviews, 99% of the questions were doctor-initiated, 1% patient-initiated.
Simpson et al. (1987)	There is no room for patient-initiated questions during the diagnostic (information-gathering) phase. They are viewed as dispreferred.
Winefield & Murrel (1991)	Doctor-initiated questions are most often close-ended.
Friederichs-Fitzwater (1991)	Doctors do not answer 25% of patients' questions.
Roter & Hall (1992)	Patient-initiated questions constitute only 6% of the total time reserved for the medical interview.
Heath (1992)	Patients often do not ask questions, even when given the opportunity.

(cf. Wynn 1999: 57–61)

3 Statistical distributions

The distributional analysis of questions has resulted in the following findings (Table 1 & 2). Out of 50 medical consultations, comprising 5525 turns (34,376 words), there are 524 utterances that could be classified as questions. 334 (64%) questions are doctor-initiated, 190 (36%) are patient-initiated. 297 (57%) questions appear during the information-gathering phase, 56 (11%) during the phase of diagnosis, and 171 (32%) during the treatment phase. 313 (60%) questions are targeted towards information, 85 (16%) towards confirmation, 37 (7%) towards agreement, 23 (4%) towards commitment, 21 (4%) towards repetition, and 45 (9%) towards clarification.

Table 1: Absolute frequency of questions in doctor–patient interaction

Abs.	**Participant**		**Phase**			**Total**
	Doctor	*Patient*	*Info-gather*	*Diagnosis*	*Treatment*	
Inform	213	100	192	30	91	**313**
Confirm	50	35	48	12	25	**85**
Agree	18	19	15	6	16	**37**
Commit	19	4	2	1	20	**23**
Repeat	9	12	10	2	9	**21**
Clarif	25	20	30	5	10	**45**
Total	**334**	**190**	**297**	**56**	**171**	**524**

Table 2: Relative frequency of questions in doctor–patient interaction

%	**Participant**		**Phase**			**Total**
	Doctor	*Patient*	*Info-gather*	*Diagnosis*	*Treatment*	
Inform	68	32	61	10	29	**60**
Confirm	59	41	57	14	29	**16**
Agree	49	51	41	16	43	**7**
Commit	83	17	9	4	87	**4**
Repeat	43	57	48	9	43	**4**
Clarif	56	44	67	11	22	**9**
Total	**64**	**36**	**57**	**11**	**32**	**100**

The statistical data presented in the above tables reveal striking differences compared to the illustrations offered in Chart 1. The most prominent divergence appears in the fact that patient-initiated questions are **numerous** in the material I have investigated. Patients do pose questions, and they do so very often. Unlike in previous studies (West 1983, Frankel 1983), where the occurrence of patient-initiated questions was marginal (9%, even 1%), in my samples **patients are active questioners**. As a result, patient-initiated questions constitute much more than 6% of the total time reserved for the medical interview (cf. Roter & Hall 1992).

Tables 1 & 2 also indicate that neither doctors nor patients limit themselves in asking questions of any type (see Examples 2: information, 3: confirmation, 4: agreement, 5: commitment, 6: repetition, 7: clarification). In addition, there is no significant correlation (r=0.0947) between the category of participants and the category of question types. To put it differently, we cannot conclude that certain question types are preferred by doctors and dispreferred by patients, and vice versa. This statistical finding is supported by the results of the F-test (for an illustrative table see the Appendix).

(2)   D: **What can I do for you?**
        P: It's eczema again.

                                                                (BNC/GYE/1–2)

(3)   D: Er are you on any sort of medication at all Suzanne? Nothing?
        P: No. Nothing at all.
        D: **Nothing? No er things from the chemist and cough mixtures or anything?**
        P: No. Nothing at all. No.

                                                                (BNC/H4T/27–30)

(4)   D: **It still looks rather boggy, doesn't it?**
        P: Mm. It's terrible.

                                                                (BNC/GYH/19–20)

(5)   D: **Don't go buying anything at the chemist to try to lose weight,**
                cos they won't work. (.) Okay?
        P: Mmm.

                                                                (BNC/G4B/97–98)

(6)   D: You're not needing the pink ones?
        P: **What?**
        D: The wee pink ones.

                                                                (BNC/H5W/36–38)

(7)   P: Well it's this damn cough and cold get.
        D: **Still coughing?**
        P: I've had it since just before Christmas and it keeps going and coming.

                                                                (BNC/GY6/4–6)

        What can, on the other hand, be inferred from the statistical analysis is that it matters in which part of the medical interview the particular question type is employed; whether during the **information-gathering** phase, the phase of **diagnosis**, or the phase of **treatment**. The F-test provides strong evidence that there is an unbalanced dispersion of questions targeted towards **commitment**, as the overwhelming majority of them occur in the treatment section. What is more, as the Pearson correlation suggests ($r=0.3852$), there is a significant **correspondence** between the category of **participants** and the category of **interview phases**. To put it yet more differently, it is very important to trace in which section of the medical consultation we can find a prevalence of doctor-initiated questions as compared to questions initiated by their patients.

        As the quantitative perspective – though being able to give firm data – has only limited informative value, in the following passages I will aim at a **qualitative interpretation** of the statistical findings just introduced. I will also discuss those research results from Chart 1 which have so far been given little or no attention. I will occupy myself not only

with the communicative intentions realized via doctors' **questioning**, but also with the communicative strategies utilized by doctors when **responding** to their patients.

4   Questioning practices of doctors

Expectedly enough, the number of questions posed by doctors in my material is larger than the number of questions posed by patients; however, there is not such a striking discrepancy as was claimed by the preceding research. Figure 1 demonstrates that doctors most frequently initiate questions targeted towards information (64%), much less frequently towards confirmation (15%), and even less frequently towards clarification (7%), commitment (6%), agreement (5%), and repetition (only 3%). Figure 2 shows that most questions are employed during the information-gathering phase (72%), then during the treatment phase (22%), while the lowest percentage relates to questions occurring during the phase of diagnosis (6%).

Figure 1: Relative distribution of doctors' questions with respect
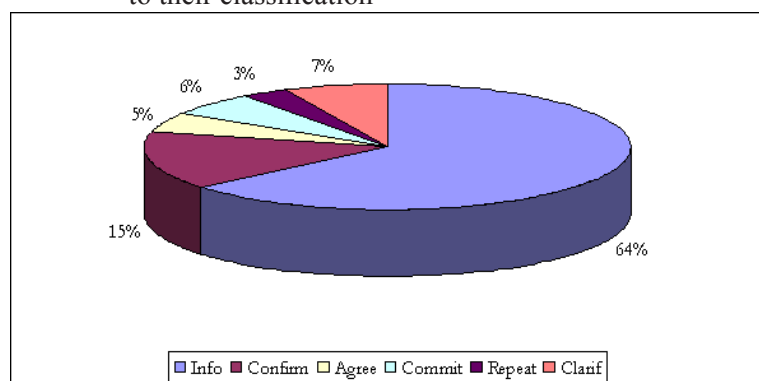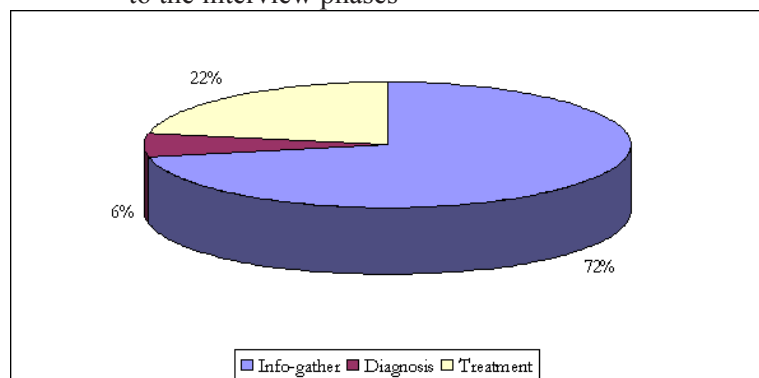   to their classification

Figure 2: Relative distribution of doctors' questions with respect
        to the interview phases

Taking into consideration the classification of question types based on **tenor**, the data shows that questions representing **asymmetrical relations** between the dialogue

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participants (i.e. information, clarification, repetition) prevail over questions representing **symmetrical relations** (i.e. confirmation, agreement, commitment) by 74% to 26%. With regard to interview phases, it can be generally said that questions compatible with asymmetry predominate in the **information-gathering** phase (see Example 8), whereas questions compatible with symmetry predominate in the **treatment** phase (Example 9). This suggests that at the beginning of the medical encounter doctors employ questioning strategies that allow them to gather enough information to make the diagnosis as swiftly as possible, and they do not pay much attention to the so-called **patient agenda**, whereas towards the end of the encounter they employ strategies aimed at the patient, her expectations and fears.

(8) D: Do you smoke (unclear)? **Do you smoke?**
     P: No. (cough)
     D: (unclear) right, okay and **nothing coming up?**
     P: No I, I get a bit there every now and then and heave, and [that
     D: Yeah.]
     P: makes me feel even [worse
     D: Yeah.]
     P: like cos I
     D: Yeah, **what job do you do?**
     P: A miner

                                                   (BNC/GYC/10–19)

(9) D: **Well we'll be seeing you fairly soon, won't we? We'll be seeing you in another two weeks anyway, won't we?** Yeah.
     P: Two weeks, yeah.
     D: Okay. Well we'll have a chat about what you're like then,
     P: Okay.
     D: nice fresh sample of wee, not the first wee of the morning,
     P: No.
     D: **Okay?** But a nice fresh sample.
     P: Okay.
     D: Okay. Have you got a bottle?
     P: I have [yes, thanks.
     D: **You've got your**] **bottle?** [Yes
     P: Yes I have.]
     D: Make sure you wash it out. And then we'll see if, take things from there, **is that okay?**
     P: That's fine

                                                   (BNC/GYA/22–35)

This rather sketchy characterization deserves more qualitative specification. Therefore, in order to align my investigation with the primary research objectives, I would like to draw attention particularly to those questioning practices of doctors that can be assessed as patient-centred and capable of conveying empathy.

The first detail which needs to be stressed – because is in sharp contrast with previous research (cf. Winefield & Murrel 1991) – is the fact that doctors participating in the

medical encounters incorporated into my samples tend to utilize roughly the same amount of **open-ended** questions (also called *broad questions, WH-questions*) as **close-ended** questions (*Y/N, E/O*). While close-ended questions prevail in the information-gathering phase (Example 10), open-ended questions are prevalent in the following two sections of the medical consultation (i.e. diagnosis and treatment; Example 11). Nevertheless, they are also frequently employed during the first part of the encounter.

(10)   D: Right. **You've just finished a course of antibiotics, haven't you?**
          P: Yes.

(BNC/GYC/6–7)

(11)   P: I'd get pretty annoyed you know?
          D: Aye, we'll stop it going to that. **How's Mrs (anonym) doing?**

(BNC/H4F/86–87)

It seems that doctors are beginning to realize the advantages of open-ended questioning, which enables them to pursue **information gathering** more effectively. Of course, the benefit of close-ended questions is that they require specific, to-the-point responses. However, such a questioning strategy is often ineffective, as it can **limit** the contributions of patients (Clark & Mishler 1992) and may thus lead to the avoidance or loss of crucial pieces of information (Wynn 1999: 58). By contrast, **broad questioning** gives the patient a useful opportunity to recount what she considers to be important with few or no restrictions from the other interlocutor – the doctor (Example 12, 13).

(12)   P: Erm, it's my back today.
          D: Aha.
          P: It's (.) for a, a couple of weeks there it wasn't too bad, but now
                 I feel as if it's (unclear).
          D: **What did you do to it?**
          P: It doesn't look bruised, mind, but it feels, sore to touch or anything. I, I really
                 don't know what I've done. I know times I get it, like (.) maybe just at one side,
                 if I've been sitting in a hard seat

(BNC/G47/2–6)

(13)   D: Er you're Robert that's right?
          P: Mm.
          D: (.) You're Robert. Sorry I've forgotten your address Robert.
          P: [(anonym)
          D: (anonym)] Right. (.) Right. **Now what other injury have you done yourself?**
          P: I was carrying wall units and I'd taken fourteen wall units one after another up
                 two flights of stairs. And I think I had about, I don't what I've done really but I
                 just, the following day I felt in my, my groin, the left side of my groin down my
                 leg and up my stomach. And I went to my mate this morning who's a boxer and
                 he said that it's now maybe, maybe a groin strain.

(BNC/H4V/38–43)

Open-ended questions further function as potent devices giving the green light to more subtle communicative strategies. First of all, they enable the doctor to support the narration of the patient's story. In the following example (Example 14), we can read about a doctor who right from the beginning of the consultation invites a patient to share her problems in a narrative way. By using such verbal structures as *what's happened, what've you been doing*, he supports the patient in the attempt to define her reasons for visiting the doctor's office. Referring to Brody's (1980) **mutuality model of the doctor–patient relationship**,[5] the doctor establishes an atmosphere conducive to participation by enhancing the patient's perception that her contributions are appropriate and appreciated.

(14) D: Hello! (unclear) stranger, what can we do for you today? (.)
      P: Help me. (laugh)
      D: **What's happened?** (.)
      P: I've put on nearly two and a half [stone
      D: Mhm.]
      P: in weight in the last
      D: So I see.
      P: five months.
      D: **What've you been doing** in the last five months that's put on the weight?
      P: Mhm. And I'm permanently crying. (.) Help. (.)
      D: **What's happened**, has you appetite
      P: [No.
      D: changed?] No?
      P: No. And when I started putting on weight I and I'm still putting on weight.

(BNC/G4B/1–14)

The doctor may also pose open-ended questions which are not directly related to the patients' health but which target the talk towards social issues. Example 15 demonstrates how the doctor initiates a broad question to which the patient responds with a story about a medical problem of her relative. Interestingly, the doctor – instead of redirecting the conversation back to the health issues of the patient – allows the patient to develop the story, and he himself contributes certain comments to the narration. According to Cordella (2004), this discourse strategy is associated with the functions of the **fellow human voice**,[6] and develops an empathic relationship between the doctor and the patient. The awareness of the larger context in which a particular medical problem is manifested "could contribute to making a more informed prognosis and formulating a better treatment regimen by taking into account the conditions of the patient's daily life" (Cordella 2004: 141).

(15) D: Well now, what can I do for you [tonight?
      P: Er] [it's an insurance line doctor. Just keep me
      D: [unclear)]
      P: right. It's my thumb. (.) That's the excuse I've been giving, [and
      D: Mhm.]
      P: that's the one I'm sticking to.
      D: (ha-ha) **How are things doing?**
      P: Alex has not been too well the last couple of days, you [know.
      D: Yeah.]

P: Doctor was in this morning.
D: Mm.
P: Er but I, as I say, there's nothing that anybody can do [really
D: No it's]
P: you know?
D: just a matter of time.
P: I meant to phone up this morning for an
       appointment for Doctor, but I forgot all about it.
D: (ha-ha)
P: I really did, of course she was (.) the nurse came in, first it was the doctor,
D: [Mhm.
P: then] it was the priest, then it was another nurse, then the priest…

(BNC/G49/4–23)

Also **close-ended questions** (on their own or in combination with open-ended questions) are capable of conveying strategies focused on the empathic relationship with the patient. Doctors may, for example, involve their patients in the decision-making process. As the following example (Example 16) shows, the doctor details the treatment by offering the patient certain options. Then he proceeds with a question (*Is that okay, shall we try a lower dose?*), giving the patient an opportunity either to accept the cure or to reject it. The **shared decision-making** is generally viewed as an instance of **patient-centredness**, resulting in a more equal relationship between doctors and patients (cf. Gwyn 2002: 79–80).

(16)   D: Or what we could do, if you say these this dose makes you a bit drowsy,
              we could give you the same stuff but in a lower dose.
       P: Mm.
       D: And see if that will help without actually making you
       P: [You feel too dopey.
       D: feel flaccid,] as you say.
       P: (ha-ha)
       D: Is that okay, **shall we try a lower dose?**
       P: Yes please.

(BNC/G5P/86–93)

What is more, doctors might strengthen the empathic relationship with their patients by employing questions which incorporate patients' ideas/words (Example 17). Such questions are sometimes called **circular questions** (Tomm 1988) or **empathic questions** (Clark 2007) and they are used by doctors with "the intent of enhancing an empathic understanding of a client" (Clark 2007: 197). To be more specific, this discourse strategy allows the patient to realize that the doctor is listening to her (Example 18). Additionally, it enables the doctor to explore details of the patient's ideas delivered during the info-gathering phase.

(17)   D: What've you been doing?
       P: Doctor (anonym) gave me er I can't, I can hardly walk I've got
            a terrible **sore back**.
       D: **You back giving you trouble again?**
       P: Oh terrible.

(BNC/H56/17–20)

(18)   D: Well James, what can I do for you tonight?
       P: It's (.) **my knee again.**
       D: **Your knee? Still giving you trouble Jim?**
       P: Aye. (.)
       D: That's a boy, let's have a wee look at it.
            See how we're doing. Did you get X-rays, Jim?
       P: Aye, for (unclear) and I still didn't, they didn't show **anything.** (.)
       D: **There's no arthritis or anything?** Good. That's good. (9.0)

(BNC/G46/1–7)

5   Responding practices of doctors

Not only the way in which doctors pose questions, but also the manner in which they respond to questions employed by patients can contribute to building an atmosphere of empathy and trust between both parties. Unlike the previous research suggesting that doctors do not answer 25% of patients' questions (Friederichs-Fitzwater 1991), the analysis of my data indicates that doctors fail to answer patients' questions only rarely and under specific circumstances, for example, when the doctor has a **phone call** (Example 19). Of course, the answer does not always follow the question immediately; there may be an insertion sequence. However, usually the answer does occur immediately afterwards (Example 20). The fact that doctors answer patients' questions is important as it gives the person seeking medical help a clue that her questions are appreciated and taken as relevant.

(19)   D: Let's have a wee look in here.
       P: It's right here.
       D: And there?
       P: And there.
       D: Right.
       P: And right under here.
       D: Underneath there.
       P: You know?
       D: **(phone rings)** Now tell me if I do
       P: That's sore.
       D: Sore in there?
       P: Aye.

(BNC/H4T/5–16)

(20)   P: **How are you keeping yourself, Doctor?**
       D: Me? **Fine.**

(BNC/H5A/128–129)

There is one more responding strategy which – besides being consistent in providing answers to patients' questioning initiatives – can help doctors to advance the communication closer towards equality in the doctor–patient relationship and which is worth mentioning at this point: facilitating the telling of patients' stories via **continuer markers** (e.g. *yeah, mhm, oh*). This discourse strategy is related to those questioning strategies that support the **narration of patients' stories**, either medical or social (see above). It functions as a language device conveying the doctor's willingness to play the role of a listener. According to Cordella (2004: 121), it belongs among the five functions of the **fellow human voice**.

As is obvious from the following example (Example 21), the doctor is (for a certain period of time) the more passive of the two interactants. Although the patient does not provide information related directly to the medical problem that has prompted her to come to the surgery, the doctor encourages her to continue in order to acquire the most comprehensive picture of the patient's condition (cf. Cordella 2004: 125).

(21) D: How are things going on from the other point of view?
      P: Erm it gets
      D: [**Mm.**
      P: a bit of still.]
      D: **Yes.**
      P: Yeah. (unclear) we h we still haven't heard anything.
      D: From the psychologist?
      P: Er no, (unclear) go to see him.
      D: (unclear) you've got from them, certainly.
      P: Yeah. [Yeah.
      D: But you're still] in limbo as [as the
      P: Yeah.]
      D: the civil action is concerned?
      P: Erm even no second inquest, nothing.
      D: **Oh.**
      P: But er apparently got a solicitor. Er we haven't had to see anybody
           about that and he sent us a letter saying that he'd like to see us
           and we went and he says it there might not be a second inquest.
      D: **Oh.**
      P: Might go straight to court.
      D: **Ah.**
      P: And then we had a phone call from the police, about a month ago.
      D: **Oh right**, good.

(BNC/G5M/28–48)

6 Conclusion

Since any verbal interaction requires at least two protagonists, it would be strange to propose conclusions regarding questioning and responding practices in medical consultations after having discussed only the communicative practices of doctors. Let me therefore postpone concluding remarks and the discussion of my findings until after the analysis of patient-initiated questions and responses. It will, hopefully, be available in the subsequent volume of *Ostrava Journal of English Philology.*

Notes

[1] In general, I understand empathy as an "emotional experience between an observer and a subject in which the observer, based on visual and auditory cues, identifies and transiently experiences the subject's emotional state. In order to be perceived as empathic, the observer must convey this understanding to the subject" (Hirsch 2009).

[2] Besides calculating absolute and relative numbers, I also use more sophisticated statistical approaches, namely correlation and the F-test. Correlation is a measure of the relation between two or more variables. Correlation coefficients (I employ Pearson) can range from -1.00 to +1.00. The value of the former represents a perfect negative correlation, while the value of the latter represents a perfect positive correlation. The F-test gives statistical evidence as to whether two samples have the same standard deviation with a specified confidence level. Samples may be of different sizes. In lay terms, it proves whether two samples differ to such an extent that this differentiation is worth studying.

[3] Both quotations regarding definitions of a question are acquired in West (1983: 77).

[4] It is not difficult to imagine a situation when one protagonist initiates a question either by a certain bodily movement or gazing pattern and the other protagonist responds with an answer.

[5] Brody (1980) defines four levels by which mutuality might be advanced: (i) the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to participation by enhancing the patient's perception that his or her contributions are appropriate and appreciated; (ii) the ascertainment of the patient's goals and expectations; (iii) the education of the patient about the nature of his or her problem, discussing the pros and cons of the alternative evaluation and treatment approaches, and the explanation of the physician's recommendations; and (iv) the elicitation of the patient's informed suggestions and preferences and the negotiation of any disagreements between the physician and the patient.

[6] According to Cordella (2004: 121–148), there are five functions of the fellow human voice: (i) facilitating the telling of patients' stories, (ii) assisting the telling of patients' stories, (iii) creating empathy with the patient, (iv) showing special attentiveness to patients' stories, (v) asking questions unrelated to the patient's health.

Appendix

Below are the results of the F-test, containing calculations relevant for the quantitative perspective of the analytical part of the study. The asterisk indicates when the results are of certain significance.

F-test calculation of questions with respect to participants and interview phases

F/ Participant	Confirm	Agree	Commit	Repeat	Clarif
Info	0.4772	0.4631	0.2986	0.5412	0.4771
Confirm		0.8396	0.1929	0.8347	0.8882
Agree			0.1863	0.9669	0.9501
Commit				0.2221	0.1904
Repeat					0.9242

F/ Phase	*Confirm*	*Agree*	*Commit*	*Repeat*	*Clarif*
Info	0.9829	0.7286	0.0277*	0.5381	0.6247
Confirm		0.7501	0.0375*	0.5636	0.6796
Agree			0.0337*	0.7783	0.5315
Commit				0.0297*	0.0899*
Repeat					0.411

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Literature
and Culture

Visions of 1960s America from an American and (East) European Intellectual Perspective

Stanislav Kolář

Abstract

This essay is based on the comparison of two books of non-fiction published in the 1960s – John Steinbeck's essayistic book America and Americans *and* An Angel on Wheels *(Anděl na kolečkách) by the Czech writer Miroslav Holub. Both books presented a fresh, untraditional view of America during that decade. While Steinbeck voiced his vision of American culture and society from an American perspective, the Czech poet and scientist Holub saw America from a certain distance, as an artist coming from Central Europe, a region divided by the Cold War. The essay attempts to find analogies but also differences between both writers' views of American society.*

Keywords: USA, the 1960s, American literature, Czech literature, childhood, youth, American landscape, American culture

Introduction

The 1960s are seen as a turbulent decade of new hopes and changes both in America and Europe. The civil rights movement, the rise of feminism, the emergence of the hippies in the United States, countercultural resistance against the establishment culminating in the memorable Woodstock music festival in 1969, social turmoil in Mexico, student demonstrations in France and other parts of this world, the Prague Spring of 1968 in Czechoslovakia and many other subversive trends in this period signaled that "the times they are a-changin' " – to quote the famous song by Bob Dylan, one of the iconic figures of the liberal sixties. In this radical decade two interesting books of essays expressing views of America were published – Miroslav Holub's *An Angel on Wheels* (*Anděl na kolečkách*) in 1963 and John Steinbeck's *America and Americans* in 1966.

While Steinbeck, being an insider, voiced his vision of American culture and society from an American perspective, the Czech poet and scientist Holub, one of very few Czech poets who has become known in the United States and whose poetry has been translated into more than 30 languages, saw America not only through European eyes but, more importantly, as a writer coming from "the other Europe", to use Philip Roth's term: the

East European region behind the iron curtain amidst the Cold War. It was not only the geopolitical space that divided both writers; their writings were shaped by a different generational experience (Steinbeck was born in 1902, Holub in 1923). For these reasons their views of America differed to an extent, particularly in their emphasis on certain aspects of American social life. Yet, when confronting both intellectuals'/artists' views of America, we can also find analogous or even shared attitudes.

Holub – as an intellectual who was not favored by the Communist totalitarian regime, particularly after the suppression of the Prague Spring by the Soviets, when he was silenced – presented a surprisingly fresh and unbiased portrait of American society and culture. At that time, due to ideological reasons, Czech readers did not have many opportunities to read books on America, and the mere fact that Holub's book about the USA was allowed to be published testifies to the more liberal atmosphere in 1960s Czechoslovakia. Steinbeck published *America and Americans* at the end of his literary career, just two years before his death (1968). He is more synthetic and complex in his delineation of America than Holub. Holub's fragmentary presentation of American reality, resembling the form of the vignette, is justifiable considering his limited experience of life in America.

Forever Young: The American Cult of Youth

Bob Dylan's lyrics to the song "Forever Young" (also covered by Neil Young!) may be approached as mirroring a typical American glorification of childhood and youth (of course, it is not only an American trait, but in the USA it might be more apparent). Does this trait reflect the fact that the United States is still a young country with a short history? Or can it be dismissed just as some idiosyncratic obsession, or even the outcome of immaturity? Steinbeck and Holub address the cult of youth in their books and register similar symptoms in both a positive and negative sense.

In his essay "The Pursuit of Happiness", one of the chapters of his book *America and Americans*, Steinbeck asserts that "[i]n nothing are the Americans so strange and set apart from the rest of the world as in their attitudes toward the treatment of their children" (112). He focuses on the rather negative symptoms of the American obsession with childhood and youth. In the adoration and pampering of children he sees even pathological features, using such expressions as "disease" or "sickness". He traces the roots of this approach to children, dating them to the end of the 19th century, a time characterized by the mass influx of distressed immigrants to the United States. Since economic, religious and political reasons were the major driving force for their coming to the New World, they projected their dreams, desires, aspirations and also failed ambitions onto their children, whom they wanted to live a better life than they had. As Steinbeck puts it, "[n]o longer was it even acceptable that the child should be like his parents and live as they did; he must be better, live better, know more, dress more richly, and if possible change from his father's trade to a profession. This dream became touchingly national. Since it was demanded of the child that he or she be better than his parents, he must be gaited, guided, pushed, admired, disciplined, flattered, and forced" (113). In my view, the mere fact that child is put at the center of attention is not necessarily wrong; as a matter of fact, in pedagogy we know this approach to education as pedocentric, but Steinbeck points out the undesirable consequences of an over-liberal attitude to children – leading to their laziness, indiscipline, selfishness and, first and foremost, irresponsibility. It should be noted that Steinbeck wrote this essay before the criminality of children at American schools plumbed new depths.

Another aspect of "childcentrism" that disquiets Steinbeck is the commercialization of childhood and youth. These have become commodities, as children and adolescents are exploited as a market. This can result in what we can term a dictatorship of children, who instruct their parents which product to buy. In fact, as Steinbeck rightly notes, children and adolescents are a market in themselves, as they get allowances from their parents. Thus the market and mass media do their best to appeal to young people and design their advertising for this purpose, in order to ensure the "preservation of adolescence beyond its normal span" (117).

In Steinbeck's opinion, due to the indulging of children, numerous Americans will never become adults. Their youth is being prolonged indefinitely, extended into the future, which affects the American personality. From this artificial maintenance of youth he infers that numerous Americans are immature. The immaturity of Americans is the subject of many studies, and though Steinbeck only touches briefly on this question, we can see it exemplified in various characters from American literature, ranging from Clyde Griffiths in Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* and Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby, through Salinger's Holden Caulfield and Kerouac's bums, to Bret Easton Ellis' yuppies.

Contrary to the cult of youth, Americans (but we can say not only Americans) have a fear of an old age. According to Steinbeck, one of the reasons for this fear consists in the retirement of older people still of productive age to make room for younger replacements – even though the retirees are still capable of working, not to mention possessing qualifications and a wealth of experience. Consequently many older people suffer feelings of uselessness and emptiness. Steinbeck concludes that "[t]he young dread to grow up, the grown dread growing old, and the old are in a panic about sickness and uselessness" (119). It only supports his conviction that many Americans, in their pursuit of happiness, are unhappy.

One of the features associated with youth (though not only with youth) is mobility. It is well known that Americans are a mobile nation, and thus it is not surprising that the car has become an inseparable part of American life and for a long time a mark of national identity. It often appears as an iconographic symbol of America and its changing reality in American art and culture. Although it is more a national than a generational symbol, its dynamism suggests particularly a link with youth. We can find numerous examples in literature, film and popular culture – ranging from the cult novel of the Beat Generation *On the Road* by Jack Kerouac to various road movies and musical genres (in song lyrics by performers such as Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, Beach Boys, Janis Joplin, Bruce Springsteen, Tracy Chapman etc.).

As a poet, Holub mirrors the dynamism of America in the poetic title of his book. The second part of his *An Angel on Wheels* suggests motion or, more precisely, America in motion. He does not articulate the connection between mobility and youth explicitly, however as a devotee of the Beat Generation he probably borrowed the image of an angel in its symbolic function from Beat poetry. After all, he quotes or refers to Allen Ginsberg and other Beats several times in his book, and although they were already middle-aged in the 1960s, Holub refers to their works that were published a decade earlier and conveyed the spirit of the young generation of Americans. However, the poet sees a dense tangle of highways with signs and billboards and myriads of cars especially as a symptom of the advance of a civilization in which he feels alienation and loneliness. Highways lead him to an urban space of factories, warehouses, water tanks, cranes, aerials, and briefly

to an industrial landscape that he compares to the land of the Martians. He reinforces his feeling of estrangement through the recurrent image of a dying dog run over by a car, with drivers passing its bloodied body at high speed, indifferent to its death agony. As a matter of fact, Holub's description of an urban space with highways and cars is reminiscent of some lines from Ginsberg's *Howl*, in which the images of automobiles, trains and generally of industrial production express a lost past. Admittedly, there is no escape from this "new nature", as Holub calls the world of iron, steel and concrete; asphalt roads, herds of automobile, banks, hotels, restaurants and luxurious houses have already reached Robinson Jeffers's last frontier, Carmel, his stone Hawk Tower, Tor House and even the hills from which a loving shepherdess was descending and where Hungerfield fought with death. As Holub says, "Robinson Jeffers was dead for two months. Sometimes months mean decades" (21).[1]

Holub, as an astute observer, sees America as a country where everything is subordinated to cars. He notices drive-in restaurants, cinemas, churches and even cemeteries. These places – hardly conceivable for Czechs – provoke his poetic fantasy, and thus personified cars are watching movies, talking or falling asleep, while less moral vehicles are kissing each other. In the cemetery near Jesup in Georgia, he sees bereaved cars whose windshield wipers squash tears. Looking at a boneyard with the several layers of car skeletons, he is overcome by loneliness (17). In his view America is adjusted to cars. Accordingly it "is not interwoven with roads..., America is strung out along highways" (12). Even in this impersonal organism of gas stations, motels, shops, hospitals, cinemas and churches whose location is determined by highways, Holub charts America's fascination with youth when he registers a billboard with "Pepsi-Cola, the drink of those who think young" (15).

Open Land in Nature and City

When Americans in the Early Republic attempted to define American identity, apart from such features as immigration and newness they also talked of an open land. Having compared America with the old continent, they were aware of the vastness of the uninhabited space. This awareness was still palpable in the 19th century, as we can see in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. And even in the 20th century, a long time after the disappearance of the Frontier, Joel Garreau named one region of America "The Empty Quarter", which is, in his words, "marked by enormous distances between everything" (Garreau, online). This thinly populated area stretches from Northern Canada to the deserts of the American Southwest. In this light we cannot be surprised that one of the eight sections of Holub's book is named "An Empty Space". Holub introduces it with a motto taken from Gertrude Stein's book *The Geographical History of America or The Relation of Human Nature to the Human Mind* (1936): "In the United States there is more space where nobody is than where anybody is. This is what makes America what it is" (Stein 367, Holub 31). Traveling across the United States, he surely had plenty of opportunities to get to know the American landscape and natural world. He recorded his impressions of a desert in Arizona, Wisconsin covered with snow or a subtropical forest in Florida, and as a visitor coming from a small Central European country he must have undoubtedly been captivated by the grandeur of the American land. However, Holub does not hide the fact that he is of an urban disposition (it is worth noting that in 1969 he published another book inspired by America, *To Live in New York*, in Czech *Žít v New Yorku*).

[1] All translations from Holub's book into English are mine.

Surprisingly, Holub finds plenty of empty space in big cities – in endless rows of parked cars, on highways, in his hotel room tidied up by specters, even in a cinema. In his concept, empty space is a place where we experience loneliness, total alienation and the smallness of man. Thus he finds emptiness in a bus station, on streets full of people between skyscrapers or in the darkness round the corner of 42nd Street near Times Square. This space can be peopled like the Macy's department store on New York's 7th Avenue, where he perceives the same loneliness as the "childless, lonely old grubber" Walt Whitman did in Ginsberg's poem "A Supermarket in California" (136), to which Holub refers when describing the consumer frenzy of solitary people.

Steinbeck obviously admires the beauties of the American landscape. He confesses his enchantment by its variety, by "the fantastic accidents of nature, like the Grand Canyon and Yosemite and Yellowstone Park" (148). However, he knows that American nature is not boundless; its abundance can be endangered, and thus he calls for its protection. We should bear in mind that he did so at a time when ecological issues were not so strongly at the forefront of interest as they are today, and environmental debates were less common. He points out that the devastation of the American landscape is a long-term process that began when the American continent was first colonized. The first colonists treated the new continent as if it were an enemy. In fact, the Puritans' approach to the wilderness confirms Steinbeck's words. Wilderness was associated with evil, savagery, sin – as we know from various captivity narratives or from Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*. Steinbeck gives the reader historical examples of the destructive behavior of man in nature, resulting in irrevocable damage to the ecosystem: "The destruction of the forests changed the rainfall, for the searching clouds could find no green and beckoning woods to draw them on and milk them. The merciless nineteenth century was like a hostile expedition for loot that seemed limitless. Uncountable buffalo were killed, stripped of their hides, and left to rot, a reservoir of permanent food supply eliminated" (146).

In Steinbeck's view, the cause of the destruction of the American landscape is man's irresponsibility and his greed for land. The construction of the railroad, which accelerated the "closing" of the frontier, made it easier to conquer the land. Steinbeck compares the influx of "land-crazy people" to locusts (146), and reminds us that in their effort to seize virgin soil, they were pillaging the country and its natural wonders as though they were limitless. Many places that Native Americans revered as holy sites have become irreversibly affected by civilization. Steinbeck mentions for example the redwood forests in California, which were mercilessly felled by loggers in their pursuit of building material. With the stream of immigrants moving westward, the need for the possession of land was dramatically increased and therefore the government decided to introduce laws to control the distribution of public lands. However, as Steinbeck shows, it was not difficult to evade laws and to outsmart the official authorities. He illustrates the tricky ways in which people acquired land using the example of his inventive grandfather.

Despite man's persistent irresponsibility, Steinbeck becomes conscious of a growth of ecological thinking among Americans. He welcomes the increasing attention that is paid to the protection of the environment and the conservation of wildlife. As he optimistically says, "We are no longer content to destroy our beloved country. We are slow to learn; but we learn" (149). Yet, in his emotional argumentation, he simultaneously holds back his optimism because "[i]t was full late when we began to realize that the continent did not stretch out to infinity; that there were limits to the indignities to which we could subject

it" (147). He appeals to the conscience of Americans who, in their striving to subdue nature, destroy its beauties by exploiting its natural resources for energy to make their lives more comfortable. As Dooley points out, Steinbeck was fully aware of what ails America – "destruction and waste in the name of growth and progress" (15). To make his appeal even more effective, he reminds them that it was Americans who first made and used the atom bomb. He characterizes Americans as "an exuberant people, careless and destructive as active children" (149). Reading Steinbeck's essay after more than forty years, we realize that his words have a global meaning in spite of the fact that he addressed them to Americans.

Open Land of Culture

Comparing Steinbeck's and Holub's views of America, we can see that in some aspects they overlap, particularly in their vision of American culture as being less bound by past traditions and more open to novelty, to new experiments. It can be compared to an open land, as was discussed in the previous part of this article. Being writers, Holub and Stein-beck naturally concentrate on literature (though Holub also proves his interest in modern fine arts and as a scientist devotes much space of his book to the state of American science; moreover both authors pay attention to film and mass culture). The generational difference between them caused them to select different writers to discuss.

Steinbeck's scope is determined by canonical American literature. Of course, he is aware of two lines in the development of his national literature, and when he says that "American literature... grew up twofold" (159), he essentially adopts Philip Rahv's concept of American literature, distinguishing two types of authors, "palefaces" and "redskins" (in Cunliffe 20). He takes into consideration traditional writers who drew on European, particularly British traditions, mentioning Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the intellectual Brahmins, but he is apparently drawn to those writers who were unburdened by the past, finding their inspiration in the rawness of the American continent. He finds Americanness in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*, Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and in the writings of such authors as Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, Artemus Ward, Jack London, Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, William Faulkner and several others. He praises Twain because his "incredible ear and eye and sense of form ... were in communication not with classic Greeks but with Americans" (161), and appreciates Dreiser as he "wrote the sound and smell of his people" (ibid.), as well as Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill, Thomas Wolfe, Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner since "their source was identical, they learned from our people and wrote like themselves, and they created a new thing and a grand thing in the world – an American literature about Americans" (162). It is important for him that "it has the sweet, strong smell of truth" (ibid.).

Also Holub's book is full of literary references and allusions indicating that the Czech poet felt affinity with those American writers who stood outside the mainstream culture of the 1960s. He was attracted to non-conformist artists (and not only in literature) who formed a part of American counterculture. Unlike Steinbeck, he did not concern himself with canonical writers. His great fondness for the Beat Generation testifies to his opposition to official structures, and can be interpreted as an indirect form of protest against the Czech political system; the Beats were not favored by the Communist regime. As a matter of fact,

Allen Ginsberg was expelled from Prague in 1965, after having been elected the King of the Majales, the students' May festival that turned into a sort of political demonstration against the totalitarian regime (the outcome of this experience is Ginsberg's poem "Kral Majales"). It should be noted that in the course of time, despite censorship, the Beats achieved an immense popularity in Czechoslovakia, perhaps even greater than in the United States, as they epitomized a freedom that was denied to people in communist countries. They had a profound impact on some young Czech writers of the 1960s who were enchanted by their poetics and pursued a romantic rebellion against the establishment. Holub's writings carry traces of this influence.

An Angel on Wheels reveals Holub's kinship with those American writers who attacked conventions in their society and who considered its social order as hostile to their individuality. For them the loss of individuality led to spiritual death, the symptoms of which were mediocrity, comfortable thinking, civil obedience, conservatism, and adjustment to accepted rules. In their works, but also in their lifestyle, there was always something that was perceived as subversive to majority society. Holub does not conceal his admiration for them, and thus in his book he refers to or quotes the Beats and San Francisco Movement poets Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gregory Corso, Michael McClure, their forerunner Kenneth Patchen, William Carlos Williams, and also Karl Shapiro, Henry Miller and the left-wing poets of the magazines *The Masses* and *Mainstream*. He depicts his encounter with Ferlinghetti in the City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, and expresses his affection for the individualistic Robinson Jeffers, whose poetry (thanks to translations) became very popular in Czechoslovakia. However, his scope also includes two great literary figures of the 19th century, Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman. This is no coincidence, because the non-conformists Thoreau and Whitman could easily be labeled as precursors of the countercultural movement; moreover we can see a strong connection between them, William Carlos Williams and the Beats.

What unites Holub with some representatives of American counterculture is his aversion to false materialistic values, uniformity and mass culture. Thus he politely rejects an invitation to a flamboyant show at the Radio City Music Hall, and though he appreciates the professional perfection of musicals in Broadway theaters, he makes it plain that he feels more at home in off-off Broadway theaters, visiting for example the avant-garde festival of absurd drama in the famous Cherry Lane theater in Greenwich Village, which stages plays by Beckett, Ionesco, Genet, Richardson and Albee, or seeing Arthur Kopit's play *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Mama's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Sad* at the Phoenix Theatre. The passages reflecting Holub's interest in abstract painting had special significance for the Czech reader as this art was considered decadent and subversive, and hence undesirable by the communist regime. Like his American counterparts, he is ironic when writing of the "square" or "plastic" society, with its prevailing middle-class values. In one of his sketches he depicts a typical boring afternoon spent with one family in a small Midwestern town where even "snow was ... yawning outside" (65) while people babbling about nothing inside seemed to be perfectly happy. Similar "happy" conformity is described in the sketch called "Annie Celebrates Her Birthday", in which Holub avowedly conveys his distance from what he experienced during a typical birthday party.

Although Steinbeck and Holub wrote about different artists (with some exceptions), both of them accentuated those representatives of American culture who fulfill Emerson's demand for originality released from the ties of the past. They also share a distaste for the

commercialism of mass culture which creates a biased, mediated picture of life, "a life that never existed, based perhaps on the dreams and the yearnings of the inexperienced and ill-informed" (Steinbeck 165). But, as Holub noticed, "civilization truly inclines to prefer mediated, depicted reality instead of reality itself" (89).

Conclusion

As already outlined above, Steinbeck and Holub were writers of different natures. Their books outlining their vision of 1960s America also differ. Steinbeck's essayistic book, accompanied with eye-catching photographs by prominent American photographers like Ansel Adams, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Andreas Feininger, David Plowden and others, voices the author's opinions on America. Steinbeck is deliberately subjective (he characterizes his opinions as "unashamed and individual") (8) and hence at times controversial. He leaves it to the readers whether they agree or disagree with him. On the other hand, Steinbeck objectifies his essays by undertaking frequent excursions into American history and citing relevant facts from American life. In his effort to convince readers to share his opinions, he combines rational argumentation (based on facts, statistics, quotations, historical evidence, testimonies from authorities and personal experience) with passages written in highly emotional language. The range of the topics in Steinbeck's book is much wider than this article can cover. His view of America embraces such important issues as the composition of the American population, the American system of government, racial problems, the stratification of American society, ways of spending leisure time, and even America's future – the time which, from Steinbeck's perspective, we are living in now. From the outset of each of his essays it is evident that he passionately loves America despite of his critique of American maladies "eroding the American spirit" (Dooley 17) and despite a certain skepticism, which only proves that he cannot be indifferent to his country. We can see it in his "Foreword", when he characterizes America as "complicated, paradoxical, bullheaded, shy, cruel, boisterous, unspeakably dear, and very beautiful" (9).

In comparison with *America and Americans*, Holub's book gives us a more mosaic-like, fragmentary picture of the United States. The author's sketches or vignettes offer terse records of his experience of America. They are generally closer to reportages than to essays (the subtitle of this book is "Semi-Reportage from the USA"). In his vision of America, Holub effectively combines the language of poetry and science, showing his sense of detail and making humorous, sometimes ironic points. He often uses poetic descriptions: depicting San Francisco, he compares this city to a postcard album in which "the hills are so steep that walking on them strips man of all dignity" (73). His poetic vision enables him to observe "guests [sitting] at long tables like starlings before flying away" (57). In his interview with Wilde-Menozzi, Holub says that he likes "to colonize poems with words from science" (527). We can add that in *An Angel on Wheels* he aptly colonizes America with words from poetry and science to achieve as exact a picture of this country as possible – though, like Steinbeck, he does not pretend to be objective. Wilde-Menozzi claims that "Holub's language, translated into English, remains disquieting, cool, and foreign" (521), but in Czech, Holub's use of language is very natural. So natural that we read his account of American everyday life with real interest. Although Holub and Steinbeck emphasized different features of American life and culture, both authors present America as a land of contrasts and paradoxes; Holub perhaps in a more detached way – which is natural, considering that he was not an American.

More than four decades after publication of Holub's and Steinbeck's books, it seems that globalization has caused things which used to be perceived as very American to be applicable to many other countries, including the Czech Republic. "The ocean of cars" (Holub 61) with its tide can reach us almost anywhere, consumerism engulfs the rushing masses in supermarkets and shopping centers growing like mushrooms around us. However, both authors' view of America is surprisingly topical even now, confirming that America has undergone enormous changes since the 1960s, yet in many features has remained the same.

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Slepnoucí Apollon,
kastrovaný Dionysos

Jakub Guziur

Abstract

The essay gives an account of the essential elements of the "traditional" concept of culture in the modern era. Discussing the individual projects and concepts of culture – from Matthew Arnold to F. R. Leavis, Marshall McLuhan, Jean Baudrillard, George Steiner and Zygmunt Bauman – it outlines various ways in which the "traditional" culture reacted against the modernity (or rather: the modernities). On another level, it presents a view of the substantial transformation of the concept of culture in the 20th century. Constant attention is paid to the aesthetic implications of the 20th century form of modernity.

Keywords: European culture; cultural criticism; media studies; history of ideas; idea of culture; cultural structures; traditional concept of culture; mass culture; globalization.

Záměrem tohoto textu je představit – v kontextu české kritiky bohužel opomíjenou – výraznou tradici chápání („moderní") kultury a poukázat na životnost některých myšlenek jejích představitelů. Text je úmyslně fragmentární – chtěl bych v hrubých rysech načrtnout obraz, nikoli pečlivě vykreslit několik jeho detailů. Nejde mi o prvoplánovou kritiku, vyhledávání a komentování rozporů či dekonstrukci; přeji si zdůraznit souvislost uvažování několika významných myslitelů a naznačit vnitřní dynamiku jejich výlučného přístupu ke kultuře. Pokusím se vyznačit příčiny a určující rysy „současné" situace evropské kultury na základě analogických souvislostí myšlenek, které lze vysledovat v dílech Matthewa Arnolda (1822–1888), Edmunda Husserla (1859–1938), Johana Huizingy (1875–1945), Thomase Manna (1875–1955), Hermanna Brocha (1886–1951), José Ortegy y Gasseta (1883–1955), T[homase]. S[tearnse]. Eliota (1888–1965), Ezry Pounda (1885–1972), Waltera Benjamina (1892–1940), R. P. Blackmura (1904–1965), F[ranka]. R[aymonda].

Leavise (1895–1978) a Q[ueenie]. D[orothy]. Leavisové (1900–1982), Hannah Arendtové (1906–1975), Marshalla McLuhana (1911–1980), Czesława Miłosze (1911–2004), George Steinera (*1929), Jeana Baudrillarda (1929–2007), Paula Virilia (*1932), Zygmunta Baumana (*1925) a mnohých dalších. V českém kontextu by do této „souvislosti" myslitelů patřil Jan Patočka (1907–1977), Milan Machovec (1925–2003) a Jiří Krupička (*1913); knihou *Znavená Evropa umírá* se do ní nedávno zařadil i Otakar A[ntoň]. Funda (*1943).

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Málokteré slovo má tak bohaté dějiny významů jako *kultura*. Raymond Williams, který se v knize *Klíčová slova* (Keywords, 1976) základní události těchto dějin pokusil popsat, uvádí, že etymologicky slovu *kultura* předchází latinské *cultura*, které v latině pochází z výrazu *colere*, jehož semantický rámec zahrnuje množství významů od obydlování, kultivování, ochrany, až k uctívání nebo vzývání ve smyslu náboženské invokace. Význam *obydlovat* se vyvíjel od latinského *colonus* až k současné *kolonii* a *kolonialismu*. Význam *uctívání* nebo *invokace* se vyvíjel přes latinské *cultus* až k náboženskému termínu *kult* (Williams, *Keywords* 76–77).

Původním významem slova *kultura* v angličtině byla péče, především o úrodu nebo zvířata. Slovu *culture* v tomto jazyce předcházelo slovo *coulter* pocházející z latinského *culter*, které označovalo radlici pluhu. *Kultura*, slovo pro nejvytříbenější a nejkomplexnější lidskou činnost, je odvozeno ze zemědělství, souvisí s kultivací půdy a péčí o úrodu (Eagelton 10). Chápání kultury jako péče o přirozený vývoj bylo později analogicky přeneseno na člověka, vývoj jednotlivce a jeho ducha. Tento význam byl se slovem kultura svázán až do počátku 19. století (Williams, *Keywords* 77).

V 18. století dějiny významů anglického termínu *culture* zkomplikovala vzrůstající důležitost pojmu *civilization*, civilisace, kterého se používalo k označování *stavu* (společnosti, kultury apod.), ale vlivem ideálů osvícenství také k označování *procesu*. Tento druhý význam souvisí s myšlenkou normativního řádu, osobního zdokonalování a pokroku. Angličtí romantikové (např. S. T. Coleridge) proti takovému významu *civilization* kladli pojem *culture*, který pro ně označoval odlišné formy lidského života a organisace společnosti a zdůrazňoval odlišná měřítka jejich hodnocení. Romantikové, kteří *kulturu* začali používat jako kontrastní termín vůči *civilisaci* pojímané jako normativní řád, se snažili vyzdvihnout hodnotu národních a tradičních kultur a prosadit nové pojetí tzv. lidové kultury (Williams, *Keywords* 49). Romantiky poprvé vyjádřený rozpor mezi kulturou a civilisací se stal jedním z určujících rysů „moderních" společností.

Dnes má slovo kultura tři hlavní významy: (i.) označení obecného intelektuálního, duchovního a estetického vývoje; (ii.) označení způsobu života (může jít o národ, jistou skupinu lidí, nebo na př. o historické období); (iii.) označení uměleckých děl a dalších součástí intelektuálního života (Williams, *Keywords* 77–82). Slova *kultura* lze používat ve všech uvedených významech, ale také jako jistý ideál, který všechny tři významy sjednocuje.

Anglické slovo *civilization* etymologicky pochází z latinského *civilis* (související s občany) a *civis* (občan). Od 19. století se slova *civilisace* používalo převážně v souvislosti se společenským řádem a specifickou organisací znalostí a vědomostí. Dnes v angličtině obecně označuje stav organisovaného sociálního života. Podle Williamse je slovo

civilisace k označování procesu dnes používáno jen ve zvláštních kontextech (Williams, *Keywords* 48–50).

Slovo *civilisace* je i dnes s normativním hodnocením úzce spjato, obecně často označuje vysoký stupeň kultivovanosti. „Civilisovanost" ve 20. století přestala být jednoznačně určována specifickým způsobem organisace evropských společností, označuje spíše jistý žádoucí stav, který ovšem nemusí konkrétně existovat. Ezra Pound, jehož chápání kultivovanosti rozhodně nebylo evropocentrické, považoval civilisaci za „jistou zdravou rovnováhu hodnot" (Pound, *Guide to Kulchur* 137).

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Myslitelé uvedení v úvodu textu nepovažují za součást kultury všechny výrazy lidské existence ve světě; kultura je pro ně pevně spjata s lidským duchem, je to oblast vymezovaná jeho největšími díly. Kultura není samozřejmá, není výrazem „obstarávání", lidský duch se zde nesoustřeďuje výhradně na uspokojování hmotných potřeb. Jde o oblast hry ducha, hry zdánlivě nevázané a soudě z hmotného hlediska nejen zcela neužitečné, ale dokonce škodlivé, v níž lidský duch (nikoli automaticky) vytváří trvalejší hodnoty. Kulturu lze z této stránky považovat za pokladnici duchovních hodnot. Uvedení myslitelé si uvědomují, že kultura v tomto slova smyslu není nedotknutelná: podstatným rysem tohoto pojetí kultury je starost o její stav; domnívají se, že kultura je to nejcennější, co člověk a společnost mají, zároveň ale velmi dobře vědí, že kultura je křehká a že je o ni třeba neustále pečovat. Kultura je vždy ohrožená.[1]

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Zásadním mezníkem dějin evropské kultury je bezpochyby první světová válka; v tomto období, které Ezra Pound příznačně označoval za „Armageddon" (Pound, „Henry James" 300), se s konečnou platností zhroutila struktura zásadních vnitřních kulturních forem, na níž mimo jiné závisela představa kulturní jednoty Evropy. První světovou válku proto můžeme – jak to činí na příklad George Steiner – považovat za „konec evropského řádu" (Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle* 32), zánik „tradiční" evropské civilisace, tj. kontinuity souboru hodnot a myšlenek, o kterou se opírala představa kulturní souvislosti zemí a národů západoevropského poloostrova[2], a zároveň určitého kulturního standardu, jenž byl s těmito hodnotami a myšlenkami spjat.

Trpkost, s jakou si Paul Valéry roku 1919 uvědomuje, že „civilisace jsou smrtelné" (9), je v této souvislosti více než výmluvná. Úvodní odstavce jeho eseje „Krise ducha" jsou natolik závažné, že je vhodné citovat je v úplnosti.

My, civilisace, víme nyní, že jsme smrtelné. Slyšely jsme vyprávět o celých zmizevších světech, o říších, jež se utopily se všemi lidmi i nástroji, dopadly na nezbadatelné dno staletí se svými bohy a zákony, akademiemi a jejich vědami čistými i užitými, s mluvnicemi, slovníky, klasiky, romantiky a symbolisty, kritiky i kritiky jejich kritiků. Věděli jsme dobře, že veškerá zjevná země je vytvořena z popelů, že popel značí něco. Pozorovali jsme zhuštěností dějin přízraky ohromných lodí, na nichž byly naloženy bohatství a duch. Nemohli jsme jich spočíst. Ale jejich ztroskotání nebylo naší věcí. *Elam, Ninivé, Babylon* byla krásná matná jména a úplná zkáza těchto světů měla pro nás právě tak málo významu

jako jejich existence sama. Ale *Francie*, *Anglie*, *Rusko*… byla by také krásná jména. *Lusitanie* je také krásné jméno. A vidíme nyní, že propast dějin je dosti velká pro celý svět. Cítíme, že civilisace je právě tak křehká jako život. Okolnosti, jež by odeslaly díla Keatsova a Baudelairova za díly Menandrovými, nejsou nijak nemyslitelné: jsou v denních listech. (Valéry 9–10)

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Představa kulturní jednoty Evropy byla založena na předpokládané dějinné a kulturní kontinuitě souboru hodnot a myšlenek údajně pocházejících z antiky. Tento soubor hodnot, z nichž mnohé (na příklad koncept vzdělanosti, výkladu textu nebo rétoriky) byly před zapomenutím zachráněny tím, že je přejalo západní křesťanství, byl archetypalisován v základní referenční rámec mythu (kulturně více méně jednotné) Evropy. Návrat k „tradičním" evropským hodnotám vždy znamenal pokračování pomyslného rozhovoru přítomnosti s minulostí – návrat jako spolutvorba významu a smyslu toho, k čemu se vracíme, návrat ale také jako mnohdy hluboká proměna toho, kdo se k minulosti obrací. Minulost zkoumaná s pohledem upřeným k budoucnosti. Myšlenka Evropy byla od svého počátku snem, visí a projektem Evropy. Takové pojetí Evropy – stejně jako onen svébytný vztah k času, s nímž je tato představa spjata – je dnes považováno za věc minulosti.[3]

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Vznik antické civilisace znamenal postupný zánik mythického vnímání světa, který byl vlastní lidem tzv. archaických kultur. Paleolitické společnosti byly organisovány jako tlupy, které se vůči prostředí vymezovaly vytvářením specificky lidského psychoakustického kontinua. Jednalo se o jakousi psychoakustickou kouli – identita všech členů zde byla dána tím, že se pohybovali uvnitř akustického těla tlupy. Akustické kontinuum tlupa zajišťovala mluvením, křikem, štěbetáním, zpěvem, tleskáním, bubnováním apod. (Sloterdijk 18–21).

Předgramotný člověk žil v akustickém prostoru, jeho pojetí časoprostorových vztahů bylo výlučné. Prostor neměl žádný střed a žádný okraj, byl organický a integrální – jednotliví členové tlupy jej vnímali prostřednictvím souhry všech smyslů (McLuhan, „Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 220). Kmenový člověk byl součástí toho, co dnes nazýváme kolektivním nevědomím; jeho svět byl rozdělen na posvátné a profánní, byl to svět strukturovaný mythy a rituály.

Jelikož má mythické vnímání času podobu posvátného cyklu, jehož završení je počátkem cyklu nového, neexistoval v archaických kulturách rozpor mezi dějinami a mythologií; ten neexistoval ani v antickém Řecku, kde byl čas do značné míry stále ještě chápán podobným způsobem. Důležitost archetypu nejlépe pochopíme, uvědomíme-li si, že v mythu jsou subjekt i objekt jedním: tím, že jedná v souladu s archetypem, jednotlivec se archetypální osobností skutečně stává, nepřestává ovšem být sám sebou, jedinečnou osobností v konkrétním časovém okamžiku. Historické osobnosti se ve starém Řecku snažily jednat v souladu s mythickými archetypy, jejich činy a ctnosti byly v průběhu dějin kodifikovány do kánonů mravních a občanských hodnot, jako například Plútarchovy *Životopisy slavných Řeků a Římanů* (asi 100 n. l.). Toto dílo zaujímá v dějinách myšlenek, které se podílely na vzniku evropské civilisace, výlučné postavení, protože sloužilo jako

jeden z nejdůležitějších modelů občanských ctností. Zhruba až do konce 19. století tvořily základy občanských ctností Evropanů archetypy antického světa (Eliade 20).

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Jedním z určujících rysů vývoje evropských společností v „moderní" době je tendence postupně zbavovat svět duchovního obsahu; profanisace posvátného nakonec vedla ke zpochybnění samotného rozlišování mezi posvátným a profánním. Tato tendence odrážela přehodnocování vztahu Evropanů k jejich minulosti. Rozpolcený vztah k vlastním náboženským, duchovním a kulturním kořenům se projevil zpomalováním mythomotoriky[4] Evropy; mythus přestal stát v pozadí historického vývoje a života společnosti, dějiny a mythologie byly rozděleny. V druhé polovině 19. století a na počátku století 20. Evropané stále silněji pociťovali existenciální úzkost, pramenící do značné míry ze stále zřejmějšího vyprázdnění „tradičních" archetypů a nepřítomnosti nových, z vědomí, že mythy už nejsou schopny poskytovat hybnou sílu, a že profánní má nad posvátným převahu. Kolem roku 1850 začalo být zřejmé, že archetypální hodnoty a myšlenky antického Řecka, které do té doby udělovaly smysl, opodstatnění a oprávnění dějinám, jeví známky zjevného vyčerpání, že brzy přestanou být schopny valorisovat soudobé dějiny. Krisi základních hodnot provázela krise identity; protože je však s těmito hodnotami život Evropanů svázán na mnoha úrovních, mnohé z těchto vyčerpaných hodnot dodnes zůstávají důležitými součástmi našich životů. Podobáme se oné Baudelairově postavě, která nemůže opustit hřbitov, protože jedna její noha pevně vězí v hlíně hrobu ztělesněného ideálu, jejž sama právě pohřbila (Baudelaire 118–119).

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Johan Huizinga v knize *Ve stínech zítřka* (In de Schaduwen van Morgen, 1935) srovnává soudobou situaci se zánikem antické civilisace, s přechodem středověku v novověk a přelomem 18. a 19. století. Dokazuje, že soudobá krise evropské civilisace je nesouměřitelná s krisemi předchozími, které mají z historického hlediska spíše charakter růstu a vzestupu (18–25).

Na příklad kultury, které kolem roku 500 n. l. převzaly antické dědictví, se nakonec z původního barbarství pozvedly k vysoké kultuře a bohaté a do značné míry harmonické civilisaci 12. a 13. století. Hlavní rozdíl mezi těmito obdobími kulturních proměn a současnou civilisační a kulturní krisí spočívá v tom, že dřívější kulturní přerody se odehrávaly ve znamení důležitého ideálu, který bytostně souvisí s kulturní kontinuitou i identitou Evropy. Tímto ideálem je návrat ke kořenům (*ad fontes*), obroda pomyslné dávné dokonalosti a čistoty. Huizinga poznamenává, že se nejedná jen o ideál, ale i o methodu, jak jej uskutečnit (23). Vědomí úpadku vždy vzbuzovalo naléhavou potřebu zachovat hodnoty a myšlenky minulosti pro budoucí pokolení jakožto cosi, čím se lze těšit, jako příhodný nástroj, jehož je možno používat, i jako cestu, po níž je třeba jít.

Takovouto vazbu na minulost jsme podle Huizingy nenávratně ztratili. Evropa se již od dob Francise Bacona (1561–1626) a René Descartesa (1596–1650) zoufale snaží najít novou cestu (Huizinga 24–25). Ta je ovšem ještě dnes v nedohlednu; jedno je však jisté: vysoký stupeň kultivovanosti si bez podstatné minulosti a vědomí kulturně-historických souvislostí žádná kultura nemůže dlouhodobě udržet.

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Evropská civilisace se, podobně jako Římská říše, rozkládala zevnitř – nebyla schopna čelit problémům, které přinesla „modernost". Konfrontace s moderností představovala vzácnou příležitost k obrodě hodnotové struktury a vnitřních kulturních forem evropské civilisace, vzešlých ze zemědělských společenství. Na místo vytvoření životné struktury hodnot, které by Evropě umožnily se ctí čelit ethickým a mravním dilematům „moderní" doby, ale došlo ke stagnaci a atrofii, jež vyústily v krisi identity a hodnot. „Římské řešení", jak ironicky naznačoval roku 1905 v básni „V očekávání barbarů" řecký modernistický básník Konstantinos Kavafis (1863–1933), již ze zřejmých důvodů nebude možné:

Proč čekáme shromážděni na náměstích?

Dnes k nám dorazí barbaři.

Proč vládne dnes v senátu taková strnulost?
Proč sedí senátoři nečinně a nevydávají zákony?

Protože dnes mají dorazit barbaři.
Nač mají ještě senátoři vydávat zákony?
Až přijdou barbaři, vydají vlastní.

Proč náš císař dnes nevyčkal jitra
a sedí u nejvyšší městské brány
důstojně na trůnu s korunou na hlavě?

Protože dnes mají dorazit barbaři
a císař chce přivítat
jejich velitele. Jistě už připravil
list, jejž mu odevzdá. V něm
jej poctil mnoha tituly a jmény.

Proč vyšli naši konsulové a prétoři
v rudých vyšívaných togách,
s náramky plnými ametystů,
s prsteny s lesklými smaragdy,
s drahocennými holemi,
zdobenými tepaným stříbrem a zlatem?

Protože dnes mají dorazit barbaři,
takové cetky barbary oslňují.

Proč tu nejsou jako vždy výborní řečníci,
aby se ujali slova a řekli svůj názor?

Protože mají dorazit barbaři,
ti krasořečnictví nemají v lásce.

Proč se najednou zdvíhá takový neklid
a zmatek (jak zvážněly tváře),
proč náhle mizí lidé z ulic a náměstí
a ustaraně se vracejí do svých domů?

Protože nastala noc a barbaři nepřišli.
Od hranic přibyli poslové se zprávou,
že už tam žádní barbaři nejsou.

Co z nás teď bez barbarů bude?
Ti lidé pro nás byli jistým řešením. (20–21)

<center>***</center>

Vyčerpány úzkostí působenou stále silněji pociťovanou hodnotovou krisí, lačnily na počátku 20. století všechny velké evropské státy po krvi. Na všech stranách se zbrojilo a pracovalo na přípravě velké války, která měla hodnotovou krisi evropské civilisace „vyřešit". Blízkost zničující, zároveň ale očistné a osvobozující velké události, která smete starý svět, visionářsky vyjádřil roku 1911 expresionistický básník Georg Heym (1887–1912) ve dvou versích skladby „Válka" (Srov. Kundera 101–102):

Na horách bůh tančí a řve do dálky:
„Všichni za mnou! Všichni vzhůru, do války!"
Duní to, když černou hlavou zacloumá.
Kolem krku náhrdelník z lebek má.

Je jak věž. Když močí, jak by žár mu plynul z vén,
tam, kde končí den, tok řek je zkrvaven.
V rákosí už leží mrtvol nespočet,
houfec ptáků smrti bíle na ně slét.

Do noci bůh války žene oheň přes pole,
červeného psa, jenž hubu cení zle.
Černý svět se z temna nocí vyklání,
lemován je strašlivými vulkány.

Tisíceré vysokánské čepice
leží na rovinách mdle se mihotajíce
a co na silnicích prchá z hrůzných dnů,
do porostu sraženo je, do hukotu plamenů,

které zhltnou, co jim přijde do cesty,
žlutí netopýři zachycení na klestí.
Holí rozhání se bůh jak uhlíři
S nadějí, že požáry se rozšíří.

Metropole v žlutém dýmu záhy dodýchá,
propasti se němě vrhá do břicha.
Nad žár trosek ale obrovitě ční
ten, jenž k nebi třikrát divě mávne pochodní,

nad odlesky mračen zdraných od vichřic,
nad studené pouště mrtvé černi vstříc.
Aby všechno sžehl ranou morovou,
na Gomoru lije oheň se smolou. („Válka I" 50–51)

Kráčí však obrovitě a bez prodlev
krvavým časem smrt jako veliký stín
a z dalekých rovin ještě ohnivě zní
umírající hlasy: křik a chvalozpěv. („Válka II" 54)

Na bojištích první světové války proti sobě stáli vojáci připravení položit své životy nikoliv pouze za rodnou zem, ale především za hodnoty evropské civilisace. Obě strany hájily stejnou věc, zvítězit nemohl nikdo (Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle* 21–27).

Počátek války byl idealistický, byla to válka za zachování hodnot a byla vedena idealisty. Dobrovolně se do války hlásili vzdělanci, umělci, vysokoškolští studenti. Byla to válka vyhlazovací a je velmi pravděpodobné, že v ní zahynula budoucnost Evropy. (*In Bluebeard's Castle* 33). Procentuální zastoupení inteligence a umělců je statisticky doloženo, stejně jako destrukce populace v některých částech Evropy (*In Bluebeard's Castle* 33). „Velká" válka evropskou hodnotovou krisi nevyřešila, příčinu války nelze válkou odstranit; v roce 1918 bylo vyhlášeno příměří, kterého obě strany využily k dalšímu zbrojení. Převratný rozvoj technologií změnil v roce 1945 způsob vedení války[5], nyní války nikoliv na bitevních polích, ale války technologické, jež se zaměřuje na ekonomické podrobení a kulturní kolonisaci.

Konec války je stále v nedohlednu. Hranice západní civilisace se už nemohou rozšiřovat, je možné pouze dobývat vzdorující oblasti. Kulturní kolonisace probíhá prostřednictvím „vývozu" základních myšlenek, názorů a postojů, technologií a medií (od fonetické abecedy a léků až po koncept demokracie a multikulturalismu), zároveň jsou ale „vyváženy" i vnitřní krise, tense a problémy evropské civilisace. Jde na příklad o krisi státních

forem, především demokracie, která nikdy neprokázala svou životnost jinde než v rámci západní kultury (srov. Miłosz, *Svědectví poesie* 106).

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V této souvislosti je třeba zdůraznit, že problematika demokracie s uvažováním o kultuře „moderní" společnosti úzce souvisí. Za prvního myslitele, který se zabýval kulturou v moderním smyslu, se zpravidla považuje anglický básník a kritik Matthew Arnold. Ve svém mimořádně vlivném díle, z něhož proslula zejména rozsáhlá esej *Kultura a anarchie* (Culture and Anarchy, knižně poprvé 1869), jako první reagoval na kulturní proměnu, jíž v období rozvinuté industrialisace prodělalo britské společenské prostředí (Williams, *Culture and Society* 110–112). V tomto období si třída pracujících poprvé uvědomila svůj společenský potenciál; početná třída nevzdělaných lidí se náhle stala důležitou společenskou silou a neodbytně si nárokovala oblasti společenského a kulturního života, z nichž byla dříve vyloučena. Buržoasní řád se pod tlakem mas hroutil, nastalo období utopického liberalismu a masové demokracie. Se vznikem a rostoucím vlivem masové kultury se z kultury tradiční, která byla od počátku v rukou vzdělané menšiny, začala vytrácet autorita.

Matthew Arnold byl prvním kritikem, který si uvědomil, že bez autority kultura v „tradičním" smyslu zanikne; jediný způsob, jak se podle Arnolda lze hrozbě kulturní anarchie z posice stoupence tradičního pojetí kultury bránit, je dát masám vzdělání, dokázat jim, že okamžité uspokojování chvilkových potřeb a tužeb není ani zdaleka to jediné, co může život skýtat, že kultura není zbytečná, ale pro život společnosti důležitá, že má cenu bojovat o její zachování, protože lidskému životu dává smysl, který jedince přesahuje. Arnoldovým cílem v *Kultuře a anarchii* bylo postavit kulturu proti anarchii, „doporučit kulturu jako velkou pomoc v našich současných obtížích. Kulturu jako snahu o celkové zdokonalení sebe sama prostřednictvím poznání těch nejlepších myšlenek a nejlepších slov o tom, co se člověka nejvíce dotýká" (*Culture and Anarchy* 6).

Kulturu Arnold chápal jednak jako souhrn těch nejvýznamnějších děl lidského ducha, zároveň ale také jako kultivační proces představovaný jejich studiem. Arnold neuvažoval pouze o kultuře literární, nýbrž o kultuře obecné: kultura by měla člověka „jako *harmonické* zdokonalování vést k získání skutečné lidské dokonalosti a jako *všeobecné* zdokonalování by měla vést k rozvoji všech částí naší společnosti" (*Culture and Anarchy* 11). Osvojením kulturních standardů, zdokonalením sebe sama, na němž se nutně musejí podílet všechny společenské třídy, by podle Arnolda bylo možné společnost kultivovat.

Arnold se domníval, že ke zdokonalování jedince by měl výrazně přispívat stát (*Culture and Anarchy* 204), který popisoval jako nástroj našeho „nejlepšího já" (*Culture and Anarchy* 89) a „střed světla a autority" (*Culture and Anarchy* 94). Soudobou anglickou společnost Arnold dělil na tři složky nebo třídy. První z nich byla aristokracie, o níž mluvil jako o společenské třídě barbarů (*Barbarians*). Aristokracie podle Arnolda neztělesňuje žádné společensky užitečné cnosti, veškerou svou energii věnuje snaze o zachování stávajícího společenského uspořádání. Snaha o uskutečnění ideálního státu nemůže vycházet ani ze středních tříd (ty Arnold nazývá Filištíny, *Philistines*), protože ty se věnují zbožňování a opečovávání modelu osobního úspěchu, bohatství, průmyslu, výroby a pokroku. Ideál harmonického rozvoje všech složek společnosti a dosažení celostní dokonalosti skrze kulturu je naprosto cizí i třídě pracujících, kterou Arnold označuje opatrně jako lid

(*Populace*). Lid touží pouze po okamžitém uspokojování svých potřeb a tužeb, případně se snaží co nejrychleji proniknout do třídy Filištínů (*Culture and Anarchy* 98–128).

Tyto hlavní společenské síly, jejichž konflikty stály v pozadí sociálních střetů soudobé Anglie, ideální stát vytvořit nemohly. Arnold se domníval, že v každé z těchto tříd existuje jistý počet jednotlivců, kteří se nechtějí podřídit tlaku většiny a touží překročit omezení své třídy. Tito „cizinci" (*aliens*) (*Culture and Anarchy* 109), jak je nazýval, se spíše než pravidly dané třídy nechávají vést vyšším principem obecné humanity, který jednotlivce vede ke snaze o zdokonalení sebe sama i společnosti. Ožívá v nich „nejlepší já" (*best self*) (*Culture and Anarchy* 89), které je sice latentně přítomno v každém člověku, ale u většiny lidí se tlakem jejich společenské třídy rozplývá v „každodenním já" (*everydary self*) (*Culture and Anarchy* 88); jedině oni se mohou pokusit zbytek společnosti probudit.

Hlavními prostředky takového probuzení by podle Arnolda měly být vzdělání, poesie a kritika. Vzdělání člověka povede k poznání toho nejlepšího, co kdy bylo myšleno a řečeno, ustaví tak obecný kulturní základ, který vytvoří prostředí pro kritické myšlení. Poesie, kterou Arnold definoval jako „kritiku života", vždy směřovala k ideálu krásy a dokonalosti. Právě poesie, jelikož je schopna oslovit velké množství lidí, může pomoci ustavit trvalý kulturní standard, v jehož základu bude kritický postoj k současnému stavu společnosti, snaha o jeho zlepšení a ideál zdokonalování („The Study of Poetry" 1–55). O ustavení obecného kulturního standardu usiluje i kritika, o níž Arnold mluvil jako o „nezaujaté snaze poznat a dále předávat ty nejlepší vědomosti a myšlenky světa." Kritika v Arnoldově pojetí znamená především zaujetí kritického postoje, kritické myšlení a reflektovanou existenci v rámci společnosti, které by, jak se domníval, mohly přispět k vytvoření spravedlivějšího společenského uspořádání („The Function of Criticism at The Present Time" 1–41).

Arnold chápal kulturu jako snahu o dosažení skutečného poznání i jako celek tohoto poznání, jako poznání toho, jaké je správné konání, i jeho praxi. Kultura pro něj nepředstavovala statický souhrn uměleckých děl, společenských zvyků, norem apod., ale především proces, hledání způsobů, jak zdokonalit sebe sama i společnost. Jako taková je kultura prostředím, kde by skrze kritiku současného života mělo docházet k hledání nových cest, jak se ethicky a mravně nejlépe vyrovnat se současnou situací. V neposlední řadě byla pro Arnolda kultura oblastí transcendence, která snad v „moderní" společnosti jednou nahradí náboženství. Arnold obecně chápal kulturu především jako projekt kultury, plán na záchranu toho dobrého, co tradiční kultura ztělesňovala, a projekt vytvoření kultury nové, která by byla součástí spravedlivějšího společenského řádu.

<center>***</center>

Charakteristickým znakem „moderní" společnosti není jen zmíněný rozpor mezi civilisací a kulturou, ale rovněž rozpor mezi kulturou a společností. V polovině 19. století už bylo zcela zřejmé, že „moderní" evropská společnost umění nepotřebuje.[6] Představa nového Vergilia oslavujícího „moderní" život je vnitřně rozporná[7]; „moderní" básnická themata (technika, industrialisace, velkoměsto, svět zbavený duchovna apod.) podněcují spíše vyhraněnou básnickou citlivost Charlese Baudelaira (1821–1867), Tristrana Corbièra (1845–1875), Julesa Laforgua (1860–1887) ad.

Kolem roku 1850 došlo k zásadní proměně umělcovy existence a jeho role ve společnosti. Básník přestal být ztělesněním kulturních a civilisačních, politických a

společenských hodnot, jako byl Homér, Vergilius, Ovidius, Dante nebo později kupříkladu Camões. Básníci se musejí spokojit s oblastí estetickou a ethickou; estetické a ethické už ale není považováno za přirozeně souladné; objevuje se antagonismus mezi ethosem básníka a společností.

Czesław Miłosz se ve *Svědectví poesie* (Swiadectwo poezji, 1983) zabýval souvislostmi *l'art pour l'artu* a všeobecně pociťované krise ethických a mravních hodnot a konstatoval, že ztráta metafysického základu podnítila vznik estetiky, která umělecké dílo považovala za svébytný antisvět. Tento antisvět je dokonale soběstačný a nezávislý, podřízený jen vlastním zákonitostem, krise hodnot ho proto nemůže ohrozit (*Svědectví poesie* 49). Rozpor mezi reálným světem a estetickým antisvětem pociťoval i největší francouzský symbolista Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898), který se domníval, že celý vesmír bude jednou obsažen v Knize (*le Livre*) (Mallarmé 674)[8], čímž reálný svět zcela estetisoval.

Svérázným způsobem tento rozpor mezi ethickým a estetickým řešil později významný americký modernistický básník Wallace Stevens (1879–1955), který rovněž považoval reálný svět našeho života a estetický antisvět uměleckého díla za dvě sice související, nicméně bytostně odlišné oblasti. Jejich rozpornost překlenuje imaginace, která je podle Stevense výlučně lidskou schopností, ale zároveň i metafysickou silou. Imaginace, která předchází rozum, člověku umožňuje existovat v reálném světě, protože „do skutečného vnáší neskutečné" (Stevens, *The Necessary Angel* 150), umožňuje vnímat „běžné v neobvyklém, opak chaosu v chaosu" (*The Necessary Angel* 153). Tímto způsobem imaginace vnáší do reálného světa lidský smysl. Umělecká tvorba umožňuje navrátit se k původnímu vnímání a obnovit souladnost s autentickým základem lidského bytí. Základem poesie je pro Stevense, stejně jako pro symbolisty, abstrakce: imaginativní činnost mysli, jíž pronikáme k věci samé. „Žijeme v mysli [...], a pokud žijeme v mysli, pak žijeme s imaginací," píše Stevens (*The Necessary Angel* 140).

Mallarmé tvrdil, že vesmír spěje ke Knize, Stevens, že poesie je lidský vesmír.

> Muž sklonil se nad svojí kytarou;
> jak nějaký krejčík. Den byl zelený.
>
> Řekli mu: „Ty s tou modrou kytarou
> nehraješ věci tak jak jsou."
>
> Muž odpověděl: „Věci tak jak jsou
> se mění, hrány modrou kytarou."
>
> Řekli mu pak: „Jenom hraj, musíš hrát
> melodii, jež není v nás, a přesto právě nás,
>
> tu melodii, hranou modrou kytarou,
> o věcech přesně tak jak jsou." (Stevens, *Muž s modrou kytarou* 52)

Stevense lze považovat za stavitele slovních světů. Tyto imaginární světy, které existují pouze v souvislosti se světem reálným, jehož podobu proměňují, lze ale stvořit pouze z jazyka, protože imaginace přebývá ve slovech. Z nostalgického tónu mnoha jeho básní je ovšem patrné, že harmonickou souladnost světa a jazyka už Stevens považoval za věc

minulou. Čtenář, který se v pozdní hodinu sklání nad knihou, už četbou nesplývá s domem, nocí, světem, jak je tomu v krásné, byť tesklivé Stevensově básni „Dům byl tichý a svět byl poklidný" (The House was Quiet and the World Was Calm, 1947):

> Dům byl tichý a svět byl poklidný.
> Čtenář se změnil v knihu; letní noc
>
> byla jak vědomé bytí knihy.
> Dům byl tichý a svět byl poklidný.
>
> Slova šla, jako by knihy nebylo,
> čtenář se ale skláněl nad stránkou,
>
> chtěl se sklánět, chtěl mnohem nejvíc být
> učencem, pro nějž má stránka pravdu, pro nějž
>
> je letní noc jak dokonalost myšlení.
> Dům byl tichý, protože musel být.
>
> To ticho bylo část významu, část mysli:
> vstup dokonalosti až na stránku.
>
> A svět byl klidný. Pravda v klidném světě,
> v němž schází jiný význam, sama je
>
> klidná, sama je léto a noc, sama
> je čtenář, pozdní, jenž se tam sklání a čte.
>
> <div align="right">(Stevens, Dům byl tichý a svět byl poklidný 94)</div>

<div align="center">***</div>

Nový způsob valorisace své existence evropská civilisace založila na vědeckém poznání, které se v 19. století začínalo osvobozovat od nadvlády slova. Až do 17. století byl jazyk svrchovaným prostředkem lidského vnímání světa i jeho poznání. Slovo bylo nejen prostředkem, jímž lidé udělovali vnější skutečnosti smysl, bylo především specificky lidským smyslem, umožňujícím objevování vnitřní i vnější imaginární krajiny, kterou jsme si zvykli nazývat světem (Steiner, „The Retreat from the Word" 43, 45). Až do doby Goethovy bylo myslitelné, aby výjimečně nadaný jedinec obsáhl jak sféru vědeckého, tak humanitního vzdělání. Dnes je vědecké poznání téměř zcela neverbální[9] („The Retreat from the Word" 35–36). Evropská civilisace a kultura, vyrůstající z hebrejských a hellénských kořenů, byla od samého počátku civilisací a kulturou slova. Zneuznání autority slova a jeho vytlačování ze sfér, kde bylo dříve dominantní, do značné míry určuje podobu i vývoj moderního umění („The Retreat from the Word" 40–41). Od Stéphana

Mallarméa vede přímá cesta k F. T. Marinettimu (1876–1944) a hnutí dada, které se pokoušelo o destrukci jazyka jakožto posledního útočiště tradičního řádu.[10]

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Na počátku 20. století se rozpadla struktura vnitřních kulturních forem, která představovala samotný základ evropské civilisace; mnohé myšlenky, hodnoty a postoje přetrvávají, procházejí však zásadní proměnou, některé jsou přehodnocovány, jiné devalvovány nebo marginalisovány. Takto byl mnohokrát přehodnocen humanismus, který je v současné době považován téměř za příčinu všeho zla. S humanistickou ideologií je úzce spjato také evropské pojetí vzdělanosti (a vzdělání); vzdělanost v současnosti rozhodně nelze považovat za cíl, který má svou hodnotou a opodstatnění v sobě samém. Ti nejvzdělanější jsou dnes vysoce specialisovaní vědci, kteří se kvůli své specialisaci neshodnou ani nedomluví mezi sebou (Steiner, „The Retreat from the Word" 53), a na veřejnosti působí negramotným dojmem. Případně jsou součástí některého z mozkových trustů, což znamená, že se domluví pouze mezi sebou. Výmluvnost se stala podezřelou. Citace, parafráze a aluse, které k evropskému pojetí literatury a gramotnosti neodmyslitelně patří, se staly nesrozumitelnými (Steiner, „Text and Context" 10; Steiner, „After the Book?" 194). Žijeme v „postkultuře" (Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle* 48).

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Role, jakou při proměně vnitřních kulturních forem sehrály industrialisace, urbanisace, rychlý rozvoj technologií a techniky spolu s vlivem elektrických medií, je všeobecně známa. Méně pozornosti se bohužel věnuje vlivu, jaký mělo masové šíření gramotnosti na euroamerické chápání kultury. Gramotnost ve 20. století přestala být kulturním výdobytkem a stala se společenským požadavkem; gramotnými se začali stávat lidé, kteří nejsou schopni rozlišovat mezi kulturními statky a nejsou připraveni vést kultivovaný život (srov. Eliot 57, 80, 101, 108). Inflace gramotnosti přeskupila strukturu společnosti, do jejího jádra vnesla masu průměrných lidí, kteří začali určovat měřítka vkusu a hodnotící kriteria umění. Nerozlišujeme už mezi vysokým a pokleslým v kultuře a mezi vysokou a pokleslou kulturou; dnes chápeme kulturu velmi široce — patří do ní téměř cokoli, ale nelze v ní rozlišovat. Vzniklo kulturní odcizení; kultura už člověku nepřísluší, je chápána spíše jako prostředí, v němž musíme žít. T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) kulturu považoval ještě za ideál, za „to, co způsobuje, že život má cenu žít" (Eliot 27), ale už i za „způsob života" (Eliot 41).

Ve svých společenskokritických esejích byl Eliot schopen velmi citlivě popsat projevy nepřítomnosti životné struktury hodnot v životě „moderních" evropských společností. Mnohé z jeho postřehů dodnes neztratily na výstižnosti:

> Pokud to vypadá, že vzdělání upadá, že je stále více chaotické a nesmyslné, je tomu především proto, že nemáme žádné ustálené společenské uspořádání, proto, že máme zároveň nejasné a rozdílné názory na to, jaký druh společnosti chceme […]. Naši theorii vzdělání musíme odvodit z naší životní filosofie. Ukazuje se, že ve skutečnosti jde o náboženský problém. (Eliot, *Points of view* 154)

Slovem „provinciální" myslím také zkreslování hodnot, jejich potlačování či naopak povyšování, které nepramení z nedostatečně širokého geografického rozhledu, ale z toho, že měřítka získaná ve velice omezené oblasti aplikujeme na celou lidskou zkušenost. V důsledku toho pak dochází k směšování podružného a podstatného, pomíjivého a stalého. V naší době, kdy lidé čím dál tím častěji řeší problémy života prostřednictvím techniky, vzniká novy druh provincialismu, který si snad zaslouží nového jména. Je to provincialismus ne prostoru, ale času, provincialismus, v němž se lidské dějiny proměňují v pouhou kroniku lidských vynálezů, které jsou odepsány, jakmile splní svůj účel, provincialismus, podle něhož svět je pouze vlastnictvím živých, vlastnictvím, na němž mrtví nemají žádný podíl. Nebezpečí tohoto druhu provincialismu spočívá v tom, že pak všichni, všechny národy zeměkoule, mohou být provinciální společně. A ti, kdo se nechtějí stát provinciálními, mají jedinou volbu: stát se poustevníky. Kdyby tento provincialismus vedl k větší toleranci ve smyslu shovívavosti, snad by se dalo něco říct na jeho obranu. Daleko pravděpodobnější však je, že povede k naší lhostejnosti v těch záležitostech, v nichž bychom si měli udržet nějaké rozlišující dogma nebo měřítko, a k naší netolerantnosti v záležitostech, které by mohly zůstat otázkou místní či osobní volby. (Eliot, *„ Co je klasik? "* 70–71)

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Tradiční pojetí kultury je elitářské; jde ale o elitu inklusivní, nikoli exklusivní. Důsledky marginalisace kulturní elity v „moderní" společnosti se zabýval britský kritik F. R. Leavis, který výstižně popsal „moderní" antagonismus mezi kulturou a civilisací: „Kultura byla vždy v rukou menšiny. Nyní si je menšina vědoma nikoli pouze nepříznivého, ale nepřátelského prostředí. […] ‚Civilisace' a ‚kultura' se stávají antithetickými pojmy. Nejde jen o to, že moc a autorita z kultury zmizely, ale že část bezpochyby nezištných obav o civilisaci je, vědomě nebo nevědomě, kultuře spíše nepřátelská" (cit. in Storey 28). Kultura přestala představovat relativně stálou hodnotovou strukturu; dnes jde o nerozlišené prostředí, v němž mohou vedle sebe poměrně mírumilovně existovat dříve zcela neslučitelné názory, postoje a přesvědčení. Na počátku 20. století se z kultury začala vytrácet kategorie smyslu, a tedy i smysluplnosti, o níž je možné mluvit pouze tehdy, existuje-li životná vazba k obecné hodnotové struktuře.

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Během 20. století se tradiční evropské pojetí vzdělanosti vytratilo z většiny universit; vzdělání bylo nově vymezeno tak, aby vyhovovalo možnostem mas. Přišlo období, které R. P. Blackmur příznačně nazýval „novou negramotností" (cit. in Steiner, „The Retreat from the Word" 46).

Slovesné umění evropské tradice po věky hraničí se třemi sférami: hudbou, obrazem a tichem (Steiner, „Silence and the Poet" 58). Básníci, kteří pociťovali stále větší výhrady vůči jazyku používanému masami, se poesii pokoušeli vrátit ztracenou prestiž jednostranným rozšířením jejích hranic – básně byly mnohdy chápány jako hudební nebo obrazové komposice. Mnozí nadaní básníci ale začali dávat přednost výmluvnosti mlčení („Silence and the Poet" 74). Mlčení člověka, který má co říct, přestalo být hanbou a stalo se ctností.[11]

K Friedrichu Hölderlinovi (1771–1843) svět ještě promlouval, případně mu byl prostředím, kde je možno skrze slovo vznítit ducha a uvědomit si souladnost světa a člověka (Hölderlin, „Rýn" 45; Hölderlin, „Pěšky venku" 57–60). Pro R. M. Rilkea (1875–1926) naše bytí už bylo mlčením světa: „Neboť se zdá, že všechno v nás mlčí" (Rilke 15).

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Devalvace jazyka úzce souvisí s marginalisací humanistických hodnot. Humanistická tradice předpokládá, že poesie – a v širším kontextu umění jako takové – je prostředkem humanisace člověka (srov. Steiner, „Eros and Idiom" 111; Steiner, „Humane Literacy" 27; Steiner, „To Civilize Our Gentlemen" 81), že je nejen nositelkou jistých hodnot, myšlenek a postojů, ale že člověka v ideálním případě činí lidským. Poesie člověka konfrontuje s neznámým a neprožitým, zpochybňuje a prověřuje jeho názory, postoje a přesvědčení, odhaluje nové myšlenkové a emocionální oblasti a problémy. Takto čtenáře komplikuje, komplikuje lidské srdce. Čím složitější je lidské srdce, čím lepší má povědomost o významu, důsledcích a souvislostech lidských činů, tím menší je pravděpodobnost, že při rozhodování zvolí nesprávně. Poesie člověka humanisuje, protože napomáhá kultivaci citlivosti a empatie, zdůrazňuje složitost člověka a světa.

Lze ale skutečně vnímat umění jako „přípravu na život"? Činí nás skutečně citlivějšími? Nepřehluší mnohdy křik v básni křik z ulice? (Steiner, „To Civilize Our Gentlemen" 82). Neměl nakonec pravdu Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), který prohlásil: „Četba knihy účinkuje na mne více než skutečné neštěstí"? (Flaubert 11). Pokud ano, pak nás umění nečiní vůči světu citlivějšími, naopak: umění nás životu vzdaluje.

Zkušenost, kterou Evropa prodělala ve 20. století, ostře ukázala, jak problematické je pojetí umění jako prostředku humanisace. Zjistili jsme, že je možné zastávat vysokou funkci v koncentračním táboře a mít v knihovničce výbor z Rilkeových básní – uprostřed naprosté negace humanity číst poesii výsostného básníka. A rozhodně nelze tvrdit, že tento člověk nepochopil, že četl špatně. Mohl to být velmi citlivý čtenář (Steiner, „To Civilize Our Gentlemen" 81). Vždyť ve 20. století jsme snad více než kdy jindy byli svědky koexistence a dokonce spolupráce umění a radikálních forem společenského a politického teroru.

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Různé formy společenské a politické nelidskosti, destrukce lidské individuálnosti[12], jakož i další charakteristické vlastnosti „moderních" evropských společností, které můžeme považovat za přímé důsledky zhroucení buržoasních hodnot, se projevují postupnou devalvací jazyka. Z jazyka, který byl oddělen od mravního a citového rozměru lidského života, se stává bestie (Steiner, „The Retreat from the Word" 45): je plný floskulí, rigidních metafor, slov k ničemu neodkazujících, nejasných definic a obecných hesel, pro něž jsou odsuzováni konkrétní lidé. Jazyková devalvace a dehumanisace jdou ruku v ruce.[13] Slova přestávají být lidská, tváří v tvář nelidskosti ztrácejí hodnotu a smysl – nejvýmluvnější je ticho.

Je nutné rovněž zmínit zásadní proměnu rozložení jazykového diskursu, jehož důsledky zasahují všechny oblasti lidského jazyka. Rozdělíme-li diskurs na vnitřní a vnější jazyk a porovnáme-li jejich dnešní poměr s jejich poměrem v 17. století, nutně dojdeme k závěru, že naprostá většina toho, co bylo dříve součástí vnitřního jazyka, se dostala do sféry jazyka vnějšího, veřejného (Steiner, „The Distribution of Discourse" 94). Sféra

vnitřního jazyka, tedy jazyka, který člověk používá pouze v dialogu se sebou samým, téměř zmizela. Je důležité si uvědomit, že tento vnitřní rozhovor úzce souvisí s identitou jednotlivce i s jeho duševním zdravím. K nejdůležitějším thematům vnitřního rozhovoru člověka patřilo náboženství a sexualita, ty jsou dnes přirozenou součástí veřejného diskursu (Steiner, „A Remark on Language and Psychoanalysis" 57–58). V případě náboženství už dnes mnohdy jen jeho. Souvislost se zhroucením buržoasních hodnot je zřejmá, důsledky pro život člověka nedozírné.

Jako lidé stále ještě žijeme v jazyce[14], proto explicitnost a především naprostá svoboda thematu vedou ke standardisaci sexuality a její brutalisaci (Steiner, „Eros and Idiom" 130). Zdá se, že sexuální konotace jsou dnes přirozenou součástí každodenního jazyka, například reklama je dnes v nebývalé míře sexualisována. Existuje hluboká souvislost mezi jazykem a soukromím, mezi zvnějšněním vnitřního jazyka, destrukcí představy soukromí a směšováním soukromého a veřejného, které v mnoha případech dnes nelze vůbec rozlišit[15] (Steiner, *Grammars of Creation* 262–265). Soukromý, často intimní život se stává součástí politiky, politika rozměrem soukromého života.[16]

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Jedním z nejcitlivějších pozorovatelů vyprazdňování, instrumentalisace a dehumanisace jazyka byl dramatik Eugène Ionesco (1909–1994). V jeho hře *Židle* (Les chaises, 1952) dvě postavy, stařeček a stařenka, chystají židle na večerní slavnostní událost. Žijí na ostrově, stařeček zde několik desítek let pracoval na velkém díle, které mělo představovat poselství a odkaz lidstvu. Mají přijet hosté, aby si od objednaného řečníka vyslechli výsledek stařečkova celoživotního úsilí. Večer stařeček a stařenka vítají hosty, ti jsou však neviditelní, židle zůstávají prázdné. Poté, co se dostaví řečník, stařeček a stařenka spáchají sebevraždu. Lhostejný řečník, který měl předat poselství lidstvu, je hluchoněmý.[17]

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Jazyk je živý organismus – vzniká, žije, ale může také zaniknout, pokud ztratí schopnost sloužit jako přesný a účinný nástroj lidského bytí ve světě. George Steiner, který v celém svém díle poukazuje na vzájemnou spjatost jazyka, identity, soukromí, paměti, gramotnosti, tradice, svobody a odpovědnosti, dokládá, že zhroucení vnitřních kulturních forem evropské civilisace, různé formy společenské a politické zrůdnosti, stejně jako hegemonie masové kultury, ve 20. století zasadily jazyku ránu, kterou bude jen velmi těžké zacelit („Silence and the Poet" 69).

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Na zásadních proměnách, jimiž všechny složky společnosti a kultura ve 20. století prošly, se významným způsobem podílel nebývale rychlý vývoj a aplikace technologií. Je veliká škoda, že se komplexním působením medií a technologií na člověka, kulturu a společnost začali kritikové zabývat až ve 20. století. Vliv techniky a technologií na umění jako předmět uměnovědného zkoumání se objevuje až ve studii Waltera Benjamina „Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" (Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner Technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, 1935–1936).

Benjamin si uvědomil, že technická reprodukovatelnost dosáhla kolem roku 1900 jistého standardu, na jehož základě si začala přisvojovat soubor tradovaných uměleckých děl jako svůj objekt, a takto způsobila hluboké změny nejen v jednotlivých uměleckých dílech, ale především v samotném pojetí tradice (Benjamin, „Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 196–198). Technická reprodukovatelnost se stala nejen novým uměleckým postupem („Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 196), ale rovněž (namísto tradice) samotným mediem umění. Jedinečnost umění, jeho „tady a teď" („Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 197), byla nahrazena masovou reprodukcí. Spolu s likvidací tradiční hodnoty kulturního dědictví, kterou Benjamin označuje jako „rub současné krise a obnovy světa" (Benjamin, „Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 198), se minimalisuje společenská funkce umění, které se poprvé v historii člověka vymaňuje z vazby na svůj původ v rituálu („Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 198–201). Oddělení umění od jeho rituální funkce rovněž znamená konec autonomnosti uměleckého díla („Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 200–201).

Na některé postřehy Waltera Benjamina později navázal kanadský filosof Marshall McLuhan, jehož hluboké úvahy o vztahu medií a technologií k lidskému vědomí, kultuře a civilisaci začínáme oceňovat až dnes. Jednou ze základních McLuhanových thesí je, že nová media[18] zásadním způsobem proměňují lidské vnímání světa.[19] Jejich vliv je podprahový („Kultura je náš obchod" 58), vedou ke změně v myšlení a vnímání časoprostorových vztahů světa, ke vzniku nového vědomí („Kultura je náš obchod" 48). Přesněji: media nemění strukturu našeho myšlení a vnímání, mění strukturu našeho světa („McLuhan jako použitá literatura" 253). Z těchto důvodů McLuhan považuje technologie za extense člověka a prohlašuje, že ve chvíli, kdy nová technologie přeskupí strukturu lidského světa, dochází ke změně celé kultury („Gutenbergova galaxie" 145).

Podle McLuhana existují pouze dvě základní podoby organisace lidské společnosti: kmenová (orientovaná akusticky) a civilisovaná (orientovaná visuálně) („Postoje a podvody manažerské minulosti" 90). Technologií, jež od základu proměnila lidské vnímání, byla fonetická abeceda, která odděluje význam od znaku a zvuk převádí ve visuální kód („Gutenbergova galaxie" 126). S McLuhanem v tomto souhlasí i současná kulturní antropologie; na příklad Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) považoval fonetickou abecedu za určující rozlišovací znak mezi myšlením člověka archaických a moderních společností (Lévi-Strauss 21).

McLuhan poukazoval na skutečnost, že „žádný piktografický, ideografický nebo hieroglyfický způsob psaní nemá civilisační sílu fonetické abecedy" („Gutenbergova galaxie" 126). Prostřednictvím fonetické abecedy, která vytváří individualisované vědomí, se lidé zbavili kmenovosti a civilisovali se („Gutenbergova galaxie" 154):

> Vliv fonetické abecedy je dost silný k tomu, aby rozbil kmenová pouta, ale také aby vytvořil individualisované vědomí (levé hemisféry). Tuto moc má sama fonetická gramotnost – naše abeceda. („Zákony médií" 359)

> Písmo pomáhá ovládat prostor. Písmo rovněž vytváří město. Schopnost tvarovat prostor písmem plodí schopnost organisovat prostor architektonicky. Lze-li přepravovat zprávy, vznikají cesty, armády a říše. Říše

Alexandra a císařů byly v zásadě vybudovány papírovými trasami. („Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 265)

Fonetická abeceda člověka vymanila z psychoakustického kontinua a orientovala jej visuálně, odrazila se také v příklonu k abstrakci a ve změnách ve struktuře společnosti („Gutenbergova galaxie" 113). Mythické prostředí nezná kategorie profánního času a prostoru, vliv fonetické abecedy vedl k ustavení těchto kategorií a bezesporu se do značné míry podílel i na objevu sbíhavé perspektivy v renesančním malířství a vědě.

Civilisování jedinců a kultur v minulosti záviselo výhradně na visualisaci, kterou podporuje gramotnost, a to výslovně gramotnost abecední („Gutenbergova galaxie" 138). Řecko-římskou fonetickou gramotnost do svých základů později přejala křesťanská církev, která vytvořila kulturní a ideologickou základnu, z níž vyrostla evropská civilisace. Gutenbergovým vynálezem, jenž jako první mechanisace složité ruční práce zahájil průmyslovou revoluci[20] („Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 224), začíná v 16. století věk knihtisku, ten končí vynálezem telegrafu (1844), který McLuhan považuje za první elektrické medium („Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 224).

Elektrická media, na rozdíl od medií dřívějších, nerozšiřují funkci jen jednoho smyslu, nýbrž přetvářejí celý lidský centrální nervový systém, a takto téměř okamžitě proměňují nejen hodnoty, jejich vztahy a celou kulturu, ale i všechny součásti lidské sociální a psychické existence („Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 219, 225). Elektrický pohyb informací na příklad podnítil vznik konceptu zakřiveného prostoru a neeukleidovské geometrie a matematiky. Podle McLuhana v nás dnes vlivem působení elektrických medií znovu ožívají duševní procesy a způsoby vnímání lidí archaických kmenových kultur. McLuhan zdůrazňoval, že vlivy elektrické technologie „se neprojevují v myšlenkách nebo názorech, v oblasti, v níž jsme si zvykli být kritičtí, ale v obyčejném smyslovém životě, který vytváří víry a matečné půdy myšlení a jednání" („Gutenbergova galaxie" 135).

Elektrická technologie je okamžitá a všudypřítomná, vytváří globální prostor (psychoakustický a hmatový), který má mnoho středů bez okrajů. Zraková technologie zformovala národy, elektrická technologie vytváří kmen, soudržný, hloubkový model vzájemně propojených skupin. Upřednostňuje nikoli fragmentární, ale integrální, nikoli mechanické, ale organické (McLuhan, „Média a kulturní změna" 102). Dochází tak k uzavření celého lidstva do jediného globálního kmene („Gutenbergova galaxie" 113). Všechna místa na Zemi jsou propojena, z kteréhokoli lze okamžitě vstoupit do kteréhokoli jiného, jakmile se na jednom stane něco, co upoutá pozornost informačních medií, okamžitě se o tom na všech ostatních místech ví. Všude však vládne mentalita vesnice: žijeme ve zcela globalisovaném světě, který je naprosto provinční.

Jak připomíná Zygmunt Bauman, je velmi důležité uvědomit si, že

technologické rušení časoprostorových vzdáleností lidskou situaci spíše polarisuje než homogenisuje. Zatímco jisté lidi osvobozuje od teritoriálních omezení a jisté významy, jež vytvářejí komunitu, exteritorialisuje, místo, k němuž jsou jiní lidé i nadále vázáni, zbavuje významu i schopnosti poskytovat identitu. Pro některé lidi ohlašuje bezprecedentní svobodu od fysických překážek a dosud neslýchanou schopnost pohybu a jednání na dálku. Pro jiné věstí nemožnost přivlastnit si a přijmout vskutku za svou lokalitu, s níž nemají velkou šanci zpřetrhat pouta, aby se mohli přesunout jinam.

> A jestliže ‚vzdálenost už nic neznamená‘, ztrácejí také lokality, oddělené vzdálenostmi, svůj význam. To je pro jedny příslibem svobodné tvorby významů, pro jiné však hrozbou nesmyslnosti. Někteří lidé se mohou z lokality – z jakékoli lokality – přesunovat libovolně. Jiní bezmocně přihlížejí tomu, jak jim jediná lokalita, již obývají, mizí pod nohama. (Bauman, *Globalisace* 27)

Koexistence různých konkurenčních technologií (na příklad tisku a internetu) způsobuje krátkodobé krise identity. Masová kultura je schopna existenciální krise identity „spotřebně“ zahnat – okamžitě a pouze krátkodobě, což se projevuje nutností střídat různé prefabrikované identity. Identitu, výlučně evropskou hodnotu, už není nutné získat, bránit a pečovat o ni – je spotřebním zbožím:

> Trh dodává i modelové příklady identity a spotřebiteli stačí, když bude postupovat podle pokynů přiloženého návodu. [...] Identita není vzácné zboží. Její nabídka je až nadměrná. Pokud se ‚okouká‘, není její devalvace žádnou katastrofou. Zastaralé modely jsou rychle nahrazeny novými, jež dosud nejsou tak běžné, a tvorba identity může začít znova [...]. [...] Společenské schválení je k identitě přibaleno jako návod k použití.[21] (Bauman, *Svoboda*, 79–80)

Velmi dobře už ale víme, že „krátkodobé změny identity, které se uskutečňují náhle a ve velmi krátkých časových intervalech, jsou rozhodně smrtelnější a pro lidské hodnoty ničivější než války, v nichž se bojuje těžkotonážními zbraněmi“ (McLuhan, „Zákony medií“ 364).

Dnes jsme vtahováni zpět do modu života kmenových lidí – nevědomí hraje v našem vědomém životě stále důležitější roli. Poprvé v dějinách se takto aktivně podílíme na destrukci nevědomí (McLuhan, „Projev na semináři Vision 65“ 205). Důsledky této skutečnosti nelze odhadnout, je však jisté, že podstatným způsobem ovlivní podobu člověka i lidského světa.[22]

Globálnost našeho světa umožňuje neuvěřitelně rychlý průtok informací, okamžitost komunikace však způsobuje, že svobodný projev a především svobodné a tvůrčí myšlení se stávají přinejmenším obtížnými („Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy“ 283). Svoboda, jak dokládá ve stejnojmenné práci Zygmunt Bauman, zmizela z utopického horisontu; svoboda dnes je pouze svobodou spotřeby, která určuje jak lidskou integraci do společnosti, vztah jedince ke společnosti, tak i jeho identitu (Bauman, *Svoboda* 64–106).

Jednou ze základních vlastností „moderní“ komunikace je, že vede spíše k uspokojení touhy po účasti na průtoku informací než k procesu pochopení a porozumění nebo skutečnému dialogu (McLuhan, „Dopis Haroldu Adamsovi Innisovi“ 80) – „Dichotomie mezi informací a zábavou skončila“ („McLuhan jako použitá literatura“ 254). Zřejmým důsledkem je úpadek verbální gramotnosti a literatury.

Nejde jen o literaturu, spolu s návratem psychoakustického globálního prostoru mizí historická perspektiva i smysl pro dějiny[23] (McLuhan, „Zákony medií“ 370). Stejně jako pro neindividualisovaného člena tlupy i pro nás už dnes dějiny takřka neexistují – vše je současnost. Tady a teď, všude a nikde: nic.

Zánik dějin, tj. ryze evropského chápání dějin, má širší význam, než jen zánik dějinné perspektivy, jak dobře věděl Jan Patočka:

> Dějiny jsou a budou jen potud, pokud budou lidé, kteří nechtějí pouze ‚žít', nýbrž jsou právě v odstupu od pouhého života ochotni klást a hájit základy společenství vzájemného respektu. Co se tímto způsobem zakládá, není bezpečné zajišťování života, nýbrž svoboda, tj. možnosti, které úroveň pouhého života překračují. Tyto možnosti jsou v základě dvojí povahy, totiž zodpovědná péče o druhé a výslovná vztaženost k bytí, tj. pravda. V těchto vztazích není člověk ani závislý ani konsument, nýbrž v podstatném smyslu budovatel, zakladatel, rozšiřovatel, uchovávatel společnosti, ovšemže, jak už bylo výše řečeno, nikdy bez ohrožení. Toto budování je budování světa, jenž je založen v neviditelné oblasti, ale musí být převeden do podoby viditelné a trvalé, aby nesl lidský život a poskytoval člověku možnost být i nadále a stále znovu dějinně. (Patočka, *Evropa a doba poevropská*, 100)

Na úvahy Marshalla McLuhana navazuje dílo francouzského filosofa a kulturního kritika Jeana Baudrillarda, který se domníval, že lidé dnešní kultury již žijí jen mezi obrazy: simulace světa se stala reálnější než svět. Zmizel samotný koncept reality (Baudrillard, *Dokonalý zločin* 14), ten byl sice ilusí, nicméně osvědčoval se jako hypothesa, jako iluse referenčního universa (*Dokonalý zločin* 23, 24). Ve víření simulací a simulaker, které svět nahradily, nelze rozlišovat mezi pravdou a falší, reálným a nereálným, proto dochází k likvidaci rozdílů, kategorií a hodnot (*Dokonalý zločin*, 25, 46). Mizí dokonce i samotná představa smyslu (*Dokonalý zločin* 25). Z kultury založené na simulacích mizí existenciální pocity krise, odcizení i ztráty identity. Jsme vtaženi do nekonečného proudu simulací a vše se nám zdá být v pořádku (*Dokonalý zločin* 35, 113). Media jsou podle Baudrillarda spíše než extensemi člověka, jak tvrdil McLuhan, jeho expulsemi. (*Dokonalý zločin* 44). Člověk byl virtualisován (*Dokonalý zločin* 36).

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Žijeme dnes v jakési globální bublině, ne nepodobné psychoakustickému kontinuu paleolitických tlup. Způsob naší existence je převážně sensuální: u paleolitické tlupy identitu jednotlivých členů zajišťovaly sensuální účinky kontinuity specificky lidského zvuku, dnes je naše identita dána tím, že jsme součástí globálního toku informací. Stejně jako zvuk a slovo mají informace především sensuální, fysický účinek.

Archaické kultury byly orientovány hodnotově – struktura mythického světa byla dána polaritou posvátného a profánního. Důležité byly tradice, archetyp, tabu a rituál, které dávaly člověku a světu opodstatnění, hodnotu a smysl; jednalo se o vysoce hierarchisovaný svět, který byl strukturován slovem. Tuto roli v dnešní kultuře přejala informace, jakákoli informace. Bauman připomíná, že informace jsou dnes nezávislé nejen na svých nositelích, že se rozevřela propast mezi informací a věcí:

> S neustálým a důsledným rozvojem technických prostředků dostaly informace možnost cestovat nezávisle na svých fysických nositelích – a také nezávisle na předmětech, o nichž informovaly: tyto prostředky vymanily

,označující' ze sevření ,označovaného'. Oddělení pohybu informací od pohybu jejich nositelů a příslušných předmětů potom samo umožnilo diferenciaci jejich rychlostí; pohyb informací nabíral na rychlosti mnohem větším tempem než cestování osob, a tento přírůstek informační rychlosti byl rovněž vyšší, než jakého byla s to dosáhnout změna situací, o kterých informace informovaly. (Bauman, *Globalisace* 23)

Takto se dnes člověk, v dobách minulých hrdý subjekt, dobrovolně stává objektem informačního toku; s trochou nadsázky lze říci, že informace se staly nositelkami člověka.

Identita člověka dnes závisí na tom, zda se účastní výměny sensuálně působivých informací. V naprosté většině případů se jedná o informace neverbální; tento kulturní rys takřka prorocky předpověděl McLuhan: „Naše nové technologie se snad mohou vyhnout verbalisaci. Pro počítač nebo pro technologii, která rozšiřuje samo vědomí, není v podstatě nic nemožné – funguje jako universální prostředí. V jistém smyslu je informační okolí, které dnes zažíváme elektricky, extensí samotného vědomí" („McLuhan jako použitá literatura" 254). Devalvace jazyka, který byl nositelem hodnotové hierarchie, významu a smyslu, související s rozpouštěním individuálního vědomí v mediích, vede k nivelisaci hodnot, rozdílů a degradaci významu. Degradací významu ztrácíme možnost rozlišovat, nelze se ptát, zda je konkrétní věc dobrá nebo zlá, reálná nebo nereálná. Taková otázka ztratila původní význam.

Buďto člověk součástí průtoku informací je, a nebo není, to jsou dvě volby člověka dnešní kultury. Informační tok, který rychle destruuje „tradiční" pojetí času a prostoru[24], má charakter globálního proudu; způsobuje, že člověk je současně přítomen i rozptýlen po celém psychoakustickém prostoru. Jinými slovy: je tady i teď a zároveň nikde a nikdy.

Naše vědomí je neustále tvarováno sensuálním dopadem informací (jejich obsah je bezvýznamný), které u všech členů komunikace vytvářejí totožné vědomí, stejný fysický i psychický stav. Dochází tak nejen k nivelisaci významů, ale i ke stírání podstatných rozdílů mezi jednotlivci a kulturami, k destrukci tradičně chápané individuálnosti konkrétního člověka[25] a unifikaci vkusu.

Četba, jež je nedílně spjata s buržoasními hodnotami evropské civilisace (slovesná gramotnost, soukromí, distance, výklad atd.), vyžaduje námahu a odvahu: četba knihy, ať se jedná o román nebo poesii, je potenciální existenciální otřes. Četba konfrontuje člověka s podstatně odlišným, a tak nebo onak nakonec se sebou samým. Literární i každodenní jazyk jakožto imaginativní konstrukce lidského významu a smyslu vyžaduje účast všech členů dialogu. Media elektrická (rozhlas, televise apod.) a elektronická (počítačové sítě, virtuální realita apod.) od člověka vyžadují především „ponoření", konfrontují jej nikoliv s podstatně jiným, ale se stejným v nekonečně proměnlivé podobě. Z mluvčího, posluchače, čtenáře i diváka se stává *uživatel* audiovisuálních, případně virtuálních médií, která jsou monologická. Člověk se noří do informačního monologu technologií.

Jedním z důsledků všudypřítomnosti elektrických medií je marginalisace hranic, hranic mezi tělem a technologií i hranic časových a prostorových. Vše je snadno a okamžitě přítomné kdekoli, mizí rozlišení mezi přítomným a nepřítomným, blízkým a vzdáleným, soukromým a veřejným, vše lze okamžitě zpřítomnit. Začínáme si uvědomovat, že rozplynutí hranice ve smyslu iniciačního přechodu bude mít nedozírné následky na psychiku člověka: člověk je dospělým, aniž by byl dítětem, a zároveň nikdy nedospívá.

Dalším důsledkem je mizení strachu z bolesti a především smrti. Media, jak věděl McLuhan, zásadně proměňují ontologický status toho, co je jejich prostřednictvím presentováno: „Mnoho lidí bylo ohromeno televisní reportáží o atentátu na Kennedyho. Všichni jsme si uvědomovali hloubku vtaženosti, ale necítili jsme žádné vzrušení, žádnou sensaci. Když je vtaženost maximální, jsme téměř necitliví" („McLuhan jako použitá literatura" 274). Podstatu změny presentované události medii výborně postihl Baudrillard:

> Role obrazu je vysoce dvojznačná. Protože událost zároveň zvýrazňuje a zároveň ji bere jako rukojmí. Funguje jako nekonečné znásobení a současně jako diverse a neutralisace (tak jako se to stalo s událostmi z roku 1968). Na to se vždy, když se mluví o ‚nebezpečnosti' medií, zapomíná. Obraz zkonsumuje událost v tom smyslu, že ji pohltí a předloží ji ke konsumaci. Jistě, obraz dává události novou působnost, ale už jako události-obrazu."
>
> (Baudrillard, „Duch terorismu" 91)

Utrpení, bolest, smrt a válka se prostřednictvím audiovisuálních medií staly všednodenní součástí našich životů, jsou domestikovány. Zamyšlení nad tímto jevem nám odhaluje původní účel a hodnotu tabu, která v dnešní kultuře už nemají místo: tabu je hranicí posvátného, nedotknutelného.

Strach ze smrti, postoj, který zakládá tradičně chápanou kulturu, byl domestikován a personalisován. Smrt jako takovou změnit nelze, lidský postoj k ní – a hodnoty s ním související – ale ano:

> Lhostejnost vůči trvání transformuje nesmrtelnost z pouhé ideje v životní zkušenost a činí z ní předmět okamžité spotřeby: způsob, jakým žijete pro daný okamžik, z něho dělá „nesmrtelnou zkušenost". Jestliže „nekonečno" přežívá transmutaci, je to jen měřítko hloubky či intensity *Erlebnis*. Neohraničenost možných vjemů se posouvá do místa, které ve snech uvolnilo nekonečné trvání. Okamžitost (jež anuluje resistenci prostoru a zkapalňuje hmotné objekty) způsobuje, že každá chvíle se zdá nekonečně prostornou; tato nekonečná kapacita znamená, že neexistují žádné limity pro to, co lze z každičkého okamžiku – jakkoli krátkého a „prchavého" – vyždímat. (Bauman, *Tekutá modernita* 200)

> Devalvace nesmrtelnosti nemůže znamenat nic jiného než předzvěst kulturního převratu, pravděpodobně toho nejzásadnějšího bodu obratu v dějinách lidské kultury. Přechod od těžkého kapitalismu k lehkému, od pevné modernosti k tekuté bude, jak se možná ještě ukáže, radikálnějším rozchodem a bude mít mnohem větší vliv než nástup samotného kapitalismu a modernosti nahlížený dosud jako jeden z nejzásadnějších milníků lidské historie přinejmenším od dob neolitické revoluce. Opravdu, v průběhu lidských dějin se civilisační úsilí stalo proséváním a usazováním tvrdých jader trvalosti v prchavých lidských životech a pomíjivých lidských činech, ve snaze proměnit pomíjivost v trvalost, diskontinuitu v kontinuitu, a tudíž transcendovat limity vnucené nám smrtelností tím, že smrtelní muži a ženy se dali do služby nesmrtelného lidského druhu. (*Tekutá modernita* 202–203)

Je obtížné představit si kulturu, která by byla naprosto apatická k věčnosti a vyhýbala se trvalosti. Stejně obtížně představitelná je morálka lhostejná k důsledkům lidských činů a vyhýbající se odpovědnosti za dopad takových činů na druhé. Nástup okamžitosti vede lidskou kulturu a etiku na nezmapované a neprozkoumané území, kde většina našich zvyků, naučených způsobů zvládání života, ztratila svou účelnost a smysl.

(*Tekutá modernita*, 206)

Paměť minulosti a důvěra v budoucnost ovšem bývaly dvěma pilíři, na kterých dosud spočíval most naší kultury a morálky spojující pomíjivost s trvalostí, smrtelnost člověka s nesmrtelností jeho výkonů, právě tak jako život v odpovědnosti se životem pro daný okamžik. (*Tekutá modernita* 206)

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Působením elektrických medií rovněž došlo k proměně „politiky" umění. Elektrická audiovisuální a virtuální média zdůrazňují obraz a interaktivitu; zvuk je v podstatě sekundární, slovo se používá nanejvýš jako komentář. Podstatnou vlastností slovesného umění byla aktivisace a kultivace čtenářova vnímání a myšlení. Poesie čtenáři umožňuje spatřit obraz, pocítit rythmus a zaslechnout melodii, které jsou vždy do jisté míry individuální, při každém čtení jiné, a přístupné pouze skrze slovo. V tomto smyslu můžeme umění a poesii považovat za podstatně pluralitní.

Audiovisuální a virtuální media jsou vysoce preskriptivní, poskytují jeden určitý audiovisuální celek navržený tak, aby uspokojil estetické cítění masového „uživatele". V dlouhodobé perspektivě takto dochází k unifikaci vkusu. Vnímání masového uživatele není aktivisováno, ale nasycováno. V tomto smyslu můžeme tvrdit, že ve srovnání s pluralitním slovesným mediem jsou media audiovisuální a virtuální spíše totalisující.

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Díla masové kultury jsou transparentní, nevyžadují rozumění ani nepotřebují výklad, jako taková se nemohou stát prostředníky dialogu čtenáře se sebou samým. Masová kultura neuznává tradiční pojetí umělecké tradice, nerozlišuje mezi vkusem a nevkusem, ani mezi originálem a kopií. S tímto rysem umění jsme se pravděpodobně po prvé setkali u „spotřebních děl" Andyho Warhola. Warholovo zobrazení všednodenního detailu z plechovky Campbellovy polévky nečiní estetický objekt, pouze jej lyrisuje: reálné zůstává reálným. Baudrillard bystře poznamenal, že Warhol se nikdy nestal součástí dějin umění a navždy zůstane součástí světa (*Dokonalý zločin* 91). Masová kultura učinila estetično předmětem momentální spotřeby.

Masová kultura zásadně proměnila chápání časovosti uměleckého díla. Dílo bývalo pro umělce zárukou nesmrtelnosti. Bývalo vytvářeno, aby se s ním žilo. Masová kultura takové pojetí díla nezná, nemá tradici ani dějiny. Existuje vždy pouze ve velmi krátkém časovém úseku, a jejím klíčovým slovem je „teď". Kultura dříve znamenala kontinuitu souboru prověřených hodnot, na něž současnost odkazuje. Dílo masové kultury nevzniká, aby přetrvalo a neslo určité hodnoty. Kolik uživatelů si pamatuje, který Madonnin „hit" poslouchal před rokem den co den? Kdo si pamatuje, jak před rokem Madonna vypadala?

Masová kultura, jež umožňuje současně vnímat několik různých estetických předmětů, se podobá proudu: je zároveň plná i prázdná, představuje neustálé proudění estetisovaných počitků lidským vědomím do zapomnění. Lidská potřeba estetického prožitku není uspokojována dílem, ale nekonečnou řadou jeho náhražek. Takové uspokojení je příjemné a bezstarostné, je sice jen krátkodobé, tato krátkodobost je však nekonečně opakovatelná. Umění masové kultury člověka zaplňuje, nikoli naplňuje; její „prázdnota" ale není pociťována jako existenciální nedostatek, je pohotově zaplňována novými předměty „estetické" spotřeby. Člověk je tady a teď, všude a nikde, je prázdný, zároveň ale neustále trpně vyplňovaný, a je spokojen.

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Člověk, který cítí jistou zodpovědnost ke kultuře, si dnes velmi dobře uvědomuje, že se ocitl v posici ohroženého, nikoliv však chráněného druhu. Barbarství nepřišlo zpoza hranic, ale nepozorovaně se vynořilo v lidských srdcích, stalo se smutnou a samozřejmou součástí našeho každodenního života. Do určité míry také kulturní, společenskou a politickou normou.

Pokud nám opravdu záleží na tom, aby kultura byla nejen *způsobem našeho života*, ale i jeho *smyslem*, musíme se neustále tázat po jejím vztahu k hodnotám, společnosti a dějinám. Jde o otázky mnohdy bolestivé a zneklidňující, nicméně jedině ony nás uchrání před dvěma nebezpečnými krajnostmi: slonovinovou věží „vysoké" kultury a rozplynutím v kultuře masové. Odpovědi mohou být pouze individuální a vždy budou znít do značné míry prostoduše:

Prestiž vědy, vědeckého poznání a myšlení, tedy neverbálních diskursů, spočívá na předpokladu objektivity (Steiner, „Humane Literacy" 24–25). O vypracování methody, pojmového aparátu a dosažení objektivity sní i literární kritika, která se dodnes touží stát vědou. Tato touha je paradoxní, subjektivita je totiž největší potenciální výhodou (literární) kritiky. Objektivita nemůže brát ohled na člověka, proto byla věda ochotna vstoupit ve 20. století do služeb teroru, genocidy a nelidskosti („Humane Literacy" 24–25). Zde snad lze spatřovat malou naději: v návratu k osobnímu, subjektivnímu přístupu, který by kritice vrátil lidský rozměr.

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Lidský svět se během 20. století změnil k nepoznání, stejně se změnil i člověk – jeho vnímání, cítění a myšlení. Změnil se náš vztah k jazyku, svět vnímáme jinak, jinak rozumíme sami sobě. S podobou lidského vědomí doznává analogických změn i podoba lidského světa, který je plodem našeho bytí. Nejsme dnes svědky dlouho ohlašovaného zániku kultury. Spíše jde o postupné přehodnocování obsahu a významu několika základních pojmů, hodnot a s nimi spojených postojů. Tento proces je analogický současné transformaci zásadních vnitřních kulturních forem a struktur. Kultura neumírá, jen se postupně vnitřně proměňuje – utváří se nové pojetí kultury, které je s pojetím kultury konce století 19. a počátku století následujícího naprosto nesouměřitelné. Změny vnitřních kulturních forem probíhaly a do značné míry stále ještě probíhají nepozorovaně, a tudíž i zcela nekontrolovaně. Chceme-li z dědictví euroamerické kultury zachránit alespoň pár zlomků, musíme se dynamikou těchto změn zabývat.

Nemá smysl doufat, že se můžeme vrátit k tradičnímu pojetí kultury, stejně tak ale nelze předpokládat, že nové pojetí kultury nakonec přinese stejně hodnotná umělecká díla. Internet a virtuální media sice přinášejí úžasné nové umělecké možnosti, ty ale postřehne pouze člověk cele oddaný klasické tradici gramotnosti (tj. gramotnosti slovesné), pouze umělec zastávající tradiční pojetí kultury a civilisace.

Poznámky

(Endnotes)

[1] Lze se oprávněně domnívat, že kulturu zakládá teprve vědomí smrtelnosti: „Smrt, lépe řečeno vědomí naší smrtelnosti je prvořadým generátorem kultury. Důležitá část našeho jednání, a právě část kulturně relevantní – umění, věda, filosofie, dobročinnost – vzniká z puzení k nesmrtelnosti, puzení překročit hranice svého já a čas vyhrazený našemu životu" (Assman, *Smrt jako fenomén kulturní teorie* 13). V tomto smyslu je možné kulturu považovat za odpověď na otázku „Co se stane po mé smrti se vším, čeho si tak cením?"

[2] Takovéto pojetí evropské civilisace zastával na příklad T. S. Eliot (Eliot 113, 122–23, 198).

[3] Zygmunt Bauman na příklad zdůrazňuje, že představa dobré a spravedlivé společnosti zmizela z politického diskursu někdy v 70. letech 20. století. (Bauman, *Tekutá modernita* 174).

[4] Velmi jasně definuje mythus a mythomotoriku Jan Assman: „Mythus jsou dějiny, které si lidé vyprávějí, aby se zorientovali v sobě samých a ve světě; je to pravda vyššího řádu, která nejenom souhlasí se skutečností, ale vznáší navíc normativní nároky a vykazuje formativní sílu. […] Vzpomíná se pouze na *významnou* minulost a pouze *vzpomínaná* minulost získává význam. Vzpomínka je aktem semiotisace. […] Tato funkce […] představuje základní antropologickou konstantu. Jedná se tu o transformaci minulosti ve fundující dějiny, tj. v mythus. Toto označení nijak nepopírá reálný výskyt daných událostí, nýbrž pouze vyzdvihuje jejich fundující *závaznost* pro budoucnost jakožto cosi, na co v žádném případě nelze zapomínat. […] Mythus je minulost, která se zkoncentruje ve fundující dějiny. Rozdíl, o který mi jde, tkví v tom, zda se přitom jedná o minulost ‚absolutní', nebo ‚historickou'. V případě absolutní minulosti […], tj. onoho jiného času, k němuž si vpřed postupující přítomnost uchovává stále stejný odstup a který je spíše svého druhu věčností […], funduje mythus obraz světa a chápání skutečnosti […]. Zpřítomnění *této* minulosti probíhá na způsob cyklického opakování. V případě historické minulosti mythus funduje sebezobrazení […] společnosti, která si niterně osvojila své historické dění […]. Uvedený rozdíl nelze označit výstižněji, než to učinil Eliade: na místo semiotisace kosmu nastupuje semiotisace dějin. […] Mythus je takový (především narativní) vztah k minulosti, který jí nechává osvětlit přítomnost i budoucnost. Takový vztah k minulosti se obvykle ocítá ve službách dvou zdánlivě protikladných úkolů. První funkci mythu nazveme ‚fundující': znamená tolik, že se přítomné objevuje ve světle dějin, které je ukazují jakožto smysluplné, nutné, neproměnlivé a jako důsledek boží vůle. […] Druhou funkci bychom mohli nazvat ‚kontrapresentní'. Vychází z prožitku nedostatku v přítomnosti a vzývá ve vzpomínce určitou minulost, která obvykle získává rysy heroické doby. Tato vyprávění vrhají na přítomnost zcela jiné světlo: takové, které zdůrazňuje vše scházející, zmizelé, ztracené či vytlačené na okraj a vnáší do lidského vědomí zlom mezi ‚kdysi' a ‚nyní'. Přítomnost tu nezískává fundament, nýbrž ztrácí ukotvení; přinejmenším se relativisuje v kontrastu k výsostnější a krásnější minulosti. […] Obě funkce se […] nemusí navzájem vylučovat. […] Některé vzpomínky jsou jednoznačně kontrapresentní, tj. relativisují přítomnost, a za určitých okolností jsou proto nežádoucí […]; jiné vzpomínky jsou stejně jednoznačně fundující […]. Nalezneme ale i mythicky zformované vzpomínky, které jsou obojím současně. V principu se může každý fundující mythus změnit v kontrapresentní. Charakteristiky *fundující* a *kontrapresentní* tedy nenáležejí mythu jako takovému, nýbrž smyslu,

který má pro přítomnost skrze formování sebeobrazu a směřování činů; náležejí oné orientující síle, kterou vykazuje pro určitou skupinu v určité situaci. Tuto sílu nazýváme ‚mythomotorika‘" (Assman, *Kultura a paměť* 70–73). „Všechna společenství žijí pod vlivem fundujících historií, z nichž čerpají řád a směr svého jednání: tento princip jsme nazvali ‚mythomotorika‘" (Assman, *Kultura a paměť* 250).

[5] O mírových obdobích 20. století, která mají charakter války, pojednal na příklad Jan Patočka v konceptu eseje „Války 20. století a 20. století jako válka". Srov. na př.: „Teror, který dnes vládne spolu s demokracií, je této válečné povahy, je derivát války, je svědectví toho, že válka pokračuje. Maximální ohrožení je však dnes rozptýlený teror původně ‚mírových‘ energií, z nichž se stal válečný stav natrvalo" (Patočka, „Války 20. století a 20. století jako válka" 502).

[6] Jako pravděpodobně první si to uvědomil Walter Benjamin (Brynda 327). Srov. na př. Benjaminovu esej „K současnému společenskému stanovisku francouzského spisovatele" („K současnému společenskému stanovisku francouzského spisovatele" 49, 56–57). Robert Musil roku 1913 tuto skutečnost vyjádřil jasně a výstižně: „Poprvé žijeme v době, která nemůže milovat své básníky" (Musil, „Matematický člověk" 57).

[7] To je s největší pravděpodobností také důvod, proč působí básnická sekvence Harta Cranea *The Bridge* tak nepřesvědčivým dojmem.

[8] Srov. také esej George Steinera „Text and Context" a McLuhanovu práci „Joyce, Mallarmé a noviny".

[9] „O současných problémech biologie se obyčejným jazykem mluvit nedá. Nedá se o nich mluvit pomocí odkazů na věci, které zažíváme"(Oppenheimer 137).

[10] Jazyk je analogon našeho způsobu bytí ve světě, tedy člověka i lidského světa. Srov: „Angličtina i všechny ostatní jazyky jsou samy mohutnou organisací tradiční zkušenosti, která poskytuje souhrnný pohled na svět" (McLuhan, „McLuhan jako použitá literatura" 264). „Mateřský jazyk je věcí, na níž cele participujeme. Mění naše vnímání. Takže kdybychom mluvili čínsky, budeme úplně jinak slyšet, cítit a dotýkat se" („McLuhan jako použitá literatura" 263).

[11] Tento jev souvisí s vývojem filosofie ve 20. století, především s přehodnocením ontologické a epistemologické role ticha, na příklad v *Logicko-filosofickém traktátu* Ludwiga Wittgensteina.

[12] Devalvací a mizením individuálnosti, výsostné humanistické hodnoty, se zabýval na příklad Robert Musil (Musil, „Básník a tato doba" 194–195).

[13] Srov. na př. Steinerovu analysu jazyka nacistického Německa (Steiner, „The Hollow Miracle" 117–132).

[14] Martin Heidegger v knize *Platónovo učení o pravdě* (Platons Lehre von der Wahrheit, 1947): „Člověk opatruje bytí ve svém jazyce, je jeho *opatrovník*, jeho pastýř" (cit. in Valušek 3). Podstatu světatvorby, na níž se jazykem podílíme, vystihuje slavný aforismus Karla Krause: „Jenom v slasti jazykového plození stává se z chaosu svět" (Kraus 118). Srov. také Krausovu esej „Heine, a co způsobil" (Kraus 204–205).

[15] Srov. také na př. Canettiho poznámku v úvodu ke svazku esejů *Svědomí slov*: „Veřejné a privátní děje už od sebe nelze oddělovat, prostupují se navzájem způsobem dříve neslýchaným" (Canetti 7).

[16] Důsledky a souvislostmi vpádu soukromého do veřejného se zabývá Zygmunt Bauman ve studii *Tekutá modernita* (Bauman, *Tekutá modernita*, 63, 67–68, 84–85).

[17] Na poslední straně slovenského vydání Ionescovy hry je pod fotografií dvou usmívajících se lidí následující reklamní text: „Slová dokážu prenášať myšlienky, slovami môžeme pohladiť, vyvolať úsmev, pocit šťastia. Každý človek, ktorý si svoje slová váži, dokáže nimi obdarovať druhého. Slová nás spájajú, aj keď sme od seba ďaleko. My spájame slová. Aby ľudia spolu hovorili. GLOBTEL. GMS. Aby ľudia spolu hovorili" (Ionesco 83).

[18] McLuhan používá termínu „medium" pro každou existující technologii, která rozšiřuje lidské tělo (je jeho extensí), od odívání až k počítači (McLuhan, „Marshall McLuhan versus Playboy" 219).

[19] Zárodek této myšlenky můžeme najít u Oswalda Spenglera – „Neproměňuje se nářadí, ale člověk. Ještě jednou: dějiny člověka lze odhadnout pouze z duše" (Spengler 27) – a v promyšlenější podobě ve zmiňované Benjaminově eseji (Benjamin, „Umělecké dílo ve věku technické reprodukovatelnosti" 198–199).

[20] Knihtisk zlikvidoval dva tisíce let starou rukopisnou kulturu stejným způsobem, jakým fonetická abeceda zlikvidovala kulturu orální (McLuhan, „Projev na semináři Vision 65" 203).

[21] K identitě dále srov. Bauman, *Tekutá modernita*, s. 134–144.

[22] Jedním z nejcitlivějších pozorovatelů a komentátorů návratu archaického vnímání je americký režisér David Lynch. Jeho pozdní filmy (především *Lost Highway* [1996] a *Mullholland Drive* [2001]) nemají lineárně se odvíjející příběh (lineární temporalitu), nýbrž časovost cyklickou. Cyklus, který už není posvátný, ale profánní, je svrchovaným principem současné strukturace času.

[23] Na mizení dějinné perspektivy upozorňoval i Czesław Miłosz: „Jestliže jsem si já uvědomoval, že se mnou něco není v pořádku, byli oni zmrzačeni právě opačným způsobem: zánikem citu pro historii, to znamená zánikem tragického smyslu, který se rodí jen z historické zkušenosti" (Miłosz, *Rodná Evropa* 244).

[24] *„Je-li prostor to, co má zabránit, aby bylo vše současně na témže místě*, toto hrubé vymezení svádí vše, naprosto vše na ono ‚místo‘, na toto umístění bez umístění… vyčerpání přirozeného reliéfu a časových distancí shrnuje veškerou lokalisaci, každou posici. Jako jsou události přenášeny v přímém přenosu, stávají se i místa libovolně zaměnitelná" (Virilio, „Přeexponované město" 166).

[25] Z odlišného pohledu se problematickou podobou individualismu v současné společnosti zabývá francouzský filosof Gilles Lipovetsky ve studii *Éra prázdnoty*. V souvislosti se současnou formou individualismu navrhuje hovořit spíše o personalisaci: „V negativním smyslu vede proces personalisace k zániku socialisace založené na disciplíně. V positivním smyslu vede ke vzniku pružné společnosti založené na informacích a stimulování potřeb, na sexu a ohledu k ‚lidským faktorům‘, na kultu přirozenosti, srdečnosti a humoru. [...] Po autoritativní a mechanické dresuře tedy přichází homeopatický a kybernetický způsob socialisace; po rozkazujícím řízení přichází volitelné programování na objednávku. (Lipovetsky 9) [...] Moderní ideál podřízenosti individuálních zájmů racionálním pravidlům byl rozprášen. Proces personalisace postavil do popředí osobní realisaci a respektování subjektivní zvláštnosti a jedinečné osobitosti jakožto základní hodnotu [...]. (Lipovetsky 10) [...] Hlavní moderní osy – revoluce, disciplína, světskost a avantgarda – byly opuštěny ve prospěch hédonistické personalisace. [...] Zmocňuje se nás prázdnota, která však v sobě nemá nic tragického ani apokalyptického. [...] Nikoli překonání konsumnosti, nýbrž její apotheosa, její rozšíření i do soukromé sféry až k samotnému vnímání a utváření ega, odsouzeného ke stále rychlejšímu zastarávání, proměnlivosti, destabilisaci. Konsumujeme svou vlastní existenci [...]. (Lipovetsky 13) [...] V té [společnosti] záleží na jediném – být sám sebou –, a právo na existenci a společenské uznání zde má tudíž cokoli, je tu nepřípustné něco trvale a imperativně vnucovat a všechny volby, všechny úrovně mohou existovat vedle sebe, aniž by si protiřečily nebo se navzájem vylučovaly" (Lipovetsky 15). Důsledkem a projevem personalisace je narcismus: „V podstatě se shoduje s tendencí, která vede lidi k tomu, aby snižovali emoční náboj vkládaný do veřejného prostoru nebo do transcendentních sfér a naopak zdůrazňovali priority soukromé sféry. Narcismus je s touto historickou tendencí emočního přesunu nerozlučně spjat. Egalisace, snižování nejvyšších hierarchií a hypertrofie já mohou být podle okolností jistě více či méně výrazné, ale z dlouhodobého hlediska se zdá, že jde o vývoj nezvratný, protože dovršuje dávné směřování demokratických společností. Moc je stále pronikavější, laskavější a neviditelnější, lidé jsou stále zahleděnější do sebe, ‚slabší‘, jinými slovy labilnější a bez přesvědčení (Lipovetsky 18). [...] Čím víc se lidé vyjadřují, tím méně toho mají co říci, čím víc se propaguje subjektivnost, tím anonymněji a prázdněji působí. [...] Právě

to je narcismus: vyjadřování čehokoli, přednost komunikace jakožto činnosti před obsahem sdělení, lhostejnost k obsahu, hravé pohlcování smyslu, komunikace bez účelu a bez publika, jejímž hlavním příjemcem je sám mluvčí" (Lipovetsky 20). Lipovetsky se také zabývá vlivem personalisace na podobu jazyka: „Proces personalisace asepticky sterilisuje slovník stejně jako centra měst, nákupní střediska či smrt. Slova, na nichž ulpívá jistá konotace podřadnosti, ohavnosti, pasivity nebo agresivity, musí zmizet a nahrazuje je jazyk průzračný, neutrální a objektivní – takové je poslední stadium individualistických společností. Zároveň s pružným a otevřeným organisačním uspořádáním se objevuje eufemistická a uklidňující řeč, jakási semantická plastická operace odpovídající procesu personalisace zaměřenému na rozvoj individuálních odlišností, na jejich podporování a úctu k nim [...]" (Lipovetsky 32).

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Book Reviews

Mária Kurdi, ed. *Literary and Cultural Relations: Ireland, Hungary, and Central and Eastern Europe.* **Dublin: Carysfort, 2009.**

There is a relatively new tendency in Irish Studies, as Mária Kurdi highlights in her introduction to the volume, to "reshape critical paradigms" by conducting criticism on a "comparative basis" (1) instead of echoing the age-old insular notions concerning the field. Responding to this tendency, the volume offers a diversity of approaches and topics, and a selection of studies in a comparativist vein. The studies were originally given as lectures at the 2007 conference of the Hungarian Society for Irish Studies in Pécs, Hungary, demonstrating that there exists an articulate and organized endeavour which associates itself with the above-mentioned aspiration in Irish Studies.

Although the essays are organized in two parts, under the respective titles "Drama and Theatre" and "Crosscultural Dialogue and Translation," they all evoke issues of a more diverse range, and cover not only drama but also prose, poetry, and literary and political journalism. Translation, however, as the primordial means and site of crosscultural (or transnational) dialogue, rightly gains prominence in the volume. As the studies addressing this topic show, the rendering of a text into another language is influenced not only by choices made on a purely linguistic level but also by particular historical and political conditions, not to mention the individual artistic endeavours of the translator. In this sense, the dialogue between two cultures goes through a range of filters even before it reaches a wide, national audience.

Erika Mihálycsa's essay provides the reader with insights into how the translator's choice of language registers and stylistic levels affects the text that the target audience would encounter before anything else. Mihálycsa gives an interesting account of an actual translation process, highlighting the linguistic intricacies that Flan O'Brien's *At Swim-Two-Birds* presented for her and the co-translator Gábor Csizmadia. The translation can be rightly perceived as a crosscultural one as the co-translators have different backgrounds, Mihálycsa being Transylvanian-Hungarian, while Csizmadia comes from Hungary itself. Besides the technical particulars of the endeavour, Mihálycsa calls attention to the apparent neglect of O'Brien's work in Hungary, in contrast to his renown in other European nations.

Comparing two Hungarian renderings of Derek Mahon's poetry, István D. Rácz focuses on the translators' artistic character in relation to their choices during translation. The author of the essay argues that the choices discernible in two translations of Mahon's poetry by András Fodor and Eszter Tábor clearly reflect the translators' own pursuits as poets. In fact, Rácz stresses that a poet's activity as a translator scarcely leaves his or her own poetry untouched. Thus, as Rácz goes on, translations can be viewed "in the context of two life-works" (217), that of the translator and that of the original writer.

Zsuzsa Csikai, discussing the strategic differences between Brian Friel's and Frank McGuiness's translations (rewritings) of *Uncle Vanya*, argues that these differences reflect not only individual idiosyncrasies of the two author-translators, but also signal a changing attitude towards the reception of Russianness in relation to the changing self-perception of the Irish. Quoting from McGuiness's texts, Csikai points out that the waning insistence on Hibernicizing foreign plays underscores a new confidence in Irish cultural independence. Furthermore, Csikai rightly calls attention to the cultural and historical conditions that affect the translator and the activity of translation.

Jerzy Jarniewitz puts an even more pronounced emphasis on the historico-political sensitivity of translation. He considers various meeting points of Polish and Irish literature and culture via translation. While considering these relations, he demonstrates how the historical and political situations of the two countries conditioned audiences' reception as well as influencing their readings. Although his main focus falls on Seamus Heaney's translation into Polish, he also throws light on how Heaney himself contributed to making Irish-Polish relations mutually influential in terms of literature and culture by translating (among other Central and Eastern European poets) for example Jan Kochanowski.

Besides translation, reception appears to be the other key area governing Kurdi's volume. Gabriella Vöő and Ondřej Pilný, although discussing different historical periods (the former the turn of the twentieth, the latter that of the twenty-first century), both scrutinize how Irish literature was/is received and evaluated by the Hungarians and the Czechs respectively. In her essay, Vöő examines how a distinct (and culturally/historically specified) notion of Irishness influenced Hungarian receptions of Irish modernism in the first three decades of the twentieth century, and how such a distinction gradually faded as a result of the "discrediting of the term 'race'" (157) during the spread of fascism. As a consequence, the lack of recognition of Irishness is discernible, for example in the 1974 translation of Joyce's *Ulysses* by Miklós Szentkuthy, who – according to Vöő's argument – disregards Joyce's origins and cultural heritage in his translation and critical views.

Pilný notes a similar lack of national contextualization in the current Czech reception of Irish plays: instead of being perceived as "the output of a nation," "Irish drama tends to be viewed rather in comparison with its British, Czech and/or European counterparts" (73). For Pilný, this tendency seems prevalent and should be considered alongside the fact that in the Czech Republic there has been a significant interest in Irish drama for decades. In his essay, Pilný also provides a highly informative overview of contemporary Czech productions of Irish drama, which also gives him the occasion to meditate on the sparse dialogue between theatre practices at home and abroad.

As the adaptation of foreign plays on national stages greatly influences reception, Csilla Bertha calls for a responsible theatrical practice in introducing new Irish plays to Hungarian audiences. While lamenting the "cheap" renderings of Friel's plays in Hungarian theatres, Bertha points out the ethical dimension of the director's and translator's activity in adapting a foreign work (of considerable artistic merits) for national audiences. As she argues, their activity may seriously impair the reception of a great author, like Friel, if they undertake the task of (re)production without appropriate care, and apparently with low artistic standards.

Similarly to translation and adaptation, rewriting is also bound up with evaluation. Gabriella Hartvig discusses the contemporary Hungarian reception of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* as it appears in some rewritings of the novel. As she concludes, Gulliver's

one-sided, simplistic character in these rewritings reveals that they make only instrumental use of the protagonist and often avoid the philosophical intricacies in order to offer a direct political comedy. Such a reductionist treatment, as Hartvig points out, tends to reinforce an aspect of the original novel's general twentieth-century appreciation in Hungary as a piece of juvenile literature. However, the contemporary Gulliveriads appearing in Hungary demonstrate that Swift has an enduring impact on Hungarian literature, which is due to his inexhaustibly complex masterpiece.

Speaking from the opposite direction, Patrick Lonergan examines the Irish responsiveness to Central and Eastern European cultural influences. He sees the issue as an important yet rarely discussed one. In his argument, Lonergan interprets the ways in which characters from Central and Eastern Europe are represented on the Irish stage. Quite naturally, the Irish thematizations and representations of Central and Eastern Europeans evoke key notions from the general Western narrative of multiculturalism, such as immigration, liberty, equality, asylum and integration, as the most direct contact with these people appeared after the Eastern enlargement of the EU. Besides this line of inquiry, Lonergan also comments on the influence that international theatrical work in Ireland has on Irish productions.

There are three studies in the volume which do not directly contribute to the two above--mentioned general issues (reception and translation): Donald E. Morse's comparison of Samuel Beckett's and Géza Páskándi's absurdist works and Péter P. Müller's analysis of Martin McDonagh's *The Pillowman*. Nevertheless, these studies do fit into the general conception of the volume. Morse demonstrates how Eastern responses to the absurd drama of Beckett, particularly Páskándi's, politicize and actualize what was originally a metaphysical enterprise in the West. P. Müller, on the other hand, focuses on how *The Pillowman* lacks particular historical references to once-existing Eastern European dictatorships, and presents itself as a self-reflexive, postmodern work in contrast with the plays of Mrożek and Eörsi, for example. In terms of body politics, however, these playwrights (Eastern and Western) offer interesting comparisons, as P. Müller's essay demonstrates.

Perhaps Carla King's essay stands out the most from the volume's diverse but tightly connected topics and approaches. She examines two influential nineteenth-century political leaders, Michael Davitt and Lajos Kossuth, mostly from political and historical angles. However, as King's main concern is a real dialogue between these figures, the essay fittingly opens the second part of the book dealing with metaphorically understood "cросscultural dialogues."

While the comparisons are carried out on a transnational basis (a piece of literature or culture drawn from its national context contrasted to the receiver nation's culture), the volume suggests relations of a wider scope, which one might call transregional. As the essays, with the exception of Patrick Lonergan's, Donald E. Morse's and Carla King's, are all conducted by various central and Eastern European scholars, the reader can recognize certain common (historical and cultural) traits that may characterize this region and its scholarly activity. Besides its apparent contribution to Irish Studies, the common past experiences of these nations are apparently open to be transformed into new scholarly assets that can be acknowledged both internationally and regionally. Importantly, awareness of such shared ground, which the volume rightly promotes, may further enhance the timely cooperation and dialogue within Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, the volume may serve as an example for other fields of literary and cultural studies with its devotedness to

national particularities, and its endeavour proves that the comparative study of literatures and cultures can gain new relevance, especially in an age in which interculturalism is beginning to be understood as culturally reductive globalism.

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Botha, Rudolf P. *Form and Meaning in Word Formation. A Study of Afrikaans reduplication.* **(Cambridge Studies in Linguistics Supplementary Volume). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.**

General comments

A new reprint of this book twenty-four years after its first publication offers the opportunity to review a significant volume on what remains as one of the most intriguing areas of morphology: reduplication. Being a very simple process (the repetition of a base form), it most probably exists in the vast majority, if not all, of the languages of the world. Its pervasiveness might be attributed to two features. First, reduplication is an ingrained linguistic ability of ours in the sense that it goes all the way back to our infant years, when it was applied as a language learning strategy (Aitchison 1994; Dressler et al. 2005).[1] Second, reduplication is a prime example of iconicity, that is, the fact that language is, to varying degrees, motivated. Even Saussure (1959 [1916], cited in Radden & Panther 2004) noted the importance of motivation regarding linguistic knowledge, as the mind aims to establish some regularity among the huge mass of signs that it encounters, and this process does require a degree of motivation.[2] The most typical type of motivation, content motivating form, is exemplified by reduplication. In fact, if we take reduplication as a manifestation of repetition (reduplication being the simple repetition of a base form), then what we are dealing with is one of the most essential features of language. As Jucker (1994: 47) points out, '[…] a linguistic framework which cannot deal with repetitions must necessarily be inadequate because it neglects one very obvious feature of presumably all human languages.'

Botha's enterprise can be regarded as a direct reflection on Jucker's (1994) above-quoted statement, as what Botha set out to achieve in the monograph is to provide an explanation for the vast array of Afrikaans reduplications within one certain linguistic framework, the lexicalist framework, in the 'Galilean style' (p. 3). This particular style of inquiry, which has been practiced especially by linguists working within the generativist paradigm, aims to make 'radical abstractions and idealizations in defining the initial scope of the study' (p. 6) by postulating 'unifying, principled theories (perhaps far removed) from the problematic data' (p. 7). Botha's means of inquiry, therefore, is definitely alien from the current trend of bottom-up (corpus-based) linguistic approaches, and consequently his

survey does not consider apparent exceptions as counter-evidence to the proposed rules; in fact, its primary goal can be tacitly summarized as 'the pursuit of theoretical unification' (p. 161), where 'unification' pertains to both the formal (syntactic) and the semantic levels.

At this point, the question necessarily arises as to what relevance Botha's study, written more than twenty years ago, has for the researchers of today. The answer is manifold. For one, the topic in itself is of considerable interest: as Botha himself points out (p. 2), Afrikaans reduplication has been regarded for a long time as a still productive 'process of extraordinary complexity' (p. 2) on both formal and semantic grounds. Formally, all the open word classes can undergo reduplication, and the reduplicated forms can belong to different word classes as compared to their original base form.[3] Moreover, this formal profusion results in semantic profusion as well: the meaning range of the reduplicated forms includes intensity, iteration, collectivity, distribution, etc.

This is where the second point of relevance of Botha's study comes into the picture: this vast variety (complexity) of form and meaning associated with Afrikaans reduplications runs counter to the intuition already mentioned above (and also emphasized by Botha) – that reduplication can be taken as one of the simpler word formation processes, as found in babytalk and pidgin languages among others. A linguistic puzzle presents itself, the solution to which, according to Botha, lies in the lexicalist framework. Although I myself work within the cognitive linguistic paradigm, I cannot help but marvel at the elegance with which he guides the reader, step by step, through his argumentation right until the main conclusion: that Afrikaans reduplication is by no means chaotic, but can be accounted for by a set of simple rules.

This brings us to the third point of relevance of the monograph: the idea that the diverse data of Afrikaans reduplications can be settled by a small set of rules has served as inspiration for further research. This is exemplified by Huyssteen's (2004) study, which demonstrates within a cognitive grammar framework that Afrikaans reduplications can be accounted for by various metonymical processes (and, it has to be added, offers a psychologically more plausible and natural explanation for reduplications than the rule-based approach of Botha).[4]

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that I do not have reservations about Botha's study. On the contrary, Botha's treatment of the apparent exceptions to the postulated rules, on which the validity of both the Galilean style of inquiry and Botha's conclusions hinge, is, to my mind, problematic (see my criticisms below in the detailed discussion of the chapters). However, I wish to emphasize that these criticisms do not subtract from the overall high quality of the work.

Review of the chapters

The book is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1, 'Introduction', outlines the scope of the study and verbalizes the three main goals of the book. On a language-specific level, it aims to illustrate that the seeming complexity of Afrikaans reduplications is merely 'in the eye of the beholder' (p. 3). It seeks to do so by adopting a lexicalist analysis, in which vein Botha introduces one formation rule and one semantic interpretation rule that are capable of accounting for all the data. On a language-independent level, Botha's goal is to gain a better understanding of the formal principles of word formation and how semantics interacts with syntax in morphology THROUGH the study of Afrikaans reduplications. Thirdly, on a metascientific level, Botha wishes to show that the Galilean style of inquiry

(see above) can be fruitfully applied to morphology and semantics. This latter objective is rather doubtful as it raises a logical fallacy, that of begging the question (taking for granted that which one was claiming to conclude). Since the methodology Botha uses IS the Galilean style of inquiry, and as he does not provide alternative methods in the book to test the feasibility of the Galilean style, Botha is not in the position to draw conclusions on the applicability of the approach itself.

Chapter 2, 'Formation', is devoted to the analysis of the formation of Afrikaans reduplications. Botha argues that ALL Afrikaans reduplications are manifestations of the following copying rule: Copy α or $\alpha_i \Rightarrow [\alpha_i \alpha_i]$. As it can be seen, this is a very general rule which does not spell out any specifics with regard to: 1) the category type or word class of the bases to which it applies, 2) the category type or word class of the reduplicated form, or 3) the number of times the rule can be applied to its own output. These specific regulations are stipulated by general lexicalist constraints that are not particular to Afrikaans but are language-independent.

Throughout the chapter Botha's method is the following: first he states a general (language-independent) constraint, then he advances a possible prediction of the constraint's effect on Afrikaans reduplications, and then he checks the prediction by looking at a set of examples. For example, according to the Morphological Island Constraint, '[t]he individual constituents of morphologically complex words are not accessible to inflectional, derivational or syntactic processes' (p. 11). Based on this constraint, Botha makes the prediction that the reduplicated form has to have the status of a word, since the individual constituents cannot undergo inflection, derivation, etc. He then puts the prediction to the test by looking at a few Afrikaans reduplications (pp. 12-15). Accordingly, and following the same method, he comes to the conclusion that the base to which Afrikaans reduplication applies must also be a word (based on the Word-base Constraint which states that 'all regular word formation processes are word-based', p. 16), and both the new word and the base form must belong to a major lexical category (based on the Major Category Constraint, p. 27).

One of the consequences of these constraints is that perhaps the most prototypical cases of reduplications, onomatopoeic reduplications such as *hoep-hoep* (meaning the name of a bird that produces a sound resembling the phonetic form of the reduplication), are not considered as reduplications by Botha because the base form is not used as an independent word. Accordingly, Botha argues that onomatopoeic forms should be '[…] analyzed as products of the repetition of non-independent expressive signs' (p. 25). Yet, just because the base form might not be used independently, it seems counter-intuitive to claim that onomatopoeic reduplications are NOT reduplications (as these are a very productive type that emerge in language at a very early age and are used in a wide variety of languages to refer metonymically to the entity that produces the sound).

In fact, one cannot escape the feeling that in some cases, specifically in those cases where the reduplication might be considered as an irregularity, Botha sacrifices the linguistic data for the sake of the rules. For instance, Afrikaans has reduplicated forms that are based on interjections (as claimed by previous studies), such as *uff-uff* (meaning a grunting sound expressing consent). However, Botha claims that these cannot be analyzed as reduplications because the base is not an independent word (generative morphology does not recognize interjections as words). So we either face yet again a 'repetition of non-independent expressive signs' (p. 26), which runs counter to the fact that the base forms of the

cited interjections CAN be used independently (Botha, in fact, provides example sentences), or we are dealing with bases that belong to word classes that generative morphology does acknowledge, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives or adverbs. In this vein, Botha reanalyzes *uff* as a noun, which then can function as a base form for the copying rule.

The problem of irregularities comes to the forefront in the lexical category of reduplications (pp. 33-72). The Endocentricity Constraint claims that '[t]he category of a derived word is always non-distinct from the category of its head' (p. 33). What this implies is that there are absolutely no exocentric reduplications in Afrikaans. If this prediction holds true, then all the reduplications which seem to fall outside of this rule (see, for instance, footnote 3) must be reanalyzed, which Botha strives to do with painstaking detail. In his words, '[w]hat I will do is to question the so-called facts that seem to bear negatively on this [Endocentricity] constraint' (p. 37).

As a result, reduplications that have been judged as noun-based verb reduplications in previous studies (for example, Kempen 1969, Theron 1974) are claimed by Botha to be verb-based. His justification for this argument is that the base of such reduplications can also be used as a verb in sentences (p. 39):

The claim, then, that Afrikaans has 'noun-based verb reduplications' such as *kruk--kruk*, *bobbejan-bobbejan*,[5] etc. can be accepted only if supported by strong empirical evidence. No such evidence, however, has been presented.

What exactly does Botha mean by 'strong empirical evidence', however? Unfortunately, Botha does not explain WHY previous studies have judged such reduplications to be rather noun and not verb-based, yet an elucidation of this point would have been very useful, as this way the reader could have been in the position to compare and evaluate the acceptability of the two lines of analysis. Simply stating that such bases also show up as verbs in sentences does not, in my view, constitute 'strong empirical evidence' in favour of a verb-based verb reduplication.

The same criticism can be mentioned with regard to the analysis of the other exocentric reduplications that fail to fit the Endocentricity Constraint. Noun-based adverb reduplications, verb-based noun reduplications and numeral-based noun reduplications are all reanalyzed as endocentric reduplications by Botha, mostly in the same vein as presented above in the case of the noun-based verb reduplications. He insists that an exocentric analysis would have to be properly justified in order to prove that 'it was more adequate' (p. 53) than an exocentric treatment. Yet why NOT treat such reduplications as exocentric? The only 'adequacy' that an endocentric analysis has over an exocentric one is that the former can be justified by a constraint. But, if the constraint is not based on language-dependent factors (these are language-independent, as emphasized by Botha), then what is the plausibility in claiming that such constraints can adequately describe language?

Chapter 3, 'Semantic interpretation', argues that the previous conception of semantic complexity regarding Afrikaans reduplications simply does not hold. Similarly to the chapter on form, here too Botha starts from the premise that ALL reduplications can be accounted for by one single semantic interpretation rule: Interpret $[\alpha_i \, \alpha_i]$ as [A INCREASED] (where A represents the sense or meaning of α and INCREASED represents an abstract semantic unit) (p. 91). Importantly, Botha claims that this semantic rule interacts with a number of so-called 'conceptualization rules', which help to specify the meaning of the reduplications. Specification in meaning is very necessary, as reduplication in Afrikaans is used to signal a number of meanings, namely considerable number, limited number, distribution,

serial ordering, collectivity/grouping, iteration, continuation, attenuation, simultaneity, alternation/interruption, manner, intensity and emphasis. Botha looks at each meaning in detail, by analyzing how the semantic interpretation rule interacts with a certain conceptualization rule. In the following, due to limitations of space, I will concentrate only on a couple of examples.

The base of *bottels-bottels* ('many bottles') means [BOTTLE, MORE THAN ONE], where the sense of plurality comes from the plural affix *-s*. According to Botha, *via* the semantic interpretation rule, the two units have the following composite reading: [BOTTLE, MORE THAN ONE, INCREASED]. A conceptualization rule specifies that the unit of [INCREASED] has to be interpreted as plurality if the base is a countable entity. This conceptualization rule is formulated by Botha in the following manner: 'Conceptualize [INCREASED] as [INCREASED IN NUMBER], if it occurs in conjunction with the semantic specification [COUNTABLE THING]' (p. 104). However, Botha adds that a FURTHER conceptualization rule has to be applied, by which the meanings of [INCREASED IN NUMBER] and [MORE THAN ONE] are 'amalgamated' (p. 104) into the meaning of [CONSIDERABLE NUMBER].

The justification for this second conceptualization rule[6] is offered in the analysis of *ruk-ruk* ('limited periods of time'), where the reduplication carries the meaning [LIMITED NUMBER]. According to Botha, the reduplicated form has the following composite reading: [TIME, INCREASED]. However, due to the conceptualization rule cited above, the notion of [INCREASED IN NUMBER] must also be in the semantic make-up of the reduplication, because time is a countable entity. Nevertheless, as the base, *ruk*, is not pluralized, it lacks the meaning of [MORE THAN ONE], which means that it should be interpreted as [(NOT MORE THAN) ONE]. In this case, then, the second conceptualization rule that applies to this reduplication states that [INCREASED IN NUMBER] and [(NOT MORE THAN) ONE] should be conceptualized as [LIMITED NUMBER/SOME]. The meanings of distribution, serial ordering and collectivity are also built up along these lines, based on these (and further) conceptualization rules.

The meaning of verb-based reduplications is based on the typology of situation types (as laid down by Vendler 1967). Accordingly, the base of *lik-lik* ('to lick repeatedly') is a bounded act. The first conceptualization rule that acts on the reduplicated form states that the notion of [INCREASED] should be conceptualized as [INCREASED IN TIME], if the verbal base is a temporal act. A further conceptualization rule then specifies that the notion of [INCREASED IN TIME] should be interpreted as [ITERATED], if it combines with the notion of [BOUNDEDNESS]. However, if the base is unbounded, as in the case of *rammel-rammel* ('to rumble continuously'), then the notion of [INCREASED IN TIME] should be interpreted as [CONTINUED].

The question that necessarily arises in the reader is WHY should boundedness and iteration on the one hand, and unboundedness and continuation on the other be 'amalgamated'? Although Botha is operating with CONCEPTUALIZATION rules, he does not clearly explain why such notions should be 'conceptualized' together. This is a general feature of all the conceptualization rules: the explanations behind them are very scanty. In fact, what Botha means under 'conceptualization' becomes apparent only later on in the chapter. Both the semantic interpretation rule and the conceptualization rules specify 'aspects of conceptual structure' (p. 133), where the conceptual structure (after Jackendoff 1983) is understood as '[…] a single level of mental representation at which linguistic, sensory and motor information are compatible' (p. 133). What Botha essentially points out is that the Afrikaans semantic interpretation and conceptualization rules he postulates are NOT unique, as such

devices have already been provided in Jackendoff's theory of conceptual structure. The main thrust of Botha's argumentation is that the rules that he has provided are not even language-specific: if they are based on very general principles of conceptualization (such as the idea that '[…] a bounded event can occur for an increased time only if it is repeated more than once', p. 138), then surely they can emerge in any language.

The last two chapters of the book, 'Link-up' and 'Metascientific retrospection', are much shorter than the previous two (taking up only a couple of pages each). The first of these, Chapter 4, is mainly concerned with the function of conceptualization rules: to filter out unacceptable formations (as the copying rule is able to generate a very large number of reduplications a significant amount of which will be unacceptable to native speakers). The latter, Chapter 5, sums up the methodological significance of the work, that is, 'the heuristic power of the Galilean style' (p. 158). As has already been pointed out, the Galilean style of inquiry lays emphasis on two aspects: 'pursuit of theoretical unification' (p. 158) and the treatment of irregular data. Yet the success of the enterprise can be called into question: as it has been pointed out above, it is impossible to PROVE a methodology's explanatory potential if only that particular methodology is presented for the analysis of the data (as we cannot compare it to other possible methodologies).

Evaluation

In spite of the objections raised here, Botha's work deserves acclaim. All in all, there are two very noteworthy consequences that can be drawn from his analysis. First, the various meanings he associates with the reduplicated form (considerable/limited number, serial ordering, iteration, continuation, etc.) are not individual, atomic notions. All of these interpretations are based on the notion of [INCREASED], which is the core and prototypical meaning of reduplication,[7] and which is then extended into all the other meanings. Although Botha does not go into the details of HOW the core notion is extended to the other, RELATED senses, it is implied that he considers reduplication as a polysemous category.[8] Second, he considers reduplication as an example of iconicity (more of form for more of content), which calls into question the generativist autonomy principle (namely, that syntax is autonomous from semantics). Botha suggests, therefore, that the principle may not apply in all cases: '[…] the autonomy thesis […] has to be restricted in scope to word formation that does not involve iconicity' (p. 149).

Overall, Botha's book is a demanding, though highly engaging study on an intriguing segment of Afrikaans word formation. As more than twenty years have passed since its publication, some of its observations might have gone out of date. Yet its logical and clear argumentation style will never go out of fashion, for which it can safely be recommended to any linguist interested in the fields of morphology and semantics.

Notes

[1] Children do not yet have a fully established phonetic/phonological system, and reduplication is a means to replace target syllables that are difficult to pronounce. As a consequence, consonant and vowel harmony can be achieved, which is a feature of 'immature sound systems' (Aitchison

1994: 31). Moreover, by reduplication, children are able to practise morphological composition and decomposition, which will be much needed later on in morphology.

[2] Saussure emphasized that languages are situated somewhere between the two extremes of a minimum of organization on the one hand, and a minimum of arbitrariness on the other hand.

[3] Such as a noun base becoming a verb in its reduplicated form. For example, *kruk* means 'crutches', but its reduplicated form, *kruk-kruk*, has the meaning of 'moving on crutches'.

[4] As Huyssteen demonstrates, when for instance *nou* (which prototypically profiles the present) is reduplicated, the profile of the composite structure (that is, *nou-nou*, which prototypically profiles either the future or the past, but not the present) is slightly different to the profiles of the two identical composite structures. Therefore, by employing the reduplicated construction, the speaker can express a meaning that differs from the conventional meaning of the non-reduplicated form. This difference in meaning is motivated by the MORE OF FORM FOR MORE OF CONTENT metonymy, where the MORE OF CONTENT that is represented by the reduplicated form represents a distancing away from the present to either the future or the past.

Huyssteen moreover points out that onomatopoeic reduplications in Afrikaans (such as *hoep--hoep* for a common South African garden bird) are motivated by two metonymies, DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY and PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER. The former implies that the sound that the bird produces is conventionalized; the latter entails that the sound that is produced is more important than the producer itself. This second point is rather intriguing: as noted by Huyssteen, PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER metonymies are very rare, or almost non-existent, as in the usual state of affairs the cognitive principle of animate over inanimate governs our selection of metonymic vehicles, which therefore typically results in the PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT metonymy (Radden & Kövecses 1999).

[5] The noun *bobbejan* means 'monkey', while its reduplicated form, *bobbejan-bobbejan*, has the meaning of 'moving like a monkey'.

[6] It is, in fact, a matter of debate to what degree does 'increased in number' differ in meaning from 'considerable number', and whether this difference does need to license a further conceptualization rule (Botha does not give an explanation). This is an important point because, if we follow Botha's line of reasoning, then the fewer rules there are, the better the analysis is.

[7] 'Core' and 'prototypical' are my terms.

[8] '[...] the fundamental unit of meaning expressed by Afrikaans reduplication is [INCREASED]. A range of other units of meaning are formed on the basis of this fundamental unit by the conceptualization rules. These "secondary" units – for example, [CONSIDERABLE NUMBER], [DISTRIBUTED], [ATTENUATED], etc. – are therefore in a clear sense derived units.' (p. 145).

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Leoš Šatava. *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin. Možnosti zachování a revitalizace.* Druhé, doplněné vydání. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2009.

Profesor etnologie na Karlově univerzitě Leoš Šatava je znám svým neobyčejně širokým polem odborných i populárně naučných zájmů. V průběhu své vědecké kariéry se věnoval studiu migrace, problematice menšin, má bohaté zkušenosti překladatelské. V posledních letech se stále více realizuje také jako sociolingvista, kterého zajímají otázky jazykové revitalizace.

Navzdory rozmanitosti profesního záběru lze v Šatavových aktivitách přeci jen rozpoznat určitý sjednocující element: poznávání minoritních populací, s přihlédnutím k otázkám jazyka a etnicity. Když Šatava překládá, jde především o menšinové jazyky, například lužickou srbštinu (román M. Kubašové *Kantor Serbin*, Praha 1986) či velštinu (*PLAV – měsíčník pro světovou literaturu*, 2007/10; *Souvislosti*, 2006/2). Šatava jako etnolog a historik, to je encyklopedická příručka *Národnostní menšiny v Evropě* (Praha 1994) a monografie *Migrační procesy a české vystěhovalectví do USA* (Praha 1989). Šatava–sociolingvista rovná se *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin* (Praha 2001).

Nejnovějším knižním obohacením bibliografie Leoše Šatavy je druhé vydání poslední z výše uvedených položek. Po dnes již zaniklém nakladatelství Cargo se tentokráte publikace s podtitulem *Možnosti zachování a revitalizace* ujalo Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), a to v ediční řadě Studijní texty. Vyšlo tak vstříc stoupajícímu zájmu nejen odborné, ale také laické veřejnosti o aktuální otázky úzce související s celosvětovým

vymíráním jazyků a jejich případnou záchranou či alespoň částečným oživením. Že jde o skutečně žhavé téma, dokazují statistické výpočty, které tvrdí, že do konce 21. století zmizí z přibližně 6000 jazyků, jimiž se v současnosti hovoří na naší planetě, asi tak polovina. Znamená to tedy, že v rozmezí pouhých 1200 měsíců přijdeme o 3000 jazyků. Řečeno čísly ještě trochu jinak, cca každých čtrnáct dní vymře v některém koutu glóbu jeden jazykový kód.

Tématu ochrany jazyků se lingvisté, antropologové a specialisté z řady dalších oborů věnují již několik dekád. Období šedesátých až osmdesátých let přineslo dílčí studie. Léta devadesátá byla ve znamení prvních syntetických prací (J. A. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*, Clevedon 1991; R. M. W. Dixon, *The Rise and Fall of Languages*, Cambridge 1997). Skutečně celospolečenský dopad však měly teprve texty, které vznikly na samém přelomu milénia (D. Nettle, S. Romaine, *Vanishing Voices*, Oxford 2000; D. Crystal, *Language Death*, Cambridge 2000). „Revitalizační" monografie Leoše Šatavy přišla hned následující rok, díky čemuž se sice podařilo zabránit vzniku určitého vakua v informovanosti české společnosti, kniha však dodnes zůstává ojedinělým pokusem, na který v České republice nikdo nenavázal. To byl také důvod pro přípravu a realizaci nového vydání.

První vydání *Jazyka a identity etnických menšin* se u nás setkalo s příznivou odezvou. Jelikož jsou k dispozici recenze, které Šatavovu publikaci představují adekvátním způsobem (např. Petr Kaderka, *Vesmír*, 2002/12; Marián Sloboda, *Sociologický časopis*, 2002/4), není nezbytně nutné předkládat všechny údaje, zvlášť když druhé, doplněné vydání nezaznamenalo žádných významnějších úprav. Kniha si uchovává stejné členění a její autor nás vede od obecnějších informací týkajících se definice, vývoje a forem etnicity, etnických a jazykových skupin, přes kapitoly diskutující o smysluplnosti snah o zachování etnické identity a jazyka, až po praktičtěji pojaté pasáže, v nichž se čtenář, a to nejen čtenář–aktivista, může zorientovat v oblastech, které jsou pro zachování jazyka klíčové (školství, média, ekonomika, úřední styk, práce s mládeží, kontakty na jiná revitalizační hnutí apod.).

Jako doklad toho, že úspěšná ochrana či oživení menšinových jazyků není jen pouhou iluzí, shromažďuje Šatava doklady z různých kulturních oblastí, třebaže převážně evropských, a představuje čtyři modely efektivní etno-jazykové revitalizace (gaelský, maorský, velšský a baskický). Tuto skupinu pak nepřímo, formou přílohového materiálu, doplňuje o zkušenosti ze Severního Fríska, Lužice a Burgenlandu. Přidává výňatek z práce *Endangered Languages* J. A. Fishmana (v textu snad nejčastěji citovaného autora) a přílohovou sekci uzavírá „Deseti jazykovými přikázáními": jazykovými pokyny, jichž je třeba se držet, aby revitalizační snahy došly úspěšného naplnění.

Přílohy vůbec zabírají velkou část textu. Pokud k nim připočteme indexy zeměpisných názvů, seznamy obyvatelských jmen a názvů jazyků, dále pak jména osob a uměleckých děl a nakonec i rejstřík obecných pojmů a názvů organizací a dokumentů zabývajících se problematikou menšin, zjistíme, že to vydá na celou polovinu nepříliš rozsáhlé knihy. Jako zájemce o řešenou problematiku bych mnohem více ocenil, kdyby druhé vydání obsahovalo příklady z dalších, zejména mimoevropských kulturních a jazykových areálů. Jen kusé informace se dovídáme o situaci, jež panuje v Severní a Jižní Americe, přitom právě tam je úbytek jazyků velmi citelný. Rozsáhlé oblasti Asie a Afriky taktéž zůstávají nepodchyceny či na okraji Šatavova zájmu. Na autorovu obranu je ale namístě dodat, že jeho cílem nebylo sestavit komplexně pojatou monografii, nýbrž připravit příručku určenou

vysokoškolským studentům, případně „menšinovým aktivistům". Hodnoceno čistě z této perspektivy, byly cíle práce bezezbytku naplněny.

Za obzvláště přínosné aspekty Šatavova textu ve vztahu k českému prostředí považuji jednak skutečnost, že informuje o významných knižních a časopiseckých zdrojích k tématu, jednak že se podílí na terminologickém zakotvení některých klíčových pojmů (*language maintenance* – uchovávání jazyka; *language shift* – jazykový posun/jazyková směna; *language vitality* – jazyková vitalita ad.), z nichž mnohé byly Šatavou představeny v jejich kontextovém zapojení úplně poprvé.

Bibliografický úsek druhého vydání zaznamenal oproti vydání prvnímu zásadního doplnění o nejnovější literaturu, a to jak česky psanou, tak i zahraniční. Přesto v něm některé důležité zdroje chybí. Z českých bych zmínil monografii Evy Eckertové *Kameny na prérii* (Praha 2004), která představuje řadu relevantních informací na příkladu rozkladu komunity a akulturace texaských Čechů. Ze zahraničních pak publikace, které mapují americký jazykově revitalizační kontext (G. Cantoni 1996; J. Reyhner 1997; J. Crawford 1998). Z těch obecněji orientovaných, jež jsou k dispozici v českých překladech, není zahrnut např. B. Comrie a kol. *Atlas jazyků. Vznik a vývoj jazyků napříč celým světem* (Praha 2007).

V souvislosti s odborným názvoslovím dále v publikaci postrádám jakýkoliv odkaz na disciplínu, která se běžně označuje termínem lingvistická antropologie (s výjimkou zmínky jmen E. Sapir a B. L. Whorf). Je to škoda, protože právě lingvistická antropologie věnuje jazykové revitalizaci důkladnou pozornost a mnohé z autorů, které Šatava zařadil do seznamu použité literatury, lze zařadit mezi lingvistické antropology. Navíc lingvistická antropologie zkoumá jazyk v jeho kulturním rámci, což přesně odpovídá interdisciplinárnímu pojetí, s nímž Leoš Šatava přichází a které je v posledních letech (oprávněně) populární. Tento příklad terminologického opomenutí bohužel jen potvrzuje, že se do českého akademického prostředí stále ještě nepodařilo zavést některé obory, jež mají na zahraničních pracovištích své nezastupitelné místo. Argument, který by zdůrazňoval příbuznost lingvistické antropologie se sociolingvistikou, neobstojí, neboť přes veškerou podobnost a tematický překryv jde o obory vzájemně odlišitelné.

Šatavova práce není prosta nedostatků a opomenutí, přesto zůstává, alespoň v českém prostředí, výjimečným počinem. V porovnání se zahraniční produkcí (Fishman, Crystal, Nettle a Romaine; viz výše) nepřináší mnoho nového, nabízí však vyvážený pohled na celou revitalizační problematiku a bez romantického patosu přesvědčivě argumentuje, že šance na záchranu menšinových jazyků existuje a že má smysl se o ni pokoušet.

Miroslav Černý
Ostravská univerzita

News,
Announcements

Za profesorem Alešem Svobodou

Jakkoli nepravděpodobné se to zdá být, smutná zpráva o odchodu Aleše Svobody mě zastihla v okamžiku, kdy se na mém pracovním stole leskla černozlatá obálka jeho *Diathematu*, na dosah ruky jsem měl *Kapitoly z funkční syntaxe* a obrazovku počítače zaplnily stránky studie o aktuálním členění větném. Někdo by to považoval za znamení, jiný za náhodu. Osobně to nemohu vnímat jinak než jako naplnění osudu. Profesor Svoboda byl v pravém slova smyslu můj dobrý duch. V seminářích o Pražské škole a lingvistické charakteristice mne uvedl do světa funkčního strukturalismu, po ukončení magisterského studia jsem mohl navštěvovat jeho přednášky z pragmalingvistiky na Slezské univerzitě v Opavě, byl členem komise, která mě přijímala do doktorského studia v Brně, byl to on, kdo mne přizval jako nového člena katedry anglistiky a amerikanistiky FF OU. Podobným způsobem hrál zásadní roli v životech mnoha svých dalších studentů a kolegů.

Profesor Aleš Svoboda, lingvista světového významu a přední pokračovatel tradic pražské školy jazykovědné, nás opustil dne 9. ledna 2010 ve věku 68 let. Akademická obec tím přišla o jednoho z nejtalentovanějších a zároveň nejpracovitějších anglistů, studenti filologických oborů ztratili vzácného a inspirujícího učitele, my všichni se musíme vyrovnat s nenahraditelnou ztrátou výjimečné osobnosti české vědy.

Aleš Svoboda se narodil 2. dubna 1941 ve Zlíně, jak však rád a často zdůrazňoval, své dětství a mládí prožil v Kyjově. Po ukončení střední školy studoval v letech 1958–1962 hru na klarinet na hudební konzervatoři v Brně. Moravská metropole mu natolik přirostla k srdci, že s ní spojil i svůj další profesní rozvoj a po absolutoriu se zapsal jako posluchač angličtiny a němčiny na brněnské Masarykově univerzitě. V roce 1968 zde obhájil doktorskou práci a na stejné instituci obhájil kandidaturu věd (1978). V roce 1980 obhájil na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy v Praze habilitační práci a od roku 1981 byl ustanoven docentem pro anglický jazyk. Svobodova akademická kariéra vrcholila v následujícím desetiletí, kdy si nejdříve v roce 1986 rozšířil kvalifikaci o obor češtinu, pak v roce 1989 obhájil doktorát věd prací z obecné jazykovědy a v roce 1992 byl na základě řízení na Masarykově univerzitě v Brně jmenován profesorem anglického jazyka.

Podat uspokojivý výčet všech vědeckých a pedagogických aktivit profesora Svobody v rámci jednoho vzpomínkového článku je pochopitelně nemožné. Nechť tedy zazní alespoň to nejpodstatnější. Svou dráhu učitelskou začal ve středním školství v Hodoníně (1966–1969) a v Brně (1969–1970). Protože se však již během univerzitního studia výrazně projevoval jako talentovaný lingvista s konkrétními vědeckými zájmy, bylo jen otázkou času, kdy bude osloven, aby nastoupil dráhu vysokoškolského učitele. Není těžké uhádnout, že tím prvním pracovištěm, které dalo Svobodovi příležitost ochutnat univerzitní výuku z té druhé strany, byla katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky jeho brněnské alma mater. S výjimkou pobytu na London University (1973–1975), kde pracoval jako lektor

českého jazyka, strávil v Brně téměř patnáct plodných let. Následovalo rozhodnutí hodné bohatýra. Vyměnit příjemné klima jihomoravských vinohradů za drsná města někde na severu totiž dokáže jen člověk povahy nebojácné. Postupně pracoval na Pedagogické fakultě v Ostravě (1984–1989), na Filozofické fakultě Ostravské univerzity (1990–1994), na Filozoficko-přírodovědecké fakultě Slezské univerzity v Opavě (1994–2005) a opět na ostravské filozofické fakultě (2006–2009). V letech 1995–2006 přednášel také na filozofické fakultě v Prešově.

Vedle svých učitelských závazků se Svoboda věnoval intenzivnímu výzkumu. Jako žák profesora Josefa Vachka a profesora Jana Firbase a zároveň Firbasův nejbližší spolupracovník mohl čerpat z jazykovědné tradice Pražského lingvistického kroužku, příznačné mimo jiné komparativními analýzami angličtiny, češtiny, němčiny a dalších jazyků, a dále ji rozvíjet. Od studentských let se orientoval na dvě hlavní oblasti výzkumu: funkční syntax a pragmatiku. Firbasovu teorii funkční větné perspektivy (FSP) se mu podařilo obohatit v hierarchii sdělných jednotek a sdělných polí, v rozpracování tematických elementů, které vedlo k objevení specifické jednotky nazvané diatéma, a ve funkčním pohledu na český slovosled. Dále se věnoval aplikaci FSP na nadvětné i podvětné celky jdoucí až k slabikám a hláskám. Pragmatickou linii výzkumu často realizoval ve spolupráci s brněnskými kolegy, logikem Pavlem Maternou a lingvistou Karlem Palou. V posledních letech se Svoboda věnoval analýzám beletristických textů, při nichž využíval koncepce Firbasových sémantických škál. Nebylo mu bohužel dáno, aby výzkum dokončil.

Aleš Svoboda nebyl pouze mimořádný vědec, ale také nadšený učitel. Generace studentů mohly, mohou a budou moci profitovat z rozsáhlého seznamu učebnic, skript či nejrůznějších tištěných souborů přednáškových handoutů. Během své profesní dráhy přednášel profesor Svoboda všechny hlavní lingvistické disciplíny a pro většinu z nich připravil učební materiál určitého typu. Bez ohledu na to, zda šlo o úvod do anglistiky, morfologii, syntax, dějiny anglického jazyka nebo o gótštinu, vždy se osobně zasadil, aby měli studenti k dispozici praktický a k čtenáři vstřícný zdroj informací.

Pokud bych měl Aleše Svobodu charakterizovat jedním slovem, byla by to systematičnost. Díky této vlastnosti se mohl zapojit do řady projektů, z nichž mnohé sám inicioval nebo vedl. Za zmínku stojí italská antologie textů z funkční syntaxe, kterou sestavil s R. Sornicolovou. Pro *Encyklopedický slovník češtiny* zpracoval 51 hesel z teorie funkční větné perspektivy. Byl jedním ze zakladatelů Společnosti Viléma Mathesia. Jeho labutí písní se stala příprava vydání souborného díla profesora Jana Firbase v angličtině.

Mnoho dalšího by mohlo být řečeno o životě a díle profesora Aleše Svobody. O jeho výzkumných pobytech na univerzitách v Británii (Leeds University) a v USA (University of Pennsylvania). O členství v redakčních radách významných lingvistických časopisů u nás i v zahraničí (např. *Linguistica Pragensia*, *Topics in Linguistics*). O desítkách disertačních a habilitačních prací, které vedl či oponoval. Avšak slova jsou jen slova a žádná z nich nemohou plně vystihnout naši vděčnost a respekt, nemohou poděkovat za vše, co pro nás učinil. Tolik mu dlužíme.

Miroslav Černý

Vážené kolegyně, vážení kolegové,

v dubnu 2011 by prof. Aleš Svoboda oslavil své sedmdesáté narozeniny. Rádi bychom k jeho nedožitému životnímu jubileu připravili jako vzpomínku i výraz úcty a vděčnosti zvláštní číslo našeho časopisu s věnováním, odbornými statěmi i oddílem článků zpomínkových. Srdečně zveme k účasti všechny, kdo by se rádi ke vzpomínce připojili.

Odborné články pro zvláštní číslo přijímáme do 31. ledna 2011.
Vzpomínkové medailony do 28. února 2011.
Příspěvky mohou být psány anglicky nebo česky.

Za redakční radu časopisu
a Katedru anglistiky a amerikanistiky FF OU
Stanislav Kolář a Renáta Tomášková

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