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CONTRADICTIONS IN DESCRIBING AND USING THE -ING FORM AS
OBJECT (COMPLEMENT)

The problem of how to learn and teach the valency of a verb

As a learner and teacher of English I have been facing the same problems and questions for a long time: How does one achieve a certain knowledge of which non-finite forms should be employed after a finite verb? Should one rely on learning these things gradually through practice or should one make more conscious efforts by learning lists of verbs recommended by grammar books or patterns indicated by dictionaries? Are these reference books reliable, do they give satisfactory assistance to the learner or confuse him rather?

I have often observed that students of English try to use some form by analogy instead of remembering precisely what patterns a given verb can accept. E.g. although the verb suggest can be used in several acceptable constructions ('I suggested (his) going there.', 'I suggested that he should go there.', 'I suggested that he go there.', 'I suggested that he went there.'), nevertheless the student is likely to use the only wrong pattern possible: * 'I suggested him to go there.' Why is he doing so? The reason may be that he has never been taught which patterns the verb can accept and which ones not. At some stage of learning the language he encounters the verb for the first time, its main meaning may be taught in one of the acceptable constructions, later on it may appear in other structures, but perhaps no teacher will ever make an attempt to sum up all these different constructions, in which the verb can be used. On the other hand the learner is tested at all written examinations whether he masters the knowledge of valency or not. It is almost impossible to teach verbs from the very outset with all their possible

patterns, we can only draw the attention of the learner to some more problematical points. In this situation the only thing we can do is to rely on the information that certain reference books can offer. But can we really depend on the patterns and lists of the most widely used dictionaries and grammar books? My impression, before examining and comparing these books thoroughly, was that their lists differ to a large extent, they select their verbs haphazardly sometimes, and even the dictionaries seem to be misleading, incomplete, or inaccurate in some places. Hornby seems to agree when giving similar examples: 'The ordinary grammar book and dictionary often fail to supply adequate information on such points.' (Hornby: XVII) (That is another matter that even his dictionary is not always exempt of these problems.)

When I set out to write this paper, my aim was to check whether my earlier impressions were correct, whether these verbs, that can be followed by the -ing form, are really described in contradicting, incomplete lists and patterns, or not. A relatively complete list of the most common verbs of this type might result from such an investigation, helping students and teachers to use these verbs and their complementation in some correct way. Before giving the table, let me however mention a few general points concerning the terms and categories of the -ing form.

What terminology should be employed?

Many learners of English find it senseless to call the -ing form in the various constructions by different names. They are however in good company, as even grammarians do not always make the distinction. (Quirk et al. call all -ing forms participles in their books. The Longman dictionaries call both types 'the -ing form'. Hornby uses both terms, but the most controversial pattern (19C) is described as -ing form (meaning both gerund and participle depending on the form of its logical subject), Corder uses 'gerund' and 'participle' alternatively where participle is used by most authors. Scheuerweghs, Zandvoort, Allan, Ganshina, Graver, Swan distinguish at least between the two main types.)

If a grammarian makes the distinction, he usually does it on the basis of certain characteristics. It is quite generally accepted that besides some verb characteristics that are typical of all (or most)

verbals, the gerund is said to have some traits in common with the noun, and the participle has certain adjective or adverb characteristics. Some authors divide even the gerund into two types: gerund proper and verbal noun. The former has only certain noun characteristics (it can be the object or subject of the sentence, it can be preceded by a possessive pronoun / noun in the genitive, etc.), while the latter has acquired all the traits of the noun (it is used in the plural, it can be preceded by an article or an adjective, etc.). In my paper it is only gerund proper that is considered to be gerund. This classification problem may explain the phenomenon that in some dictionaries, although no gerund pattern is indicated, the dictionary itself gives examples with the -ing form. The reason - apart from possible inattention - may be that they are felt to be (verbal) nouns by some authors. At the same time other authors do not separate the verbal noun from the gerund, which is made clear by their definitions or examples. (Swan: 332, AEP: 145, Sch: 177-185, Zandvoort: 24)

There are certain functions where the distinction between gerund and participle seems to be illogical and unpractical. It is always difficult to make students accept that the -ing form in the sentence 'On entering the house, I found a burglar in my room.' is a gerund, while in 'Entering the house, I found a burglar in my room.' is a participle. I think however that it is just the function of the object (complement) where the distinction makes some sense, as this may be usually (but not always) the criterion for using or not using the possessive.

'I like his/him playing the violin.' - gerund

'I heard him playing the violin.' - participle

Most authors agree which verbs belong to the second type and they also agree that the possessive cannot precede the participle. It is far more complicated what the choice depends on in the first type. Dictionaries and grammar books do not dedicate enough attention to this problem. Most of them suggest that it is mainly a matter of style: possessive/genitive is mainly restricted to formal, written language, accusative is preferred in spoken language and in the case of inanimate objects, longer phrases, and other parts of speech used as nouns. Some books make however clear that the issue is not as simple as that, they

produce some shorter lists of verbs that accept only possessive/genitive. (Corder: 65, Sch: 196) Graver joins these authors without mentioning concrete examples. (AEP: 156)

Object or object complement?

Another much debated issue is what the function of the -ing form is. After transitive verbs in the active voice the -ing form immediately following the verb (perhaps along with a possessive pronoun or a noun in Saxon genitive) is called an object. In the type object + present participle the latter can be described as object complement. The most controversial construction is the one when we have object + gerund, as it is rather strange to claim that the function of the gerund in 'I like his playing the violin.' is that of an object, but in 'I like him playing the violin.' is that of an object complement. This is the reason why some authors try to create new terms to describe this phenomenon. Ganshina writes e.g. 'The ing-form when preceded by a noun in the common case or a pronoun in the objective case has a function intermediate between that of the present participle and the gerund... Such an ing form may be called a half-gerund.' (Ganshina: 230) Corder calls this 'fused-participle construction'. (IEP: 64) Hornby says 'It is not always clear whether the word following the (pro)noun is a present participle or a gerund and the distinction is not important.' (GPUF: 30)

Henry Ihms writes that the so-called 'half-gerund' used by Sweet, Ganshina and others does not exist. According to him we have here an instance of syntactic displacement. (The same process took place in the case of the construction 'accusative with the infinitive'.) In the participial construction after verbs of physical perception the object has a double function: it is the object of the finite verb and the logical subject of the participle. (E.g. I saw her coming.) In many gerundial constructions it is however only the subject of the -ing form, but not the object of the main verb. (I hate people being unhappy.) This seems to prove that it is not the usual participial construction. Ihms thinks however that the following shift has taken place here. Originally there was greater emphasis on the object than on the -ing form. Later on the -ing form gained more emphasis, and the object of the finite verb was gradually transformed into the subject of the non-finite, the

participial phrase became an independent unit (comprising the object) just like the construction 'possessive + gerund'. In 'I remember my grandfather / him giving me a sovereign.' there used to be some longer pause between the object and the -ing form, but after the shift of the stress the pause comes before the object, to such an extent that in his opinion the whole phrase (object + -ing form) can be regarded as the object of the sentence. The link between the accusative and the -ing form is still less close than that between the possessive and the gerund, as we can insert a whole clause between the former ones sometimes, while only the insertion of an adverb is possible between the latter two. Ihm's final conclusion is that we have a gerund after the possessive / genitive and a participle after the accusative, and claims that the identity of the meaning and the fact that they are often interchangeable are not a good enough reason to exclude their formal difference (the difference of their origin).

We generally expect an object to occur after a transitive verb. Among the verbs to be found in the various lists there are however several that are not considered to be transitive by all authors. Ganshina says that the function of the non- finite is not that of an object, but '... part of a compound verbal predicate associated with the finite form of verbs denoting the beginning, the duration, and the end of an action such as to begin, to start, to keep (on), to continue, to stop, to leave off, to give up, to have done (= to finish).' (Ganshina: 227)

Keep is considered to be transitive in LD, but intransitive in Hornby's dictionary. In CGEL go (on) and keep (on) are classified as 'catenative' verbs, which 'have meanings related to aspect and modality but are nearer to main verb constructions, than are semi-auxiliaries.' (CGEL: 1192) In GPUE the -ing form after these verbs is called participle (42).

The problems of calling an -ing form a gerund or a participle, and whether its function is that of an object or not, are sometimes closely connected. Authors who suppose that 'go on' is intransitive, think that the -ing form after it cannot be an object and it is not a gerund consequently. Others think that the verb has developed into a transitive verb or behaves like that by analogy, so the -ing form following it is a

gerund functioning as an object. Zandvoort writes: 'yet the affinity of He went on laughing with the other combinations (keep /on/, continue) is obvious. In such cases the difficulty of distinction is in inverse proportion to its relevance or reality. Some of the difficulties dealt with above are caused by the fact that, though in the majority of the cases verbal forms in -ing naturally fall into one of two clearly marked categories, their formal identity has favoured the development of certain uses that do not easily fit into either.' (Zandvoort: 47)

Object + present participle

The agreement about the verbs after which we can use this construction is far greater among the authors than in the case of the gerund. One of the most complete lists is in CGEL:

verbs of perception: feel (1), hear (1), notice (1), observe (1),
overhear (1), perceive, see (1), smell, spot, spy, watch (1)
verbs of encounter: catch, discover, find, leave
verbs of coercive meaning: have, get

(/1/ means that bare infinitive is also possible.)

Further examples from other books: start, set, keep (LES), sense (AEP),
glimpse, take, send (Sch), bring, depict, draw, paint, show (GPUE)

Quirk et alia claim that notice and observe can also accept the genitive (GCE: 842), and feel, find, leave are used in the object + to be construction, too. I shall mention have later on in connection with the gerund table.

There is some uncertainty about describing imagine. Hornby labels it with the patterns 19A (obj. + pres. participle) and 19L (poss./acc. + gerund), Allen also has it in the list of the participle.

A table of verbs that can be followed by the gerund.

The following table has been compiled on the basis of ten different books. It contains verbs that are followed either by a subjectless gerund or a gerund with its own (logical) subject. The possible use of an infinitive is also indicated. The table does not contain phrasal or prepositional verbs. When followed immediately by a verbal, we usually have to use a gerund after these. (But not always: e.g. go on, set out, start out, etc.) The three dictionaries group the verbs around certain patterns and label them with the grammatical codes of all possible

constructions (in theory). The other books written on grammar, usage, and practice do not always denote all the valencies possible, they just give (usually incomplete) lists to illustrate a certain function. To unify the different code systems, I am going to use my own symbols in the table.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
acknowledge	2d	1	1		1(2d)					1
admit	2d	2d	2d		1(2d)	1	1	+		1
adore	1	1	1							
advise	2b	2b	2b	2	2b	2	2			
advocate	1	1	1		1			+		
allow	2b,d	2b,d	2b,d	2	2b	2	2b			
anticipate	1	1	1		1		1			
appreciate				1A	1	1	1			
attempt	2a	2a		2	2a	2	2		2	
avoid	1	1	1	1(A?)	1	1	1	+B	1B	1
(can't)bear	1	2a	2a,b	2a,b		2	2	+	2	
(will) bear	2c		2c	2c				+		
begin	2a	2a	2a	2	2a	2	2	+	2	2
begrudge	1		1							
cease	2a	2a	2a	2	2a		2			2(1)
chance	1	1	1							
commence	2a	2a	1			1		+		
confess	2d	1							1	
consider	2d	2d	2d	1(A?)	1	1	1	+	1B	1
contemplate	1	1	1A		1	1		+		1
continue	2a	2a	2a	2	2a	2	2	+	2	2
defer			1		1		1	+B	1B	1
delay	1	1	1	1(A?)	1	1	1	+B	1B	1(2)
deny	2d	2d	2d	1B	1	1	1	+B	1B	1
deprecate			1					+		

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
deserve				2c	2c					
detest	1	1	1	1A		1	1	1		1(2)
discontinue	1		1					+		
disdain	2a		2s		2a					
dislike	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1A	+	2	1A
dread	2a	2a	2a	2	2a		1A	+		2
(can't) endure	2a	2a	2a,b		1	1		+		
enjoy	1	1	1	1(A?)	1	1	1	+	1B	
entail		(1)			1			+		
envisage	1	1			1			+		
escape	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1	+		1
evade	1	1	1							1
excuse	1	1	1A	1A	1	1	1		+	
face			1			1		+		
fancy	2d	1	1A	1A	1(2d)		1A	+	+	1
favour								+		1
fear		2a	1(2)		2a			+	2	
finish	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1	+	+	1
(can't) forbear	2a		2a		2a					
forbid	2b	2b			2b	2		+		
forget	2a	2a	2a	2A	2a	2			2A	2
forgive				1A	1	1	1A		1A	
grudge	1		1		1			+		
hate	2a,b	2a,b	2a,b	2A	2a,b	2	2	+	2A	2A
(can't)help(=avoid)	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1	+	1A	1
hinder			1					+	1	
imagine	1	1	1A	1A	1A	1	1	+	1A	
include	1		1		1			+		1
intend			2a,b	2	2a,b	2	2	+	2	2
involve	1		1A		1	1	1A	+		
justify	1	1	1A		1			+		
keep (on)	1		1	1A	1		1	+		1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
like	2a,b	2a	2a,b	2A	2a,b	2	2A	+	2	2A
loathe	1	1	1		2a,b		1			
love	2a,b	2a	2a,b	2	2a,b	2	2	+	2A	2
mean	2a,b	2a,b	2a,b	2A	2a,b		2A	+		
mention			1	1A	1	1				
mind	1		1	1A	1	1	1A	+	1A	1A
miss	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1	+		1
necessitate	1	1	1		1			+		
need	2c		2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	+	2c	
neglect	2a		2a		2a					2
omit	2a		2a		2a				2	2
pardon			(1)	1A	1		1		+	
permit	2b	(2b)	2bA	2	2b	2	2b		2A	
plan					2a					2
postpone	1		1	1B	1	1	1	+B	1B	1
practise	1	1	1	1A	1	1			+	1
preclude	1		1					+		
prefer	2a,b	2a,b	2a,b	2	2a,b	2	2	+	2A	2
prevent	1	1	1A		1	1	1A	+	1A	
prohibit	1				1					
propose	2a	2a	2a	2	1	2	2A	+	+	
recall	1	1	1A		1A			+		
recollect	1	1	1	1	1		1A	+		A
recommend	2b	2b	2b		2bB		2	+		
regret	1(2a)	1	2a	2	2a	2	2	+	2	2
relish	1		2a(?)					+		
remember	2aA	2a,bA	2a,A	2A	2a,A	2	2A	+	2	2A
repent	1		2a(?)		1			+		A
report	2b		2a.d		1			+		
require	2c,b	2b	2a,b		2b	2c	2c	+		
resent	1	1	1A		1	1	1A	+		1
resist	1		1	1A	1	1	1	+		1
resume	1	1	2a(?)		1					

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
risk	1	1	1	1B	1	1	1	+B	1B	1
save	1	1	2a(?)				1A			
shun	1	1	2a(?)							1
(can't) stand	2a	2a	1	1A	1	1	1	+	1A	1A
(will) stand	2a			2c						
start	2a	2a	2a	2	2a	2	2	+	2	2
stop (=cease)	1	1	1	1A	1	1	1A	+	+	1
suggest	1	1	1		1	1	1A	+	1B	1
teach	2b	2b								
tolerate			1		1			+		
try	2a	2a	2a	2	2	2	2	+	2	2
understand			2b	1A	1(2d)	1	1A	+	1A	
urge			2a,bA		2					
visualize	1	1								
want	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c	2c

(The numbers referring to the books in the list:

1 = LD, 2 = LL, 3 = Hornby, 4 = LES, 5 = AEP, 6 = Swan,
7 = I & M, 8 = Sch, 9 = JEP, 10 = GCE)

(The patterns used in the list:

- 1 = only gerund can follow the finite verb, infinitive not
- 2 = both infinitive and gerund can follow the verb (no specification)
- 2a = both infinitive and gerund can follow as direct object
(Depending on the choice there may be smaller or bigger changes in the meaning.)
- 2b = either gerund or object + infinitive follow the verb
(E.g. We advised (their) starting early.
We advised them to start early.)
- 2c = if a gerund is used after the verb, it corresponds to a passive infinitive (An active infinitive is possible in other meanings)

2d = besides the gerund, object + to be /to have are also found sometimes after the verb

A = if a gerund is used, it can be preceded either by the possessive pronoun or the accusative of the personal pronoun (the common or genitive case of the noun)

B = only the possessive / genitive is acceptable before the gerund)

(The table contains the possible infinitive constructions only if the use of the gerund is indicated by the book concerned.)

Comments on the table

In spite of the varying lists it is clear that in the case of most verbs there is an agreement among the different books as far as the valency of the verbs is concerned. We can draw certain conclusions from the number in which these verbs turn up in the various dictionaries and the lists of grammar- and practice books. Those with the highest frequency could be recommended for teaching at schools especially. Books on usage, practice, and sometimes even grammar books do not go into details, they do not try to inform the student of all the possible patterns in which a given verb can be used. It is quite natural for books like 'Living English Structure' to do so and it is only logical that 'An Advanced English Practice' contains longer lists. What is surprising is that even such a bulky grammar book as GCE does not attribute too much attention to the problem and its list is far shorter than that of Graver. I am not quite satisfied with the way the issue is treated by such widely-read grammarians as Zandvoort or Thomson and Martinet. Scheuerweghs offers us no lists, but his rich collection of examples is really valuable. Among the dictionaries it is understandable that 'Longman's Lexicon of Contemporary English' is represented by less items in the list as it is based on groups of synonyms, and it may not be easy to force each verb into some group. In other respects there is much agreement between the two Longman dictionaries, though 'Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English' is of course more detailed as far as more rarely used verbs are concerned. These dictionaries have a system of denoting verb patterns, but this system or its application is not always

satisfactory. One of my main interests would have been to find out when the gerund can be preceded by the possessive or the accusative form or by both. With patterns Y4 and V4 the Longman dictionaries do not make it quite clear which case it is. Y4 stands for a gerund as direct object that may be preceded (but not necessarily) by a possessive pronoun. V4 stands for object + -ing form. The presence of both patterns would be the most likely indication of the occurrence of both possessive and accusative but there are far fewer verbs labelled in this way than there should be. Among the examples given by these dictionaries there are very few with a possessive preceding the gerund, which makes the investigation of the problem even more difficult. Hornby has a special pattern (19 c) for this construction but in my whole list there are only 12 verbs indicated by this pattern while alone in two short exercises of 'Living English Structures' we can find 29 verbs after which the logical subject of the gerund is used in both ways. Similarly it is very difficult to find out which verbs govern only a possessive form. Many books do not mention this issue at all, while 'An Intermediate English Practice' has a list of 8 verbs of this type, Scheuerweghs mentions 7.

Besides the above problems one has to face difficulties of a different nature, too. Although dictionaries are updated and revised from time to time, certain mistakes may not be noticed for shorter or longer periods. When I was consulting the 1974 edition of Hornby's dictionary, I noticed that several verbs the initial letter of which was n, r, or s were labelled by the pattern 6D (both gerund and infinitive) instead of the pattern 6C, which I expected to find after them. When I checked them in the 1983 edition of the dictionary, I found several (e.g. necessitate, recall, recollect, recommend, resent, resist, risk, (can't) stand) corrected, but others (e.g. relish, repent, resume, save, shun) have still been left uncorrected. Besides the correction of what has already been printed, new patterns have been introduced for several verbs. The lesson to be drawn from this is that it is not enough to have a good dictionary, but you should have a relatively recent edition (or rather the recent editions of more than one good dictionaries) as well. It is also interesting that some of the verbs that are to be found in the lists of several widely used grammar- and practice books are not shown in

these functions in these popular dictionaries. (e.g. appreciate, deserve, forgive, mention, understand - the latter two are mentioned only by Hornby)

When I began to examine the verbs followed by the -ing form I was prepared to find a lot of contradictions in the different books by reason of my earlier experience. After completing the table I have to admit that the situation is not as bad as all that. Especially if you have a look at the whole group of patterns offered for the same verb by different books, you can judge quite definitively which forms are permitted after a given verb. (It might be true however that just one or two books would not suffice.) In spite of this general conclusion it is necessary to call attention to some contradictions in the table. (The differing figures do not always contradict each other. E.g. the pattern 2d can coexist with pattern 1, because not all books find it important to indicate that besides the more common gerund we can sometimes have object + to be / to have after the given verb. In some places another figure is given in brackets showing that the other form can also occur, but less frequently. Another reason for differing figures may be that one book enumerates the possible patterns in all the different meanings of the verb, another separates these according to the different meanings and function.

And now let us see some concrete examples where differing patterns are offered by the authors. (Can't) bear and (will, won't) bear are not separated in some books although the gerund after the latter has a passive meaning, so it is not quite justified to put them into the same pattern. In the case of avoid, consider, delay, enjoy Corder and Scheuerweghs claim that only the possessive pronoun or the genitive case of the noun is acceptable before the gerund, while in Allan's list only 3 (deny, postpone, risk) are mentioned to be the ones which do not accept the accusative, the former four not. I think this is rather the result of some inattention because none of the examples contains an accusative. Another surprising example is the verb have, this is however illustrated by an example too: 'I won't have your writing homework in pencil'. (LES: 190) Corder also gives a similar example (IEP: 64), but in both sentences have is used in the meaning 'permit', I have not found any example with the possessive in the more common causative sense of the word.

The majority of the books studied agree that we should use a gerund after dislike but Corder (IEP: 53), and Zandvoort (25) find the infinitive also acceptable. Zandvoort claims the same about recollect, which is very unlikely if we take the components of the word into consideration, which clearly show backward reference. In the case of remember most books agree that backward reference involves the use of the gerund while if we have to call something into our mind before doing it, this second action is expressed by an infinitive. The infinitive is less frequently used in Zandvoort's opinion, and Longman's Lexicon finds an object + infinitive also possible but that may be another misprint: V3 instead of V4. (Zandvoort: 25, LL: 305) Regret is usually found with both infinitive and gerund patterns, but both Longman dictionaries suggest that the normal usage is the gerund, the pattern with the infinitive is not indicated, but we find a few examples with it, they seem to be treated as set phrases. Forget, which is a third verb of the same group, though very important, is excluded from the lists of Thomson and Martinet (and similarly from that of Zandvoort). With like, love the pattern object + infinitive is neglected in LL. (LL: 241)

Sometimes the figure of a verb pattern is missing although we can find examples of the construction in the same place. (E.g. the figures in brackets in my table in the case of pardon, permit, entail) The patterns of propose (AEP) and dread (I&M) differ from those in other books because - indicated or not - only one meaning was chosen before compiling the list. It is also interesting to compare the patterns of four similar verbs in Longman's Dictionary: like (13, 4, V3, 4), love (13, 4, V3), prefer (13, 4, V3), hate (13, 4, V3, 4). Why is V4 missing with love and prefer? Is the object + ing construction impossible in the authors' opinion or is it just another misprint?

Suggest may only be followed by possessive and gerund in Corder's opinion, while Thomson and Martinet tolerate both possessive and accusative before the gerund. I think the former is more likely.

Loathe, (can't) endure, commence have differing evaluation in the books that have been consulted, but this cannot be a mistake or a misprint, as examples are shown to illustrate both pattern 1 and pattern 2.

It is interesting to observe the changing lists in the two comprehensive books of Quirk et alia (GCE and CGEL). While in their more recent book (CGEL) a number of new verbs have been introduced ((can't) bear, begrudge, commence, confess, deserve, enjoy, envisage, imagine, justify, loathe, etc.), others have disappeared from their earlier list (acknowledge, contemplate, defer, delay, evade, finish, include, postpone, practise, resist, shun, suggest). What may be the reason for replacing them for others? Has their evaluation changed or do they simply want to give examples without attempting at offering complete lists (which could be expected of books of that size)? In the 1986 impression of the GCE we still find the same list as in the first edition of 1972, while in the CGEL published in 1985 for the first time there is a completely new list with new groupings. (The earlier grouping was hard to follow. I do not see any reasons for calling permit, acknowledge, or postpone verbs of emotion). Another advantage of the new list is that they also denote which verbs are likely to be followed by a perfect gerund.

The lists make it clear that verbs of the same sense group do not necessarily behave in the same way:

'His lawyer advised him to drop the case / his dropping the case, since it was difficult to succeed.' (AEP: 169)

'I recommend you to consult / your consulting an expert.' (AEP: 168)

*'I suggested her to go home.' (Swan: 323)

Similarly the group of verbs expressing feelings (enjoy, like, love, hate, prefer, loathe, dislike) do not all accept the same patterns. All the authors in the survey seem to agree that enjoy can be followed only by a gerund, most of them say the same about dislike (with the exception of two, as we have seen above), the use of loathe is judged inconsistently. The other four can accept both gerund and infinitive, the authors agree, but what the choice depends on is the subject of the debate. Several authors claim (e.g. Swan: 339) that it depends on the liking referring to a particular occasion or having some general validity. The examples of other authors seem to contradict to this rule sometimes:

'Of course children always hate to cause trouble.

'She is the sort of person who likes to cause trouble.

'Nobody really loves to work.' (IEP: 54)

The lesson we can draw is that that we should not oversimplify these rules of usage.

Finally a remark about the occurrence frequency of the -ing form. In order to know which of the above verbs are really worth teaching, we should know how often they occur in spoken or written English followed by the -ing form as their object (complement). For lack of space that will be the subject of another paper. It is generally supposed that the -ing form is more typical of written than spoken English. Some studies (e.g. that of Andersson) show however that even there the verbs with the infinitive are far more common, while the most frequent occurrences of the -ing form are those of the present participle after some verbs of physical perception.

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M. DELI, ÁGNES

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF BACK-CHANNELLING*

Discourse studies, the survey of the spoken language, have attracted the attention of an increasing number of linguists during the past few decades. Verbal communication has been investigated from various angles by psycholinguists, socioinguists and other scholars dealing with human behaviour, as well as language teachers. In this paper some of the listener's verbal reactions to statements will be examined in natural conversation.

For advice and suggestions I owe thanks to my supervisor, Dr. László Búdai; to Dr. Judit Zerkowitz and Nicholas Tayler, who read my paper.

"A Corpus of English Conversations" edited by Jan Svartvik and Randolph Quirk (1980) has been employed during the research. This is a large collection of non-edited English conversations available in transcriptions as well as on computer tape. The material provided in this paper follows the original except that the markings of certain voice characteristics as "booster" have been removed as the phonetic aspects of back-channelling are out of the scope of this study. Left in, though, are the following symbols:

S.1.2.	text number
A, B, a, c	speakers
> A	speaker identity: speaker
	continues where he left off
* and +	overlapping talk

* This paper is part of a report on my research into discourse financed by the Hungarian Ministry of Education.

(laughs)		contextual comment
◀ ▶		incomprehensible, unclear utterances
TONE { ■		end of tone unit (TU)
UNIT { //		onset
[] , { }		subordinate TU
NUCLEUS	{ yes [↖]	fall
	{ yes [↗]	rise
	{ yes [→]	level
STRESS	{ 'yes	normal
	{ .yes	heavy
PAUSE	{ yes * yes	brief pause (of one light syll)
	{ yes - yes	unit pause (of one stress unit or "foot")

A CAPITALIZED WORD is one that carries the stressed tone.

All the utterances are numbered for identification.

1. Back-Channels (Being "on the same wavelength")

The co-operative behaviour of the listener is demonstrated by his using feed-back signals to assure the speaker of his sympathy, interest and understanding. Without such devices communication cannot be kept on for long; a passive, silent, or "disobedient" listener (cf. Henne 1978:124) will soon cause a break-down in communication. In his chapter discussing turn-taking, Oreström (1983) distinguishes between two types of utterances, speaking-turns and back-channel items /the latter term is taken from Yngve (1970:574) /. He defines a turn as "the continuous period of time during which a person is talking" (1983:23). According to Henne (1978:127) a speaking turn conveys new information and expands the topic. Back-channel items, on the other hand, in Watzlawick et al's (1967) terms, have a relatively low value on the content level but a relatively high value on the relationship level of communication. They are direct signals of the listener role, indicating that the listener does not claim to have the floor but that he is interested and active in participating and thus contributes to the success of communication.

The views on the exact function of the listener's short, spontaneous reactions like m, mhm, mm, yes, yeah, okay, right, I see, I think you're right, ect. slightly differ with different linguists, and terms also vary with different authors.

Bellack (1966:18-19) speaks of "reacting moves" which, in their status are very special. Their occurrence does not mean that the prior speaker's statement has been replied to. Nor need anyone follow it, or take it that a reply to it is due. Goffman (1981:28) employs the terms "back-channel cues" and "keep-going signals" (as gee, gosh, wow, hmn, tsk, no!), while Duncan discusses "auditor backchannel signals" (1973:38-39). Good (1977) calls ms and yeahs "informationally minimal" items considering them as realizations of the "parity principle", which in his terms means that by using such signals the listener demonstrates his role as equal partner rather than his attention. Crystal and Davy (1975), on the other hand, argue that the primary function of backchannels is to reflect the listener's attention.

Coulthard, Montgomery and Brazil (1981:24-25) provide a detailed

(yes) { that's a (good) point/thought
I think so, too

etc.

In view of Stubbs' analysis we assume that some supports are not merely back-channel items (Stubbs did not use this term here) but imply a borderline between those and agreement, i.e. they indicate a transition between feedback signals (BCH-s) and the listener's opinion i.e. agreement, which has propositional content and that such a contribution of the second speaker (previously being in the role of the listener) is a speaking turn.

In this study we will rely on Oreström's classification of backchannels as well as use Stubbs' discussion of supports and propose some modifications as well as a scale along which the second speaker's utterances can be arranged according to the extent of his intellectual involvement in the first speaker's utterance. Thus we are supposed to arrive at a stage where the second speaker claims for a speaking turn and expresses his agreement with the previous speaker on what he has said.

As exclamations and exclamatory questions, though back-channel items, are of purely emotional character, and as such, cannot be included in the cline offered in Table 1. they will not be discussed here.

For the labels suggested by Stubbs (1983) and Oreström (1983) seem to be ambiguous in the name functional glosses will be used here instead, partly in accordance with Stubbs, to indicate the difference in the function and semantic content of the items in question as well as the different degrees to which the second speaker is involved in the conversation regarding his intellectual and emotional attitude. Table 1. provides the summary of the possible semantic contents of back-channelling as well as the overlapping functions of the linguistic devices used for feedback signals and agreement. The horizontal scale beginning with a broken line and ending in a gradually increasing number of straight lines is meant to imply the strength of support on the part of the listener /=second speaker/.

The more he gets involved intellectually the stronger his support of the previous utterance appears to be.

Table 1.

FUNCTION

BACK - CHANNELS	AGREEMENT
-----------------	-----------

"I'm still
listening"

"I understand
what you've said"

"It's a good point"

Common
semantic
feature

s u p p o r t

REALIZATION

Audition
markers

yes, no
quite
right
Ok, fine
ah, ah

I see
I know

Sentence Completion

Restatement

Repetition

yes
no
quite

That's right
That's it
That's a point

I agree
I think you're right

1.1 "I'm still listening" - Audition markers

The verbal reactions of the listener are at the lowest level on the involvement scale here. These items, undoubtedly, have no propositional content, they just prove that the listener has accepted his auditory role and that he is willing to assure the speaker of his "presence" and interest.

Stubbs labels this move "acknowledge", including three exponents of the category yeah, uhuh, and mm.

Unlike Stubbs' observation that these items have falling tone and mid or low pitch we have found that sometimes, on the contrary, the attentiveness of the listener is marked by rising intonation (cf. (1) and (2) below).

(1) A ... 207 //what [↗]SEEMS to me 208 an //EQUALLY
firm 'statement of Chirk [↗]POLICY 209 in
//Carver College [↗]NEWLYN 210 in the //summer
of 'nineteen sixty'-one from Dan [↗]ROSS * - *

211 //you [↗]SEE

B 212 * // [↗][mhm] *

>A 213 ** - ** [ə] //which was [↗]ALSO <<stating>>
a firm

B 214 ** // [↗]YEAH **

S.1.2

(2) A 355//well there have been a couple of - [ə]
'inchoative - [ə : ə] but abortive [↗]CALLS -
356 [ə :m] //from [↗]PETERBOROUGH 357 //to
my [↗]HOME 358 * . * [ə :]

B 359 * // [↗]AHA *

S.1.2

- (3) B ... 22 ... //Malet has produced a [ə : m] a
 REVISED CONSTITUTION 23 // FOR 24 [ə : m]
 //School of YIDDISH 25 in //which • [ə : m]
 the main POINT 26 of //my • of //my [m] //what
 triggered the whole thing OFF 27 * was when *
 A 28 * // YES *

S.1.2

It must be noted that the same items seem to appear in different functions in conversations, so it seems to be sensible to include them simultaneously into different sub-classes. This holds for aha and yes e.g. We take it that with rising tone they both imply audition /as in (2), (3) above/, whereas with falling tone the same items imply understanding as well as listening and they will be included in 1.2, too.

Such items as uhuh, mm, yeah, etc, may occur in different places within the first speaker's utterance, either at the end of a clause or in the middle of it, but in most cases at the end of tone units. Stubbs claims (1983:190) that they often simply fit into the phonological rhythm of the discourse.

1.2 "I understand what you've just said"

There are some rejoinders by which the listener not only implies his interest but also claims his understanding of the message of the preceding utterance. The semantic feature "support" is stronger here than with "audition markers". In our example (4) speaker 'a' is not only carefully listening but also thinking together with 'A' (see his vocalization [ə :] in 455), and when 'A' manages to find out the name of the restaurant he confirms it by his supporting utterance [ə h ə]. The listener's ('a') utterance in 457 seems to be akin in its semantic features to "I know" /1.2.2/ or "I remember now".

- (4) A ...451 we // WENT for a meal // AFTERWARDS 4
 452 // at • [ə : m] - - - // OH 4
 453 // place in • BAKER Street 454 that's

// RATHER 'similar to the - - Van GOGH[↗].
 a 455 [ə :]
 A 456 // < Fingal's CAVE >[↗]
 a 457 [ə h ə]

S.2.12

1.2.1. One-word-utterances

Understanding on the part of the listener is quite often shown by a one-word utterance as yes, right, quite, okay, fine, good, ah, ahā, no, etc., but sometimes several items are combined, cf. (5), (6)

(5) B 1199 and they < 'd > be // marking all SORTS of
 stuff 1200 be // cause they 'can't do the stuff
 * THEMSELVES 1201 * I must // watch the TIME
 Reynard

A 1202 * < // QUITE > 1203 // { m } *

S.1.1

(6) B 256 and * and [ə] * he // cannot commit
 A 257 * // YES *
 B 256 himself as FAR 258 as // Dan Ross * would
 have done had he been in [m Al] Dan Ross's
 DIVISION - *
 A 259 * [m . m . m] // RIGHT 260 // YES *

S.1.2

Fine and good besides being back-channel items involve some evaluative force (cf. (7)), which is obviously due to their lexical meaning.

(7) B 51 * // this 'is the main < BEDDING >
 52 and there's * pro//vision for
 A 53 * // YES * 54 // YES * 55 // YES *
 > B 52 separate BUDGETING and { // SO on } -

56 so //that's [↖]OK ☐
A 57 // GOOD ☐

S.1.2

[↖]Ah and [↖]aha imply the same as I see (cf.1.2.2)

(8) A 482 and I'm //quite • [↖]SURE {it's [↖]UNSHAKEABLE☐} -
484 * //unshakeable *
B 485 * << [↖]AHA☐ >> *

S.1.2

(9) A 1 it went off //very very [↖]SMOOTHLY☐2 * << at >> *
B 3 * // [↖]AHA☐ *

S.1.2

Peculiarly enough no appears in our corpus not only as a device for disagreement and agreement with a statement in the negative but also as a back-channel item:

(10) A 103 (--laughs) //I don't [↖]KNOW what happened ☐
104 because while [↖]I'VE been 'job hunting ☐
105 I //haven't been in touch with [↖]ANYBODY ☐
106 ex//cept those who have got in touch with [↖]ME ☐
a 107 yeah -
A 108 and //she [↖]HASN'T ☐.
a 109 no

S.2.12

When uttered after a statement containing a negative verb form no can function as a variant of BCI yes. The BCI function of no can be detected in (11) where it is reinforced by BCI quite.

- (11) A 1058 [ə] ob//jected to THIS ■ • 1059 //merely
on the grounds of • APPROPRIATENESS ■
1060 • //not because I I [ə] • think ILL * < OF
him ■ 1061 I've >> * //certainly no REASON ■
B 1062 * // NO • { // NO ■ } • { // QUITE ■ } *

S.1.2a

1.2.2 Complete Clauses

Two rejoinders belong here: I know and I see. The former suggests "this is no news to me", while the latter connotes "this is news to me" (cf. items ah and aha in (8), (9)).

- (12) A 1179 < well to //start off at >> half COCK ■
1180 //you KNOW ■ • 1181 * < //it's [s] >> *
STUPID ■ ** - **
B 1182 * < I //KNOW ■ * 1183 ** I //KNOW ■ >> **

S.1.2a

- (13) a 553 and you're from Lincoln ■ - -
A 554 //YES ■ 555 I'm //NEAR Lincoln ■ - -
a 556 near Lincoln
A 557 //YES 558 I //AM ■ • 559 I //go to
'school at HORNCastle ■ - •
a 560 I see •

S.3.5b

1.2.3 Repetition

Though not typical of back-channelling, in our corpus, repetition with falling tone has been found a possible device to indicate listening and understanding on the part of the listener.

(14) B 439 if //I catch the one TWENTY-EIGHT { from
 VIC//TORIA } 440 //that * gets me in at
 about half past TWO * 441 < and > I // get to
 A 442 * < and you'll //then y ou'll //get your > *
 > B 441 the * BANK * { you //SEE } *
 A 443 * // YES * * 444 // get to < the > BANK *
 445 // YES *

S.1.1

Partial repetition intensified by of course in (15) shows B's intention to assure A not only about his understanding but also his willingness to support and confirm what A has said. BCII item exactly functions as a preface to B's utterance.

(15) A 840 because I mean * * finalists 'are
 B 841 * // [m] *
 A 840 [faɪn] and they actually * * DO *
 'finish < then >
 B 842 * * EX//ACTLY * * - 843 of // COURSE they
 'do * 844 * < 3 to 4 sylls >

S.1.4

We propose this example as a borderline case between back-channelling and agreement.

1.2.4 Sentence completion

The listener sometimes thinks together with the current speaker and he is ready to demonstrate that he not only follows and understands what he has just heard but can also find out the oncoming part of the previous utterance. Though not claiming for a turn, he is willing to actively participate. Sentence completion is done through interruption (16), or at the end of a tone unit (17), ignored (17), or accounted (16) by the first speaker.

- (16) B 83 and //curiously enough on that OCCASION
 84 the * //person *
 A 85 * // Steven * Peel SUPPORTED you .
 B 86 //YES * 87 most //CURIOUS

S.1.2

- (17) B 1058 if //you take a statistical analysis of
 the people who PASS 1059 you'll //find that
 it is 'this QUESTION * 1060 * < which > *
 A 1061 * on //which * they are * //YES
 B 1062 they're //PASSING 1063 on * // < that > *
 QUESTION

S.1.1

1.2.5 Restatements

The propositional content of the previous statement is sometimes repeated by way of reformulation. The listener is interpreting what he has heard in his own words.

- (18) B 553 [ə : m] that [ðə :] //they [ə m]
 wanted to DEAL * 554 in //each CASE 555 with
 the //relevant CONFESSOR - 556 //rather than
 'with [ð i] * [ð i . ð i] VICE-PRESBYTER *
 A 557 * //YES * 558 the //head of the * INSTITUTION
 559 * //YES *
 B 560 * //YES *

S.1.2

Yes in 557 above can be considered as a BCH item and utterance 559 is of the same function. Not so in the case of yes in 560. It is very likely to express agreement, confirmation provided by speaker 'B'. This function

of the first speaker's reaction to the second speaker's ('A') back-channelling seems to be even more obvious in example (19) below (see utterances 855-9)

- (19) A 852 they always \ll sort of [ə] \gg PRECEDED
 their REMARKS ■ 853 with \ll things \gg //this
 sort of [ə m] · /AUTHORITATIVE / ENDORSEMENT
 854 you //KNOW ■ · 855 I * always *
 c 856 * \ll just [ə m] \gg * bit of [ə] phatic - ** -
 CONTENT so to speak ■ **
 >A 855 ** yes it //IS { //ISN'T it ■ } ■ ** - 857 //YES ■.
 858 //YES ■ - - 859 //YES ■ - -

S.1.3

Restatements by the second speakers in the above cases seem to be called forth by the first speakers' hunting for the right word. Similarly to sentence completion restatements themselves may have quite strong elicitive force and stimulate the first speaker to confirm the listener's interpretation (cf. (16) and (19)). In view of its function the restatement uttered by 'c' in (19) can be regarded as a move similar to checking-up (cf. Stenström 1984:84), where the functional gloss to c's restatement could be "do you mean...?" or "do I understand you correctly?". This assumption is endorsed by the fact that 'A' (855-7) finds it necessary to provide confirmation.

To sum up what the first part of this study has set out, we have discovered that some feedback signals such as certain restatements and sentence completions e.g. seem to go beyond the phatic function of back-channelling. They affect the first speaker's contribution, and as such operate as what we would call pseudo-turns. We also assume that there are borderline cases when back-channel items also function as means of agreement (see partial repetition in (15) and ECH-s in (20)).

(20) B 1151 [ə :m] -- << only >> if you //LIKE
 1152 I'll //cover your to //save you
 TROUBLE ■ 1153 //cover your answer in my
 LETTER <<1 syll>> ■ 1154 or • //write a joint
 * LETTER *
 A 1155 * I'd * //better I'd //better I'd//
 better WRITE ■ 1156 << I //shan't feel * • *
 I'm ignoring his LETTER ■ >>
 B 1157 * // YEAH ■ * 1158 // NO ■ - 1159 << // OK ■ >>

S.1.2a

In the conversation above (20) 'B' reacts by uttering three BCH items (1157-9). Yeah seems to be a feedback signal to A's utterance: "I'd better I'd better I'd better write". No is obviously a response to A's second utterance: "I shan't feel I'm ignoring his letter", while OK expresses understanding of the situation and A's intention as well as B's assent and agreement with A, moreover, B's withdrawal from his previous offer.

2. "I understand what you have said and I think it is a good point"

In Stubbs's (1983:190) terms this category is called 'endorse'. "It is a move which backs up, adds weight to, approves, upholds, chimes in with, ratifies or recognizes as relevant previous talk" (Stubbs (1983:190)). For characteristic structures see pp24-25.

In our corpus it has been found that certain BCH items are capable of indicating the listener's (= second speaker's) attitude to identify himself with the previous speaker's view. These items either appear independently, as in (21), (22), or accompany the second speaker's remark as a preface (24) or as a frame, i.e. in final position, functioning as a signal of the end of the turn, cf. (25), (26).

(21) B 153 //this I think { OSCAR } feels ALSO ■ 154 << or >>
 * //so * I GATHERED ■ 155 + from + • //ALEC ■

156 on the //PHONE
A 157 * //YES * 158 + //YES *

S.1.2

The function of 'yes' is rather ambiguous in some utterances, but it seems to be reasonable to suggest a functional gloss to YES (157) as follows: "I agree" or "I think so, too". This can be explained by the fact that YES (157) is uttered right after B's supposition that "Oscar feels also", it is a prompt reaction most likely to display A's agreement.

The same seems to hold for A's reaction in (22). By his utterance he not only provides feedback to B but also implies his agreement to B's supposition.

(22) B 403 [m] // [hm] - - 404 //well I suppose
Roy can make a good case ANYHOW 405 * (-laughs)*
A 406 * // yes * QUITE - -

S.1.1

'No' may function as a BCH item indicating agreement to a statement in negative form.

(23) B 535 I've //not * discussed this with {MIM}
at ALL - 536 < 2to 3 sylls > *
A 537 * // NO 538 // NO 539 // NO 540 // NO -
541 [ʔʔ] // NO 542 I * //wouldn't be at ALL
surprised 543 I //think you're RIGHT * THERE
544 < 4 to 5 sylls > *

S.1.2

In (23) above the listener (A) after expressing his intensive interest and understanding by saying 'no' several times takes his turn and gives way to his opinion and agreement with B. 'No' repeated five

(27) (talking about a hieroglyph)

A 150 [ə:m] //well it was [↑]SOMETHING

151 //probably * [↑]E *

c 152 * S * equals -

A 153 //equals S log [↑]W

c 154 that's it [m] - -

S.1.11

Examples (23) - (27) can hardly be called pure back-channelling. We argue here that they represent the final category in a cline of utterances manifesting the listener's (= second speaker) interest and support, and express the largest possible extent of the second speaker's support, as well as involvement in the conversation. As in the case of back-channel items 'yes', 'quite' and 'no' in examples (21), (22) and (23) the overlapping of functions is not undetectable: we shall consider them as representatives of transition from back-channelling to expressing opinion on the part of the second speaker.

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times in A's reaction seems to indicate transition from back-channelling to turn-taking. By the time he utters the last 'no' in 541 he has taken a turn. This last item of the repetition, in my interpretation, functions as preface to A's turn, which is quite obvious regarding the fact that it is preceded by a somewhat longer pause and vocalization [ə] so much characteristic of the beginning of new turns when the speaker is hesitating or thinking about what is to come. Endorsement on the side of the second speaker is often made explicit verbally by phrases like "I agree" (24), "that's right" (25), "that's a point" (26), "that's it" (27), etc.

- (24) B 1167 < [ə :] you've //heard probably> we're
 very [↑]OFTEN ■ 1168 be //devilled [↑]MORE ■ 1169 //by
 what the candidates [ə :] //more by ' difficulties
 of [↑]MARKING ■ 1172 than //what we ought to set the
[↑]CANDIDATES { you //KNOW ■ } ■
 A 1171 //YES 1172 * // that's < a [↑]DEVIL ■ I A/ /GREE ■ > *

S.1.1

- (25) A 307 //then put forward as something [↑]DESIRABLE ■
 309 * • [ə :] to < for us * to > [↑]CON//SOLIDATE ■ .
 B 310 * // that's right ■ - 311 // YES ■ * 312 // YEAH ■

S.1.2

- (26) A 385 but [frə] but from //that point of view
 it would be [↑]000 ■ 386 because you're going
 from < the > [↑]HEAD { of a DE//PARTMENT ■ } ■ 387 to
 //NON-HEAD { of < a > DE//PARTMENT ■ } ■
 B 388 well // that's < a > POINT ■ 389 as //WELL ■
 390 //YES ■

S.1.1

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BERTHA, CSILLA

DISTORTIONS OF CHARACTER IN JOHN B. KEANE'S PEASANT PLAYS

Writing peasant plays in the Europe of the second half of the 20th century sounds anachronistic. Yet in a country like Ireland, where - due to various external and internal circumstances - the ancient, basically rural form of life together with its values and traditions, survived well into the 20th century, life itself produced material and inspiration for such plays.

It is no surprise that the tradition of peasant drama in Ireland - like in Hungary - is very strong. The peasants, as long as they lived in closed communities, structurally untouched by changing circumstances, were justly regarded - again, similarly to many romantic and realistic views in the Hungary of the last century as well as the first half of the twentieth - as those preserving the national cultural values, and, indeed, national identity. The literature that claimed to be national in spirit, was to be built on this culture - which was, of course, of special importance in countries struggling for cultural and political independence. Yeats, among others, makes it part of the programme for creating national drama at the turn of the century: "Every national dramatic movement or theatre in countries like Bohemia and Hungary, as in Elisabethan England, has arisen out of a study of the common people, who preserve national characteristics more than any other class." (1962:222) Accordingly, peasant or folk plays have constituted one of the main lines of Irish drama ever since. Yet reality, as well as attitudes to it, have changed from time to time. First, rural life was idealized (another feature familiar in Hungarian literature), later, or partly parallel, a more realistic and thus more contradictory vision was given by the greatest master of Irish peasant plays, Synge. He influenced later generations with his comic, ironic view, his grotesqueries and his indulgence in rich, colourful, graphic language, the eloquence and

vitality of his dialogues. But Synge's Ireland is a disappearing world and his successors are often concerned as much with the backwardness and contradictions of life untouched for centuries as with changes from bad to worse and the juxtaposition of the old and the new. These playwrights either present the passing of a civilization with brooding melancholy and nostalgia, like Michael J. Molloy, or "transmute old Ireland into fantasy", like, for instance George Fitzmaurice, while others, such as John B. Keane, "show it grappling with the modern world". (BUSHNELL, 1972: 273)

By the time Keane entered the literary, or rather the theatrical world, the genre of peasant drama had more or less lost its vigour. His first play, Sive (1959), created a real sensation: "the rediscovery by the urbanized Ireland of the rural background from whence it had sprung was quite traumatic in the age which saw the establishment of Shannon New Town, the first jumbo jets carrying the Irish insignia, the inauguration of the television service, and the first Programme for Economic Expansion." (FITZ-SIMON, 1983:191) Keane has his greatest strength in revitalizing the peasant drama, although his later plays break away from this traditional line. In his plays depicting the past and the changing present of his region (county Kerry, in the South-West of Ireland, a long way away from Dublin), where life is "larger than life" and is truer and richer than in Dublin (HOGAN, 1967: 208), he excels in his vigorous realism of character, situation and language, based on observation of, and indeed, participation in, country life. A realism that does not refrain from inherent brutality and violence but is often elevated through some imaginative theatrical scene, giving the ordinary a touch of the mythic or the ritual.

The world of the Irish peasant play is a strange one with its own laws and values, showing deep kinship in reality and in literature with many aspects of Hungarian peasant life. The cruel and savage rules directing this half-pagan, half-Christian life are partly necessary for survival, but under this necessity human life often becomes distorted into something wild and inhuman. The plays of Synge already border on this wildness and inhumanity but the author's understanding sympathy softens the sharpness of his criticism and irony. Keane's world is even

more overtly cruel, harsh and uncompromising, although he too, tries to understand the motives of such actions and behaviour.

The most often recurring themes of Irish peasant plays are centred around the land and the house: hunger for land, property, money: marriage - often as the result of matchmaking - as a means of acquiring land and property or connecting land and family; emigration as an escape from misery and its reverse: homecoming, and, in connection with all these, the relationship of the people to the law and the church. Keane's early plays give interesting examples of how he explores some of these subjects and how he dramatizes the distortions that these concerns can lead to.

Keane's first and very powerful play, Sive, shows one possibility of renewing the peasant drama. Its theme, matchmaking, is not particularly Irish. The basic story of the innocent young girl forced to marry an old rich man was already known from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, where it led to a happy ending. In Irish folk songs and ballads - just like in many Hungarian ballads, too the dark and tragic dimensions of the same situation are fully acted out: the only escape possible for the young girl is death.

This well-known story in Sive receives vivid and unique treatment. On the one hand, the peasant milieu is created with faithful realism: the everyday activities, the miserable conditions, the pathetic relationships among the characters come to life on the stage in numerous well-observed, small details. The greed for land and money, which originates in misery but results in sacrificing human life, is painted with almost as dark colours as in Kodolányi's Földindulás ('Landslide'). Tragedy looms very heavily in the Hungarian play, and, although at the end it resolves in a hope for renewal, frightful examples show to what deformation of character and desolation of life the preference for material riches may lead. Sive ends with tragedy, and in this play some lighter tone is touched in the occasional comedy of character and situation. This is in accordance with the greater sense for irony and tragicomedy in Irish literature in general than in the altogether more tragic main line of Hungarian.

What elevates Sive above the level of naturalism and particularity is its ballad-like quality. Some critics claim that Sive's character lacks

psychological insight since she is too innocent and weak to defend herself. (MACANNA, 1985) But it is exactly this innocence and inability to defend herself that makes her so similar to many heroines of Irish and Hungarian folk ballads (for example those of "the sold girl" or "the sold daughter" type of ballads in our culture). She does not even get anywhere close to the possibility of choice or decision. She is destroyed due to the sins, faults and weaknesses of others, not to her own flaws. Indeed, her life is fated since before her birth as she is an illegitimate child with all the consequences. Other people act towards her like Fate, against which she is helpless; partly, the members of her family, whose power over her is fortified by the strong, traditional hierarchy, partly, the devilish matchmaker with his black force. This matchmaker could be the conventional stage-figure of the intriguer, but here he is both a character, a part of the village community, and also the embodiment of Evil. One of the great merits of the play is just this combination of the vivid realism of characters with their archetypal quality. Thus, for instance, Mena, the practical-minded, determined, hard-working - and, as her name suggests: rather mean - peasant woman, who rules over the family yet has become embittered and dried out over the years in her struggle for survival, is a flesh-and-blood character and also the embodiment of some aspects of the eternal woman who has to look after and support the family no matter what the circumstances are. Her husband, a well-drawn peasant figure, is also the type of the weak-in-will man, the old Adam, who accepts the apple from Eve - the shameful yet tempting offer of his wife. In Sive herself Christ-like innocence and suffering are contrasted with the demonic contrivances of the overtly Satan-like matchmaker.

The play is given a ritual dimension especially by the appearances of the two travelling tinkers - again fairly frequent figures of Irish plays. But they also become singers, story-tellers or bards, living conscience and judges, poets and prophets (the Irish spirit having the same association between poet and seer as the Hungarian), all at the same time, while also being embedded in a realistic vision of Irish country life. They are described by some critics as a "miniature Greek chorus" (O'TOOLE, 1985:1), but I see them much closer to our minstrels ("regösök"), who, with their magic, incantatory blessing or cursing songs

bring good luck to the Good and frighten away the Evil. Or at least that should happen. But with their very beings they step out of the past or a passing world, and turn out to be powerless to fight against the dark forces of misery and greed in this changing reality, and the most they can do is lament the death of Sive at the end and turn it into legend.

If some figures in Sive were distorted by misery and greed, they remained well within the confines of realistic probability. Distortions in Sharon's Grave (1960) are closer to fantasy and sometimes verge on the supernatural. Here, behind the greed for property an even more powerful force works: the repressed sexual drive. In Irish literature this is a fairly rare subject, and Keane treats it with unusual intensity.

The peasant milieu is given through realistic detail in this play, too, like in the others, but the extraordinary soon intrudes into the ordinary in two ways. One is the presence of the legend as part of reality, introduced by Neelus, the young man whose admiration for and attraction to the legendary princess, Sharon, drove him into a harmless yet disturbing insanity. The other is the increasingly menacing appearances of the devilish hunchback, Dinzie.

The two young men embody two excesses of love and/or sex. The hunchback, being distorted inside as much as outside, is ready to bully, beat or kill in order to achieve his purpose. He wishes to possess his cousin's house and land by driving her out of it, so that it could attract some woman - any woman - to marry him. The situation, together with Dinzie's fanatic insistence on his plan, suggests that the poverty of these families would not make it possible for him to obtain a house of his own in any other way. Without a house and land he can never hope that any woman would marry him, so his wickedness is also rooted in a necessity for survival, just like that of Mena in the previous play. But he is different in that his cruelty combines with madness, thus making it hard sometimes to judge how far he is mad and how far merely evil. His soul certainly has become warped due to his physical disfiguration, which makes the misery much graver, and the fight for survival more savage. Ordinary human will is not enough, so he developed - or originally possessed - a demonic power which seems irresistible; although everybody hates and despises him, they also dread him. The fear of the people

around him, combined with their being nearly hypnotized by him, allows him to go on from sometimes childish mischievousness to deadly terror.

Robert Hogan suggests that both Dinzie and Neelus are obsessed by sex, but while Dinzie's obsession is diabolic, Neelus's is angelically simple and harmless (1967:214). It is certainly true that there is an almost transcendental nature to the Evil-Good opposition of these characters, but it might be more appropriate to attribute Neelus's desire to something other than sex. He lost interest in earthly women because he fell in love with the legendary princess, Sharon, who, due to the jealousy and betrayal of her handmaiden, fell into a bottomless hole and died. Good and Evil, love and hatred, innocence and jealousy appear in the legend in their pure forms. The image of the golden haired princess is the embodiment of the most perfect beauty in Neelus's fantasy, which he chooses over reality. Thus his obsession is rather with the ideal, the perfect, the unchanging, the unearthly, the world of pure values. He is similar to some of the heroes in Yeats's plays who also turn away from all the attractions of this world and follow their longing for the otherworldly, which path, of course, leads to death. The difference between Yeats's idealism and Keane's more realistic and sober peasant world is that Yeats's characters are mostly heroes and heroines, while Keane's poor Neelus is obviously insane, not only in the eyes of the other characters but also to the audience through the author's presentation.

Yet the world of fantasy is not only the property of the mad - at least not in Ireland. Kathryn Hume asserts that "western culture has traditionally been hostile and dismissive toward fantasy in most of its manifestation." (1984:148) While this is true of most of the western world, it is certainly not so in Irish culture, where the visible and the invisible, reality and fantasy have always coexisted from the ancient times up to the modern, in both life and literature. The Irish way of thinking is basically different from that in other western countries; in Richard Kearney's words: "the Irish mind remained free, in significant measure, of the linear, centralizing logic of Graeco-Roman culture which dominated most of western Europe. ... The mainstream of western thought rested upon a series of fundamental oppositions - between being and

non-being, reason and imagination, the soul and the body, the transcendently divine and the immanently temporal and so on. ... In contradistinction to the orthodox dualist logic of either/or, the Irish mind may be seen to favour a more dialectic logic of both/and: an intellectual ability to hold the traditional oppositions of classical reason together in creative confluence." (1985:9) This "double-mindedness" or "double vision" has always created very favourable ground for fantasy as an important and vital part of Irish culture.

So it is in the play: fantasy permeates reality; in some form and to some degree it touches the life of all the characters. Even the most sober and reasonable figure, Trassie, in spite of her better knowledge, half believes in the magic power of the faith-healer (who is, of course, a quack), and even though she does not hope too much that the doctor would be able to cure her brother, she is seriously afraid of his curse should she refuse his service. The men all have dreams about women, although Peadar's, the wandering thatcher's dreams about Trassie's beauty are healthy and real; Danzie's ravings are based on his evil, but still practical plans, and only Neelus's are totally other-worldly. Peadar's attitude is the ideal: he is sensitive enough to the irrational and to supernatural beauty to sympathize with Neelus's admiration for Sharon, but is sober enough to base his life on realities and to appreciate beauty in its attainable form.

Reality and fantasy are very closely interrelated not only in the way of thinking of the characters but also in the plot. The hypnotic power of Dinzie is only at the border between reality and fantasy. He is like a rural Cipolla - he even uses Cipolla's (cf., Thomas Mann: Mario and the Magician) magic equipment, the whip, but in a much ruder way. That he paralyzes most people around him is only a stretching of psychological reality. Neelus's escape into fantasy is a different matter: a total absorption. For his love for a phantom he gives up the possibility of love in reality, although in several ways he keeps contact with what is happening around him. At the beginning his fantasy seems only day-dreaming, but gradually it takes up new dimensions: it will give him courage at the end to save his sister from the very real danger of Dinzie's knife. Thus fantasy, that first diverges from the real world,

later turns back, intrudes and helps bring resolution to it. The wheel turns full circle: Neelus realizes his imaginary union with the legendary princess in her grave through a life-saving self-sacrifice. (He jumps into the grave - the abyss - carrying Dinzie on his shoulders.) His deed can be interpreted on two levels simultaneously: first, his self-sacrifice for his sister elevates him to the status of a hero; and, second, he fulfils the prophecy of the legend that Sharon will stop suffering and her handmaiden stop cursing only when "the bodies of two young men are cast into the hole. One will be small and ugly and wicked and the other will be tall and straight and pure..." (317) In other words, in his action life comes to imitate fantasy. Also, life (that of Peadar and Trassie) can go on safely in reality only at the price of Neelus's pursuit of his fantasy.

Neelus's self-sacrifice opens another dimension of the relationship between reality and fantasy: the two, combined, link the present to the past, the actual to the mythic and spiritual. The platonically ideal, the devilishly physical and destructive, and the healthy, human attraction of the three men in the play can be seen as representing heaven, hell and earth. These levels confront one another: the Satanic (Dinzie) wants to destroy the good on earth (Peadar and Trassie) but first has to get rid of the presence of angelical innocence (Neelus). At the end the good wins, when the harmless and gentle Neelus becomes the angel of vengeance and carries away Dinzie to death.

Sharon's Grave is, however, nothing like a miracle play or morality. It is not written within the framework of Christianity, but rather presents a mixture of Christian and pagan belief, much as in the Irish country people's way of thinking, pre-Christian beliefs, fears and superstitions are peacefully built into, and live side-by-side with, more orthodox Christian dogma. Neelus's self-sacrifice evokes a basic mythic situation where sacrifice is necessary in order to assure the continuation or revival of life. The image of the innocent young man picking up and carrying away the ugly, devilish, deformed creature on his back, can be regarded as a naive-grotesque presentation of a mythic Saviour or even of a Christ, who takes Evil upon himself, dies under it and enters into the other world, while saving the people in this one.

In Sive singing and music enrich the emotional impact; in Sharon's Grave fantasy, legend and the "many touches of heightened imagination" (HOGAN, 1967: 213) add a higher-than-reality dimension; whereas in The Field (1965), in Keane's best known, and perhaps best, peasant play, there is no such invocation of pure values. This play is altogether darker, more savage and brutal than the ones before. It bears a strong resemblance to the cruel, austere beauty of Móricz's short story, Barbárok, ('Barbarians'). The world of the Hungarian plain some 30 years earlier, which this miniature masterpiece brings to life, is very similar to Keane's Irish village in that both have their own laws, which are far from man-made laws of urban civilization. Both stories centre on murder committed out of greed - one for a few acres of land, the other for 300 sheep -, both treat the killing as some remnant of a past, primitive, violent world, which is, nevertheless, still very powerful. What Mihály Czine says about Barbárok, is also true of The Field: it is a cry of pain, accusation and despair, all at the same time, also self-mockery as well as the mockery of the mockers. (1979:157) One of the main differences between them lies, again, in the tone: while the Hungarian short story is heavily tragic in its atmosphere all the way through, the Irish play has comic, grimly humorous elements, which give, however, little relief from the looming fear and horror.

As greed for money in Sive, so hunger for land in The Field originates from the poverty and misery of generations. The peasant ownership of the land had been the target of long, desperate fights in Ireland much before the time of the play. But even after the Land Purchase Act of 1903, which made it possible for tenants to buy the land they cultivated, the average farms were still too small to support a large family. "The history of the relation of the Irish farmer to his soil has been one of contradiction and violence" (STADLER, 1978:45), and a constant struggle. Not that such or any circumstances justify the murder in The Field, but they provide a background which makes it understandable why violence is in the centre. It is made explicit within the play, too: "in this parish you, and your fathers before you, know only too well what it is to starve because you did not own your own land - and that has increased: this unappeasable hunger for land." (59)

Yet land is not only a practical source of life but also, just as importantly, a symbol of roots, of belonging and of continuity. In the same sense as the old Irish poet and seer would say about every chief he wanted to praise "that that man had been wedded to Ireland - wedded to Ireland always, because even if the man owned only a few acres of ground, you still thought of Ireland, the country... ." (RONSLEY, 1977:3)

The plot focuses on the auction of a piece of land. A farmer, called "the Bull" by the villagers, wants it for himself for much less money than is reasonable. His rival is an unexpected bidder, an Irishman living in England. As he insists on a regular auction and is ready to pay more than the Bull, the latter, together with his son, beats the newcomer up, and kills him accidentally, although he wanted only to frighten him away. The rest of the story shows how the Bull can manage to keep the villagers intimidated so that no evidence is given against him although everybody knows, including the police, who the murderer was.

This attitude toward the law has been known at least since Synge's The Playboy of the Western World and his notes in his Aran Islands, which point out that Irish communities were ready to hide criminals as a protest against the law which they associated with the hateful English jurisdiction. But what was a comic-grotesque story and behaviour in Synge's play, becomes fifty years later in this play a real bloody murder. The refusal to collaborate with the police is less motivated by national feelings than by the fear of the Bull's threats. The notion of the law being English still exists, and is offered as an excuse, although its reality is gone in the Republic of Ireland.

The Catholic Church, however, has always been the national church of the Irish, so resistance to its influence must have another reason. In a scene reminiscent of the Interlude in T.S.Eliot's Murder in the Cathedral, the bishop gives a moral teaching from the pulpit, pointing out everybody's responsibility and share in the crime if they keep silent about the murderer. The scenes which follow show the futility of his warning. Joyce's despair about his nation being "priest-ridden", does not seem to be true in the peasant environment: instead of the institution of the church, pagan or mythic beliefs or the laws of nature rule in the isolated country communities, as was apparent among Synge's country

people or Yeats's peasant and legendary figures. In The Field, when in the course of the investigation the priest becomes associated with the police, he loses the people's respect. So much so that he is asked to leave the house: "I'll have to ask you to go now, Father. What will the village think if ye don't leave? We have a family to think of. ... You'll have us disgraced." (75)

The author does not suggest an unequivocal judgment, nor does he simplify the story into a parable. The sergeant and the priest, the representatives of the modern State and Church, are obviously right in trying to find and punish the murderer, but on the other hand, the Bull's attack on them is the expression of basic social injustices, the eternal complaint of the oppressed: "There's two laws. There's a law for them that's priests and doctors and lawmen. But there's no law for us. The man with the law behind him is the law... and it don't change and it never will." (75) However, this truth is given with an ironic overtone again, as it is said just by the person who makes the objective work of the law impossible.

This ambiguity is best seen in the figure of the Bull. Despite his immorality and his bullying, threatening, bribing, cheating the villagers, there is something impressive in his insistence on the land. He has some ancient passions and dignity in him, the dignity of the primary contact with the soil. In this region one has to fight first with the soil to be fertile, and only then for it with the people. But he also has a great love for his land: "I watched this field for forty years and my father before me watched it for forty more. I know every rib of grass and every thistle and whitehorn bush that bounds it. ... There's shamrock in the southwest corner. Shamrock, imagine! ... This is a sweet little field..." (22-23) (The shamrock, as the national emblem of the Irish, suggests patriotic feelings, also.) He listens to the grass growing even on the night of the murder: "Listen and you can hear the first growth of the grass. The first music that was ever heard." (47) This way of looking at the land combines the practical view of it as the source of life with that of its being the roots and the pledge of consistency and continuity. In contrast with the rootless priest and policeman, to whom he says: "When you'll be gone, Father, to be a Canon

somewhere, the Sergeant gets a wallet of notes and is going to be Superintendant, Tadhg's children will be milking cows and keepin' donkeys away from our ditches. That's what we have to think about and if there's no grass, there's the end of me and mine." (76)

All this adds not only to the psychological explanation of the Bull's crime, but also, and more importantly, makes him the representative of a different age and of a different order of living, laws and values: those of the cruel but heroic struggle for survival in the world of nature. A world not so much inhuman (although that, too), as ahuman. In the play this barbaric, savage world confronts the values of the human and moral order. This is why, although from the point of view of human society his behaviour and deed are undoubtedly condemnable, yet, in the lack of a common value system, he is hardly touched by this judgment. The possibility of a synthesis or reconciliation of the two systems is suggested only in his last words, expressing that he will not be free of remorse: "The grass won't be green over his grave when he'll be forgot by all... forgot by all except me..." (76)

The confrontation between the old and the new is sharpened on more concrete levels, too. The second bidder at the land auction trusts civilization, the power of man-made laws, of enlightenment, but does not understand anything of these dark, primitive forces. What adds a social and national dimension to the clash is that the newcomer wants the land for producing cement - a total break with the continuity of its natural use. In countries where industry and commerce started to dominate comparatively late, they were received with general suspicion and hostility. The situation was complicated both in Ireland and in Hungary by the fact that industry was introduced mostly by the foreign colonizers, and served first of all foreign interests. The young man wanting the land for cement-making in The Field, is of course an outsider: Irish by origin but living in England, and would prefer living there had not circumstances forced him to return to Ireland. The outsider, entering the peaceful life of a family or village, disturbing or changing the ordinary routine of life, is an often recurring figure in Irish peasant plays. (see CLARKE, 1982) This young man in The Field combines all the foreign features - national and social - so he could

hardly be accepted by the community anyway. The world of the Bull is built on such values of a past or passing form of living as community feelings, belonging to one another and helping one another. Obviously these values become strongly devaluated and turn into their opposites when helping one another comes to mean hiding the criminal.:

Another way in which the old and the new are juxtaposed reminds one of Yeats's ideas of the decay and degeneration of human beings and of the nation, especially as it is symbolically presented in Purgatory. There the three succeeding generations show the growing degree of the distortion and emptying out of human nature. The Bull in The Field, in spite of his brutality, carries great potentials in him and is capable of strong feelings. His son seems to have inherited only the brutality without the feelings, and his relation to the land, as well as to his would-be wife, is purely practical. This contrast in the play does not lead to conflict, but makes the image of the changing world more complex.

One of the few serious discussions of the play, Stadler's book, charges it with didacticism. (1978:74) It is true that the backwardness, violence and cowardice in the life of rural communities is severely criticized, and so is also the attitude of mistaking brutality and anarchical passions for heroism, the deception of the law out of patriotism, and the utilization of the biased historical understanding of situations. Yet Keane's treatment of the theme avoids one-sidedness and didacticism. Instead there is ambivalence in the judgment of the character of the Bull himself, and in the elevation of him as a late remnant of a different order of existence and of a different value-system.

The Field becomes an outstanding achievement due not to its formal innovations - that has rarely been a strong feature of Irish drama -, but to its vivid imaginative realism, its lively mixture of comedy with tragedy, and its rich language. Keane's best plays are realistic "only in the sense that the imagination and the sensibility give total assent to the validity of the character" (FEEHAN, 1979:97). It is the sort of realism that, while showing the particular, reaches out towards the universal. This is achieved partly by forming the characters so that they are flesh-and-blood, recognizable figures of rural Ireland, while also

being archetypal, embodying some deep-down drives of human nature. Comedy is introduced into the tragic plot mainly through language - a language that has been the greatest luxury of even the most miserable Irishmen, that has also been their compensation for hardships and their weapon against the nothingness their fate would impose on them. The villagers use this language in The Field as a weapon against the investigation of the police and the priest; their verbosity is a source of a lot of comedy but their skill is impressive. For outsiders - such as the policeman and the priest actually are - there is no way to get behind this language.

With the disappearance of this old style of life in rural Ireland, certainly the folk or peasant plays will disappear, too. The best of them, however, can survive, not only as documents (although Keane's plays would serve very well as that), but as powerful visions of certain forms of human behaviour, including distortions of feelings and relationships, which often turn up in other circumstances or in different disguises, but which always remain possible within human situations and processes come to life; great passions or cool reason destroy their victims, values clash, past and present collide. In this world reality and fantasy penetrate into each other in such a way that the fantastic achieves reality and reality is given a fantastic, larger-than-life quality.

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GADÓCZI, ANDREA

WILLIAM BLAKE SZIMBOLIZMUSA ÉS A BIBLIA A "JERUZSÁLEM" C. MŰBEN

A Jeruzsálem (1804--20) a maga kiteljesedett formájában közvetíti nekünk Blake személyes üzenetét, költői érvelését. Míg a Milton c. mű (1804--08) közvetlenül a költői élet személyes és alkotói válságával foglalkozott, addig a Jeruzsálem más módon retrospektív: egy hosszú "tapasztalás-dal", amely a bűnbeesés utáni állapot kozmikus rajza. Szerkezete meglepően hasonlít Ezékiel könyvéhez, és az sem véletlen, hogy mind utalásaiban, mind hangvételében ez Blake "legbiblikusabb" műve.

A mű mind a négy fejezete két ellentétes erő fokozatosan éleződő szembenállására épül. Az 1. fejezetben ez a két erő Albion és Los. A 2. fejezetben ez a szembenállás olyan folyamattá fejlődik, amelyben Los megpróbálja a természet és történelem ismétlődő körforgásából -- amellyé Albion vált -- való megváltás képzetét megformálni. Ez a folyamat a 3. fejezetben a Deizmus és Blake Jézus-koncepciója közötti ellentétben kulminálódik. Ebből az ellentétből emelkedik ki a 4. fejezetben a tévhit és az igazság tisztázó szembeállítás, amely "kiváltja" az Utolsó Ítéletet.

A szükségszerű erkölcsi választáshoz vezető, fokozatosan éleződő antitézisek fő szervezőelvként való alkalmazása emlékeztet a Biblia legfontosabb prófétai könyveinek szerkezetére, ahol a történelem szándékosan keveredik a látomásokkal a történetekben; a valós események keverednek azokkal, amelyek bekövetkezésétől a próféta tart, ha a nép továbbra is úgy él, ahogyan addig, illetve azzal, amit bekövetkezni remél, amennyiben az emberek felismerik, hogy fordulóponton állnak, és gondolkodásmódjuk megváltoztatásával az eseményeket is befolyásolhatják.(1)

A Közönséghez címzett első fejezet után mindegyik egy speciális csoporthoz szól: a 2. fejezet a Zsidókhoz, a 3. fejezet a Deistákhoz, a 4.

fejezet pedig a Keresztényekhez. Ez a szándékos négyes tagolódás egyben azt is sugallja, hogy az egyes fejezetek címei a következők legyenek: Ieremtés, Megváltás, Ítélet, Újrateremtés.

Karl Kiralis szerint figyelemreméltó a három vallás progresszív kapcsolata az emberi élet három fő szakaszával: a gyermekkorral, a felnőttkorral és az öregkorral, hiszen kimutatható, hogy Blake szerint a zsidók a szellemi gyermekkor, a deisták a felnőttkor, a keresztények pedig vagy az érett kor, vagy a szenilitás állapotában vannak, attól függően, hogy a kereszténység teoretikus potenciálját kihasználják-e, vagy sem. Ugyanis Blake szerint a kereszténységet pontosan kell értelmezni és gyakorolni ahhoz, hogy az érettség korának lehessen tekinteni, másképp az ellentmondás a bűnbocsánat hirdetése és a bosszúállás gyakorlata között a szenilitás jele lesz. Ezzel szemben a gyermek és a zsidó egyaránt hiszi, hirdeti és gyakorolja is a "szemet szemért, fogat fogért" szigorú filozófiáját, nem is próbálva a bűnbocsánat színlelésével védeni tetteit.(2)

A mű progrediálását az mutatja, hogy az 1. fejezet általános bevezetőként, egyfajta előjátékként, nyitányként szolgál a következő három fejezethez. A bűnbeesés történetét mondja el, és mérlegeli azokat az erőket, amelyek segíteni, illetve gátolni fogják az embert. (Ezt a további fejezetekben különféle változatokban, részletesen kimunkálva láthajtuk.) A bűnbeesés leírása után az első fejezet olyan zűrzavarral ér véget, hogy Jézust hívják segítségül, hogy rendet teremtsen olyan stációk megteremtésével, amelyek megszabadítják majd az embereket a bűntől. Ennek a teremtésnek egy kijelölt út lesz az eredménye Ulro-n, vagy a Vétségen (Error) keresztül, amelynek főbb stációit a következő három fejezet írja le, és amelyeknek mindegyike egy bizonyos stáció filozófiai hibáinak az összegzése: a 2. a zsidó vallásé, a 3. a deizmusé, a 4. pedig a kereszténységé.

Az első három fejezet mindegyikének vége határozottan előkészíti a következő fejezetet. A kívánt stációk valóban megjelennek a 2. fejezetben, de a fejezet végén megfogalmazott kérésre, hogy töröltsék el a bűntudat, a 3. fejezetben mindössze az a válasz, hogy Jézus megmutatja, hogyan lehet megszabadulni a bűntudattól: ha mindenki mindenkinek feltétel nélkül megbocsátja bűneit. A 3. fejezet végén Blake hangsúlyozza,

hogy szükségszerűen jön létre a 27 egyház ciklusa -- vagyis részletesen analizálja az Ádámmal kezdődő és Lutherrel végződő három alapvető állapotot. Végül az ember befejezi földi útját a stációkon keresztül, közelebb-ről a 27 egyházon keresztül, a végtelenségbe. A mű azzal a reménnyel zárul, hogy az evilági életből az örökkévaló életbe vezető ciklus folytatódik.

Mint Karl Kiralis is megállapítja, Blake-nek valószínűleg hármasképe van arra, hogy a zsidó vallást az ember szellemi fejlődésében a gyermekkor állapotának tartsa. Első és legnyilvánvalóbb oka az, hogy a keresztény egyház a zsidó hitet tartja a legkorábbi vallásnak. Másrészt, emberi viszonylatban, a gyermek is a büntetést tanulja meg hamarabb, mint a megbocsátást; előbb meg kell tanulni, hogy fölismerje és gyűlölje a bűnt, ahhoz, hogy meg tudja tanulni megbocsátani azt. A harmadik és legalapvetőbb ok az, hogy a zsidó vallás lényege az erkölcsi törvény -- az erkölcsi törvényhez való ragaszkodást az Istenhez való ragaszkodással azonosítják -- amit legnyilvánvalóbban a Tízparancsolat bizonyít. Ezen alapszik az emberi igazságszolgáltatás egész rendszere, amelyben a vádló, a híró és a hóhér alkotja Blake "pokoli háromságát." Ezt a szigorú, kodifikált rendszert volt hivatva Jézus eltörölni.

Isten elégedetlenségét a zsidó vallással legtisztábban az özönvíz megjelenése mutatja. Azt, hogy az ember is elégedetlen a zsidó hittel abból látjuk, hogy Albion kész meghalni, mivel fél embertársaitól, és mivel meggyőződése, hogy Isten elhagyta őt. Végső jele annak, hogy a zsidó hit át kell, hogy adja a helyét egy következő stációnak az, hogy a fejezet vége felé Albion remény nélkül hal meg, de ismét a Megváltó karjaiban.(3)

Újra emberi viszonylatokban szemlélve a dolgokat, a felnőtté cseperedő gyermek túljut a természetfölöttiségen, eljut az agnoszticizmushoz. Blake korának agnosztikusai deistáknak nevezték magukat, mivel természetesnek tekintették Isten létét, még akkor is, ha soha nem avatkozott be az általa teremtetett anyagi világ működésébe.

Blake szembenállása a deizmussal már két első mészetében, a There's No Natural Religion (1788 körül) és az All Religions are One-ban (1788 körül) is megjelenik. Itt, a Jeruzsálem 3. fejezetében megmutatja, hogy a

deizmus természetes állapota minden ember fejlődésének. Megmutatja, hogy a deizmus hogyan fejleszt ki a héber filozófiából a maga rövidlátó rendszerét, amely megőrzi annak a pogány felfogásnak a zsidó változatát, mely szerint minden a világon vagy erény, vagy bűn. (4)

Blake nem véletlenül választotta Bacont, Newtont és Locke-ot a deisták "gonosz háromságául", bár Voltaire és Rousseau sem kerüli el haragját. Mivel Blake a deizmust alapvetően angol jelenségnek tartotta, ezért a 3. fejezetben az angol ókort igyekszik érvényre juttatni, vagyis az őskelta maradványokat és az Arthur-mondakörbe tartozó alakokat.

A Keresztényekhez címzett 4. fejezet az utolsó az örök halálon át vezető út három állomása között. Ahogyan az agnoszticizmus a zsidó vallásra való válaszként született, úgy a kereszténység az agnoszticizmusra való válaszként fejlődött ki. Blake megmutatja, hogy a hivatalos vagy történelmi kereszténységnek is megvannak a maga hibái, amelyeket föl kell ismerni és el kell vetni. A történelmi kereszténység gyenge pontja, Blake szerint, a nőknek tulajdonított túlzott fontosság. Ő maga is kiemeli a nőt a házi rabszolgaság pozíciójából, és a férfi életének nélkülözhetetlen részévé, sőt, annak inspirációjává teszi; ugyanakkor fölismeri féltékenységet is, nemcsak a többi nővel szemben, hanem a férfi élete munkájával és az örökkévalóság általa érzékelt részével szemben is.

A 4. fejezet azzal kezdődik, hogy Albion fiai királynővé koronázzák Vala-t, akit ők Ráhábnak neveznek, mialatt Jeruzsálem leláncolva fekszik, alapjai porban és szemétben. (Ez a kép nem furcsa, ha tudjuk, hogy Jeruzsálem egyszerre asszony és város.) Ezáltal egy múlandó, anyagi vallás, a racionális erkölcs vallása jelenik meg a kereszténység álarcában, mialatt a keresztény vallás valódi szelleme elfoglalva, romokban hever. Ráháb először megtagadja, hogy határozott formát öltjön, mert fél, hogy kiderül a megtévesztés, de végül mégiscsak megjelenik a Kerubok között, melyek Blake fogalmai szerint azonosak az Antikrisztussal; a vallás külsőségeivel annak lelke, tartalma helyett. Nemsokkal ezután Los kihirdeti a "Reggel Jelét", mivel a bűn erői formát öltöttek. Ezután Albion felesége, Britannia is megvallja féltékenységet, és azt, hogy az önmegtartóztatást és az erkölcsi törvényt használta fel a férfi fölött való uralkodásra. Önkéntes vallomása után Albion kész magáévá tenni a kereszténység alapelvét, a megbocsátást, és amint ez sikerül neki, újra osztatlanná válik, és

képes megsemmisíteni a Kerubot. Így a háborúskodó Zoák végre újra egyetértésre jutnak; minden ember eggyé válik Albion személyében. (A férfi és a nő akkor vált eggyé, amikor Britannia Albion keblébe tért.) Végül Isten és ember is eggyé válik, és minden a világon humanizálódik.

Az ember, miután elérte a teljes érettség korát, pontosan azért fog újra bűnbe esni, mert szabad; de szabadságával (Jeruzsálemmel) és a költő segítségével újra kezdi majd a földi életből az örökkévalóságba vezető ciklust.

Habár a zsidó hittől a keresztény vallásig progresszív út vezetett, egyfajta regresszív haladás is megfigyelhető, aminek célja, hogy a bűn formát ölthessen, és így elpusztítható legyen.

Mint ahogy a gyermek maga is apa lesz, és minden életkor magában hordja az előző életkorok jellemvonásait, ugyanígy tükrözik egymást a Jeruzsálem egyes fejezetei is; ugyanakkor önálló egységek is maradnak, mint ahogy a gyermek, a fiatalember és az érett férfi is "Egyetlen Ember". A legegyszerűbb példa erre a visszatükröződésre az, hogy a zsidó hit igazságszolgáltatásának és erkölcsi törvényeinek szigorú szabályai újra megjelennek a deistáknál, sőt, a kereszténységben is, amíg teljesen föl nem ismerik és el nem vetik őket. (5)

Az ok, amiért Albion minden fejezetben elfordul, vagy elmenekül az isteni látomás elől, míg Los végig attól fél, hogy az ember elhagyja majd az isteni látomást, és ezért megpróbálja meggátolni őt ebben az, hogy Blake felfogása szerint a történelem minden szakaszában az ember valóban elhagyja az isteni látomást, míg az alkotó művész félti őt és megpróbál segíteni neki.

Hasonlóképpen magyarázható az is, hogy az ember mindhárom fejezetben elbukik. Vagyis, a bűnbeesés az 1. fejezetben kezdődik, de megjelenik a 2. fejezetben is annak alátámasztására, hogy a zsidó vallás nem az igazi hit, a 3.-ban pedig azért, hogy megmutassa, hogy a deizmus sem az.

A Blake-i képzelőerő látomása az emberi életet négyfelvonásos drámának látja: a bűnbeesés; az ember küzdelme a bűnbeesett világban (általában ezt nevezzük történelemnek); a világ megváltása egy isteni származású ember által, amelyben az örök élet és az örök halál egyaránt diadalmaskodik; és az apokalipszis. Ez a négy felvonás megfelel a Jeruzsálem négy részének is. (6)

A Közönséghez címzett első rész szembeállítja a Bűnbocsítást Golgonoozával, a művészet palotájával, Órtornyával, ahonnan a látók igazi formájában -- alvó óriásként -- láthatja a természetet. A Zsidókhoz címzett második rész a törvények között élő világ látomását állítja szembe azzal, ahogyan a Biblia kifejlődött a történelemből. A Deistákhoz címzett harmadik rész Jézus eljövételét állítja szembe a tanításaival szembeni ellenállással, amit a deizmus jelent. A Keresztényekhez címzett negyedik rész egyszerre foglalkozik az apokalipszissal és az Antikrisztus végső epifániával.

A Jeruzsálem olvasásakor két kérdést kell figyelembe vennünk: hogyan értelmezte Blake a Bibliát, és hogyan illesztette ezt a Biblia-értelmezést angol kontextusba. Mint ahogyan azt Northrop Frye is kifejti Fearful Symmetry c. munkájában, ha a Jeruzsálem-et a Biblia újra-alkotásának fogjuk fel, azt tapasztaljuk, hogy a mű a teológiai pontosságot szinte túlszárnyalva illeszti újra össze a Biblia egyes részeit, szimbolizmusa pedig a bibliai és az angol mondavilág elemeinek kombinációjára épül. Ennek két aspektusa a történelmi, illetve a földrajzi oldal. Ez utóbbi kifejezőmódjában bonyolult, de alapelvét tekintve egyszerű. "Kánaánt" egyszerűen megfelelteti Angliával: Anglia hegyei megfelelnek a palesztin hegyeknek; Derbyshire barlangjai megfelelnek Ábrahám, Dávid és Éliás barlangjainak; London különféle kerületei megfelelnek a bibliai Jeruzsálemnek belül Sionnak, Tophet-nek, a Hinnom völgyének, stb. Még ennél is pontosabb a megfeleltetés Tyburn és a Kálvária-hegy között, valamint Bethlehem és Lambeth között, ahol Blake művei legnagyobb részét írta. Végül Wales, Anglia -- és ahol a szimbolizmus lehetővé teszi -- Skócia megyéit is szisztematikusan felosztja Blake Izrael 12 törzse között.

Ami a történelmi aspektust illeti, a bibliai héber történelemmel párhuzamos angol történelem allegorikus látomásának alapja egy legendaciklus, amely Geoffrey of Monmouth-al kezdődik, és magában foglalja Britania betelepítésének történetét, különféle királyi személyek krónikáját (Lear, Cymbeline, Sabrina, stb.), Arthur király hőstetteit és Merlin próféciáit. Úgy tűnik, Blake számára a legfontosabb forrás maga Geoffrey volt, és Milton History of Britain-je (1670). Geoffrey történetírásában -- az Ótestamentumhoz hasonlóan -- nevek lajstromát találjuk, és más, bi-

zonytalan értelmű látomásokat; Merlin kétértelmű jóslatai, folklórtörödékek, kegyetlen asszonyi akarat (mint pl. Gwendolen), és más, mozaikszerű, de határozottan szembeötlő elemek tűnnek még föl. Ezen túlmenően Blake azonosítja az angol történelem legendabeli eseményeit azokkal a bibliai eseményekkel, amelyek szerinte egyidőben zajlottak.

Ez a párhuzam sokkal gyakoribb az angol irodalomban, mint ahogy azt gondolnánk -- különösen abban az időben volt ez így, amikor Geoffrey legendáit történelmi hitelességűeknek tartották. Ezek közül a figurák közül Arthur volt a legnépszerűbb a középkortól egészen napjainkig; de Blake-et legfőképpen az érdekelte, hogy milyen szimbólumokat vehet át Geoffrey-től, amelyeket azután "ráhúzhat" saját Útestamentum-értelmezésére; és erre a célra az Arthur-mondakör előtti anyagot találta a legalkalmasabbnak. (7)

Tovább követve Frye gondolatmenetét láthajtuk, hogy Albionnak, csakúgy, mint Izraelnek, 12 fia van, és ahogyan Izrael fiai a háltköznapi emberiséget jelképezték, úgy Albion fiai is -- a költemény nagy részén keresztül -- az emberi természet kísértet-szerű aspektusát, a személyiség összességét jelentik. Izrael fiaival ellentétben Albion fiait mindig ugyanabban a sorrendben nevezi meg Blake: Hand, Hyle, Coban, Gwantok, Peachey, Brereton, Slade, Hutton, Skofeld, Kox, Kotpe és Bowen.

Nyilvánvaló, hogy Albion fiainak mindegyikét megfeleltette Blake Jákob egyik fiával, habár sosem ad erről teljes listát; de Hand és Reuben, illetve Skofeld és József kapcsolata kétségtelen. József volt Jákobnak az a fia, aki siettette a bűnbeesést, és aki Júdásnak felel meg a tanítványok közül. Ő valójában Jákob tizenegyedik fia, Blake szimbolizmusában mégis a kilencedik. Reuben, Izrael legidősebb fia, néha összes testvérét képviseli, és így Ádámhoz hasonló szimbólummá válik. Hasonlóképpen néha Albion összes fiát is a legidősebbik, Hand jelképezi. Reuben és Hand így az átlagembert és annak személyiségét jelentik; a személyiségétől megtisztított Reuben a prófétai képzelőerővé válna, amelyet ebben az esetben Blake az egyetlen ősi brit próféta, Merlin nevével szimbolizál.

Ahogyan Jézus és 12 apostola a képzelőerőt jelképezi, amely bejárja a világot és kész elviselni mindenféle üldöztetést azért, hogy a remény és

élet üzenetét hirdethesse, úgy a bíró és 12 esküdtje ennek egyenes kigúnyolása. Bunyan Pilgrim's Progress-ében (1678--84) Faithful tárgyalásán a 12 esküdt mellett 3 vádló volt: Irígység, Babona és Hízelgés; és a Bibliában, Jób könyvében is megtaláljuk ugyanezt a képet a 3 vádlóról. Blake számára ez sokkal nyilvánvalóbb szimbóluma az Antikrisztusnak, mint az esküdtszék, mert a Bibliában is a Sátán elsősorban vádló, a Sátán lelke pedig a társadalomban "a bűn vádja". Hand ilymódon megfelel Bunyan Irígység-ének, aki a középszerűség gyűlölete a zsenivel szemben, ami a halálnak felel meg a társadalomban, bármik is a mozgatóerői, vagy gyakorlati következményei. Coban valószínűleg Bacon nevének anagrammája, hiszen Blake számára a hamis tanok összegezése nem lehet teljes anélkül, hogy összefüggésbe ne hozná Bacon, Locke és Newton "szentségtelen háromságával", akik közül az utóbbi kettőhöz Hyle, illetve Hand tartozik.

Ahogy Hand az ingadozó, álhatatlan Reuben-nel van kapcsolatban, úgy Hyle és Coban Simeonra, illetve Levire emlékeztet, Izraelnek arra a két fiára, akik az erkölcsi törvény két nagy intézményét jelképezik: a háborút és a vallást, pontosabban a gyilkos bosszúállást és a dézsmaszedő papságot.

Blake idejében Hand és Hyle a deizmus két fontos tartópillére lett: a józan értelem és a természet filozófiája, amit Voltaire, illetve Rousseau munkái testesítettek meg. Rousseau csak a józan ész korábban alakíthatta ki a maga természet-koncepcióját, Voltaire racionalizmusát pedig csak egy olyan kor produkálhatta, amely elfogadta a természeti ember jóságát. Blake ellenszenve Voltaire iránt pedig legalább akkora volt, mint Voltaire csodálata Newton és a deista Anglia iránt. (8)

A Biblia kezdőképe a víz uralta káosz, és egy, a szellemi gyermekkorban lévő emberpár. De mire a Biblia végére érünk, feltűnik, hogy a könyv kezdetén -- mint az epikai műveknél általában, az "in medias res" alapján -- a cselekmény már meglehetősen előrehaladott állapotban van. Kronológiailag Mózes I. könyvét meg kellene előznie egy olyan előjátéknak, amelyben az osztatlan isteni és emberi lény az izzó anyagból megformálja az egész természet körvonalait. Amennyiben eléggé ihletettek lennénk ahhoz, hogy megalkossunk egy ilyen előjátékot, az nagyon hasonló lenne a Jelenések Könyvének konklúziójához. Eszerint minden dolog az isteni embertől,

Jézustól eredt, és őbelé is tér majd vissza; az élet teljes látomása kört zár be.

Ha viszont a Biblia ott kezdődne, ahol most véget ér, akkor zárt körben mutatná be a látomást, a zárt kör pedig nemcsak a természetes ciklusok végtelen újraismétlődését sugallná, hanem azt is, hogy maga az élet is ugyanilyen módon halad újra meg újra a bűnbeeséstől az apokalipszisig. Blake szimbólumrendszerében ez Urthona szellemének, a végtelen idő érzetének a győzelmét jelentené mestere, Los fölött, aki az időnek mint önálló formának a látomása; és így végérvényesen elferdítené az "örökkévalóság" bibliai jelentését.

A Biblia végső megértése a könyv záró "anódja" és nyitó "katódja" közötti szikrában van; ha ez a rés nem lenne, a Biblia nem stimulálná a képzelőerőt a megértés erőfeszítésére, amely újratert, ahelyett, hogy passzívan követné a látomás körvonalát. Akkor értjük meg igazán a Bibliát, ha keresztülférközünk ezen a Jelenések Könyve és Mózes I. könyve közötti szűk résen, és akkor magunk alatt láthatjuk a Biblia egész, hatalmas látomását: a létezés hatalmas körforgását a bűnbeesett világ megteremtésétől a bűntelen világ újratertéséig. Ha ezen a résen belül maradunk, akkor belül maradunk ezen a körforgáson, amely ezáltal látomásunk külső felületévé válik. (9)

Van még egy fontos kérdés, bár ez nem kerül nyíltan említésre a műben. Miután Jézus láthatóvá tette a bűnt a maga társadalmában, amivel aztán saját pusztulását idézte elő, katonák fogták el egy kertben, hazaárulással és istenkáromlással, vagyis az egyház és az állam ellen elkövetett bűnnel vádolták, és a megkorbácsolás, kigúnyolás és keresztrefeszítés véres ritusával végezték ki. A zsarnokság hatalmas kereke átgázolt rajta, és folytatta útját.

A Blake-ről szóló életrajzi írásokból tudjuk, hogy a Jeruzsálem tervezetése közben Anglia kevés prófétáinak egyike is szembekerült egy katonával egy kertben, aminek az lett a következménye, hogy felségsértéssel vádolták, ami felért az istenkáromlással, mivel állítólag azt mondta, hogy "átkozott legyen a király", ami nyilvánvaló sértés az Egyház Fejére. Az eredeti, teljes büntetés az ilyenfajta felségárulásért szintén véres

ritus, amely felakasztásból, kasztrálásból és felnégyelésből áll. Az a bizonyos kerék újra készen állt, hogy mozgásba jöjjön, ezúttal azonban valami "hiba" történt. Blake-et szabadon bocsátották, talán mert a társadalom nem tartotta elég veszélyesnek. Akárhogy is volt; mindenesetre folytathatta munkáját. De ez a kis megingás, nyikorgás a gépezetben az éles fülnek talán azt sugallhatja, hogy valahol hiba van; valami olyan hiba, ami akár összeomláshoz is vezethet. Talán a kor valamelyik prófétaja (az, hogy Blake-e, vagy valaki más, nem igazán fontos) learrathatja a próféták végső és igazi győzelmét; azt a győzelmet, ami a Bibliában csak Jónásnak adatott meg (ő pedig nem tudta fölbecsülni e győzelem jelentőségét): azt tudniillik, hogy a küszöbön álló tragédiáról szóló jóslata hamisnak bizonyul, mert hallgatnak rá az emberek, és megfogadják intelmeit.

Jegyzetek

(Pontosabb adatokat lásd az irodalomjegyzékben)

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VADON, LEHEL

AZ AMERIKAI PURITÁNUS IRODALOM MAGYARORSZÁGON

A magyar puritanizmus irodalmi termékei csak kis részben eredetiek, többségük az angol puritánus teológusok¹ műveinek fordításai. Az amerikai puritanizmus ihlető hatásával, a földrajzi, nyelvi, ízlésbeli távolságok, a vallási doktrínák és politikai gondolkodás különbségei miatt, a magyar irodalomban csak egy vallásos prózaírónál találkozunk. Köleséri Sámuel, a magyar puritánus teológiai irodalom képviselője, aki a legradikálisabb puritánus központnak, a nagyváradi kollégiumnak tanára, majd Debrecen lelkésze volt, az 1677-ben Debrecenben kiadott Szent Írás Rámájára Vonatott Fél-Keresztyény című prédikációs gyűjteményének előljáró beszédében Thomas Hookert (1586--1647) is megemléltette forrásai között, a valódi puritán stíluseszmenyt képviselő "connecticuti liberális puritánt", aki 1636-ban megalapította demokratikus és szabad szellemű Connecticut települését, és megfogalmazta az első olyan gyarmati alkotmányt,² amely önkormányzatról szól.³ És csupán két amerikai puritán szerzőről, Roger Williamsről és Increase Matherről, valamint írásaikról tudjuk, hogy lényeges amerikai--magyar irodalomtörténeti, vallás- és kultúrtörténeti kapcsolatokat rejtenek magukban.

ROGER WILLIAMS

A kiváló reformkori történész Horváth Mihály,⁴ akinek történetírása úttörő jelentőségű és mindmáig forrásértékű, nemzetünk erkölcsi és értelmi fejlődését, a lelkiismeret, a gondolat és a szó szabadságát vizsgálva, a társadalom erkölcsi viszonyait, valamint az állam és az egyház kapcsolatát kutatva jutott el az "éjszakamerikai szövetséges államok társadalmából kölcsönzött 'szabad egyház a szabad államban' nagy elvhez", amely "egy láng lelkű, szent buzgalmú s törhetetlen erejű lelkész, Williams Roger, e nagy eszmének a világon első megpendítője"⁵ nevéhez fűződik.

Az államalapító és vallásújító Roger Williams (1603--1683) 1631-ben, a Mayflower utasainak partraszállása után 11 évvel, és az Újvilágban Új Siont kereső és Új Izraelt alapító első puritán honfoglalók után 7 évvel érkezett Amerikába. Salem népszerű, meg nem alkuvó lelkipásztora demokratikus elvei miatt összeütközésbe került a puritán teokráciával s ennek következtében száműzték Massachusettsből. Így vált 1636-ban Rhode Island településének és Providence városának alapítójává, ahol az angol levellek egyenlőségét hirdető elveit elfogadó és a baptizmus felé közeledő lelkész "mindenféle lekiismeretnek", anglikánoknak, katolikusoknak és zsidóknak menhelyül nyitotta meg birtokát, hogy a gondolat és a gyakorlati élet logikáját teljes egyensúlyban megvalósíthassa. Új államában és egyházközségében vallási türelmet és tiszta, tökéletes demokráciát alkotott, amelyben minden hatalmat maga a nép gyakorolt.

A humanista, felvilágosult és liberális főpap és politikus Horváth Mihály, nagyszámú történelmi és vallástörténeti érdekű cikkeiben és könyveiben⁶ tanulmányozta az állam és az egyház elvi kérdéseit, és mind vallásban, mind politikai gondolkodásban elfogadta Roger Williams állammodelljét, s tanúságként azt a magyar és az európai társadalmak figyelmébe ajánlotta. Horváth Roger Williamsról írt tanulmánya az első könyv, és az első tudományos igényű kismonográfia amerikai íróról a magyarországi amerikanisztika történetében.

Horváth Mihály, pontosan szerkesztett és nagy összefoglaló készséggel megírt dolgozatában követte végig a "mívelt, tevékeny, buzgó szellemű Williams" küzdelmes életútját;⁷ az Újvilágba érkezését, harcát a puritán teokráciával, üldöztetéseit, Providence városának és Rhode Island településének alapítását, barátságát az indiánokkal, békebírói szerepét a bennszülöttek és a gyarmatosok között, intézkedéseit a négerek rabszolgasága ellen, valamint politikai és diplomáciai küldetéseit.

A magyarországi polgári átalakulás időszakában, a polgári haladás ügyét képviselő Horváth Mihályt mindenekelőtt a "szabad egyház a szabad államban" elv érdekelt, amelyben Williams a teljes vallásszabadság elméletét fogalmazta meg, amely szerint "a nyilvános béke és nyugalom legfőbb biztosítója, minden szabadságok magna chartája". Horváth Roger Williams hitújítói és történelmi szerepét és jelentőségét a következőképpen összegezte: "első volt a világon, aki az értelmi szabadság nagy tanát

kikiáltá, s annak elvön egy új államot alapíta, gyakorlatilag bizonyítva be annak egyedüli helyességét, ... korlátlan szabadságot kíván minden vallás számára, szabadságot a hívők úgy mint a tévelygők számára, teljes szabadságot a gondolatnak és a nagy elv biztosítása végett az egyház és állam teljes különválasztását,⁸ ... Ő teljes életében forradalmi elveket tanított,⁹ ... kortársait messze túlhaladva nagy bátorsággal és eréllyel kezdé vitatni azon elveket, melyek az Egyesült-Államokban ma már teljesen uralomra jutottak, Európában mindazáltal még távol állnak a győzelemtől."¹⁰ Dicsérte a törvényhozó és államalapító társadalmi igazságon alapuló történetszemléletét, valamint a hitújító filozófus logikai következetességét, amellyel a "nagy elvet" létrehozta és magyarázta: "Ő a dolgok velejére hat, s azok természetéből vonja következtetéseit, melyek minden időben, minden helyen, minden körülmények közt egyaránt valók és helyesek."¹¹

Horváth Mihály elsőként írt Magyarországon tudományos alapossággal a fiatal amerikai gyarmatokon létrejött puritanizmusról és az amerikai puritán egyház szervezetéről. A puritán frazeológiát használó Williams újkori szabadelvű eszméit szembeállította a puritán teokráciával és szigorú bírálatot mondott a puritán erkölcsiségről és vallásról. Horváth különösen fontosnak ítélte Williams irodalmi ambícióiról is tanúskodó értekezéseit és vitairatait,¹² amelyekben vallási doktrínáját fejtette ki, és amelyekben "a keresztényt szabadelvűség alapelvei oly teljes kifejezést nyertek, hogy még mai napság is bajos volna az egyén és társadalom jogairól, az egyház és az állam kölcsönös viszonyairól oly merész tételt föllálfítani, mely ezen röpiratokban ben van foglaltaték. Ezen alig ismert puritán bölcselő következetességével még századunk legszabadabb elvű publicistáit is túlhaladja."¹³ Példaként idézte a magyar hitviták szellemére és ékes nyelvezetére emlékeztető vitairat-párbajt,¹⁴ amelyet Roger Williams és John Cotton az 1640-es években folytatott egymással.¹⁵

Horváth Mihály tanulmánya korára és nemzedékére való visszatérő hivatkozásaival, közérthető és egyben művészi stílusa miatt is,¹⁶ Roger Williams-féle értekezéssé, röpirattá válik az olvasó kezében. Mint legtöbb művét, ezt is azzal a határozott célkitűzéssel írta, hogy hatni akart nemzetére, tanítva, felemelve és lelkesítve azt.

A "szabad egyház a szabad államban" williamsi elvet Magyarországon

elsőként Vurda kanonok, a győri káptalan követe képviselte az 1843. évi országgyűlésen, amikor az ország képviselőinek egyhangú helyeslése közepette "szabad országot, szabad vallást, szabad egyházat" kívánt mindenki számára.¹⁷ Horváth Mihály Williams-tanulmánya megírásának időpontja nem véletlenül esett közvetlenül a kiegyezés utáni évre, amikor a polgári állam- és jogrendszer kiépítése következtében a liberális eszmék követelménye volt a feudalizmus idején összefonódott egyház és állam szétválasztása, a polgárok vallási szabadságának és egyenjogúságának érvényesítése.¹⁸ A tanulmány először 1868-ban a Budapesti Szemlében jelent meg,¹⁹ s jelentőségét és fontosságát bizonyítja, hogy még ugyanabban az évben könyv formájában is kiadták.²⁰ A könyv további két újrakiadása is azokban az években történt, amikor az állam és az egyház közötti harc kiéleződött. Az 1873-as második kiadás több mint valószínű, hogy annak az 1870-től 1873-ig tartó feszültségnek és vitának az eredménye, amely a magyar állam és az egyház, valamint a Vatikán között folyt.²¹ Nyilvánvalónak tűnik az is, hogy az 1890-es évek első felében, az újabb egyházpolitikai vita kellős közepén, 1893-ban, a reformpárti sajtó tudatos politikai céllal jelentette meg harmadszor is a Wekerle-kormány egyházpolitikai reformja célkitűzéseit és szellemét is támogató Williams kötetet.²²

INCREASE MATHER

A Napnyugati India (De Successu Evangelii apud Indos in Nova Anglia, Epistola ad cl. virum D. Johannem Leusdenum, Linguae Sanctae in Ultrajectina Academia Professorem, scripta a Crescentio Mathero, apud Bostonienses V. D. M. nec non Collegii Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum Rectore, 1688) az első magyar nyelven megjelent öálló amerikai tárgyú kiadvány és egyben az első magyar fordítás amerikai szerzőtől. A nyolcclapos könyvecske írója Increase Mather (1639--1723), az észak-amerikai brit gyarmati világ egyik legkiemelkedőbb tudós puritánus teológusa, hitszónoka, politikusa és diplomatája, pedagógus, a Harvard College rektora. A mű Increase Mather latin nyelvű levele Johannes Leusdenhez,²³ az utrechti egyetem tanárához, amelyben beszámol az indiánok megtérítésében elért eredményekről. A levél közzétételének politikai és teológiai okai

voltak, rendkívüli népszerűségét viszont nem is elsősorban irodalmi értéke, hanem érdekessége és tömörsége garantálta, rövid idő alatt közismertté válását pedig több nyelvre történt lefordítása és kiadása biztosította.²⁴

A Napnyugati India 1694-es kolozsvári magyar kiadása, hat évvel az első londoni, öt évvel a francia, egy évvel az utrechti kiadás után és két évvel a német nyelvű kiadás előtt azt mutatja, hogy a magyar könyvkiadás és szellemi élet, a külföldön iskolázott Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós jóvoltából ez idő tájt milyen gyorsan reagált a nyugat-európai kulturális eseményekre.

Increase Mather magyar nyelvű könyvecskéjét első ízben Szabó Károly a jeles forrásfeltáró és rendszerező bibliográfus, történetíró és műfordító említette²⁵ 1879-ben, filológiai irodalmunk figyelmét pedig Berg Pál hívta fel rá.²⁶ Behatóan Országh László tanulmányozta a művet s annak magyar nyelvű kiadását.²⁷ Rekonstruálta az idők folyamán súlyosan megrongálódott, a debreceni Református Kollégium Könyvtárában őrzött egyetlen megmaradt példány címlapját, amely sokat elárul az írás szerzőjéről és tartalmáról, valamint könyvészeti adatairól.²⁸ Betűhíven közölte a levél magyar nyelvű fordításának szövegét²⁹ és a címlap hátoldalán lévő rövid előbeszédet, amelyben a magyar fordító az amerikai gyarmatosítás és hittedjesztés történeti előzményeiről és az Újvilág felfedezéséről írt.³⁰

Mather könyve egyetlen fennmaradt magyar példányának sorsát a mű keletkezésétől napjainkig nyomon tudjuk kísérni.³¹ Hollandiából hazatérve a kolozsvári nyomdáját üzembe helyezve Misztótfalusi már az első évben kiadta a Napnyugati Indiát, amely az első nyolc kiadványa között szerepelt.³² Országh László több szempontot is lehetségesnek tartott, amely Misztótfalusit az irodalmi szándék nélküli röpirat, műfaját illetően ténybeszámoló, helyzetjelentés, kiadására készíthetle: a külföldi missziók, exotikus népek, indiánok iránti érdeklődés Magyarországon, a jó üzleti vállalkozás reménye, az erdélyi és magyar nép látókörének, tudásanyagának növelése és a nálunk is nagyrabecsült Leusdernek, hollandiai pártfogója hírnevének öregbítése.³³ Országh László bizonyítási eljárása a fordító személyét illetően is logikus és hihető.³⁴ Annak ellenére, hogy a magyar címlap nem nevezi meg egyértelműen³⁵ a fordítót, a "közönségessé tétel" a "Magyar Nemzet kedvéért" felettébb valószínűen azt

jelenti, hogy Misztótfalusi nemcsak mint kiadó, nyomdász és korrektor kinyomtatta a könyvet, hanem az idegen nyelvű művet anyanyelvére át is ültette. Egyébként Misztótfalusi többnyire megnevezte fordítóit, ha nem tüntette fel a fordító nevét, ami igen ritkán fordult elő, valószínű az azt jelentette, hogy ő maga volt a fordító is. Jelenlegi ismereteink alapján nem tudjuk minden kétséget kizáróan megmondani azt sem, hogy a fordító melyik kiadást használta forrásul. Az 1694-es kolozsvári megjelenés időpontja kizárja, hogy a közvetlen forrás az 1696-os hallei német nyelvű kiadás lett volna, az angol változatok szövegmódosításai valószínűtlenné teszik, hogy az angol nyelvű kiadások szolgáltak volna forrásul. Mivel a magyar kiadás egészen jelentéktelen változtatásoktól eltekintve, szó szerint követi az 1688-as londonit³⁶ és annak betűhű 1693-as utrechti kiadását, biztosra vehetjük, hogy e két kiadás valamelyike volt a magyar fordító forrása.

Mather könyve 1761-ben már a Debreceni Református Kollégium könyvtárának a tulajdona volt,³⁷ bár először csak az 1815-ben készült VIII. katalógusban szerepel.³⁸ A címlapon található feljegyzés szerint 1704-ben a könyvecske Püspöki B. János debreceni diák majd mezőtúri lelkész tulajdonában volt, aki valószínűleg Szőnyi Gergelytől, a kollégium seniorától kapta ajándékba.³⁹

A Napnyugati India egykorú hazai visszhangjáról semmiféle értesülésünk sincsen.

Az Egyesült Államok gyarmati korszaka művelődéstörténete és irodalma még ma is úgyszólván "terra incognita" Magyarországon. A magyar olvasók zöme úgy tudja, hogy az amerikai irodalom története csak a 19. század második felében, Mark Twain fellépésével kezdődik, de a téjékozottabbak ismerete sem igen terjed ki az Edgar Allan Poe és James Fenimore Cooper előtti irodalomra. A gyarmati korszak irodalmának megismerését mind a mai napig nehezíti, hogy hozzáférhetetlen az angolul nem tudó magyarok számára. Ez ideig csupán két prózai alkotás John Smith kapitány utazásai és cselekedetei 1580--1631 és Increase Mather Napnyugati Indiája, és három vers, Anne Bradstreet Midőn a házunk lángban állt,⁴⁰ valamint Edward Taylor Min állt...⁴¹ és 38. elmélkedés című költeményei⁴² olvashatók magyar nyelven. De az angol nyelven megjelent egyetemi és főiskolai anto-

lógikába is csak az 1980-as évek végén kerültek be John Smith, William Bradford, Cotton Mather, Anne Bradstreet és Michael Wigglesworth művei.⁴³

1836-ban a Literatúrai Lapokban jelent meg az első magyar írás,⁴⁴ amely alaposan és részletesen mutatja be az amerikai irodalmat és a jelentősebb amerikai írókat. Az ismeretlen szerző az amerikai irodalmat első egy-két évszázadában "az Angol literatura sarjzatának" tekintette, mert "Úlly gyarmatok, mellyek nyelvüket valamelly műveltebb tengerentúli néptől kölcsönözték, soha nem bírtak saját literatúrával. Legyenek járomban, legyenek lázadásba, vagy felszabadulva, a' nyelv örökké az anyahoz csatolja őket."⁴⁵ A független, nemzeti irodalom kialakulásának okait és akadályait abban látta, hogy "az őslakosok nyomról nyomra az erdőkbe 's Savanokba lettek visszatolatva, majd egészen eltűntek, a nélkül hogy nemzeti sajátságait a' győzelmeskedőkéihez elégesítették volna, 's az életdúzs vadon fiainak Génusza nem önté erejét az európai szellembe."⁴⁶ "Amerikának nem lehetett költője, mivel nem adhatott neki nemzetet, cultust és hazát; szellemének nem kínálhatott nagy és rejtélyes egységgel, mellyel személyiségét elegyíthette volna, az amerikai társaság még nem született volt 's még most sem létez."⁴⁷ "... ezen roppant tartománynak literatúrai kora még fel nem jött. Ott még a' szellem ugyan azon mérlegben van, melly minden emberi környezeteket hasonlókká tesz; a kiválasztott emberek elnémulnak, vagy eltűnnek; az értelem elsősegei elenyésznek. Amerika eddig megelégszik anyagi 's műszeri szabadságával. Minden individuumok neki most csak egy hatalmat képeznek -- a' munkát."⁴⁸ A tanulmány az amerikai irodalom kezdetét Cooper és Irving nevével jelzi, s mint a legtöbb 19. századi magyar folyóiratokban megjelent cikk, a gyarmati korszak szellemi életét és irodalmát Anglia köldökszínörjához köti.

Amerika gyarmati korszakának magyar nyelvű irodalma nem gazdag ugyan, de kimagasló eredményei vannak. Horváth Mihály jelentős Roger Williamstanulmánya után száz esztendeig nem született írás az amerikai puritánus irodalomról magyar szerző tollából. Puritán írók nevével folyóirataink oldalain először az 1880-as években találkozunk. Scotta Dezső író elsőként mutatta be Henry Dunstert, a Harvard College tudós rektorát, a Zsol-tárok Könyvének fordítóját, Anne Bradstreetet, a gyarmatok első "hivata-

los" költőjét, Cotton Mathert, salemi tudós papot, versírórt és boszorkányüldözőt, William Bradford történetírórt és Mather Bylest, a bostoni költőt, az Ország-Világ hasábjain 1880-ban.⁴⁹ Egy másik írónk, Erdélyi Gyula A Budapesti Bazár című folyóiratban⁵⁰ Anne Bradstreet személyes hangú, de tartalmában és gondolatvilágában a puritanizmushoz kötődő verseit dicsérte John Norton bostoni lelkész, a Harvard egyik vezetője szavával.⁵¹

Az észak-amerikai angol gyarmatok irodalmának nemcsak hazánkban, hanem határainkon túl is elismert tudós kutatója Kretzoi Sarolta, a debreceni, szegedi majd budapesti angol tanszék tanára, aki a magyarországi amerikanisztika történetében elsőként szentelte egész munkásságát az amerikai irodalomnak, és elsőként szerzett akadémiai tudományos fokozatot, kandidátusi címet amerikai irodalomból, egy évtizedes hazai és egy éves amerikai kutatómunka eredményeként írta meg tudományos igényű tanulmányait⁵² és nagy összefoglaló művét,⁵³ a gyarmati korszak irodalmáról. Az amerikai irodalom kezdetei 1607--1750 alapos, sokoldalú, úttörő munka, nem is elsősorban az új-angliai puritanizmus irodalomtörténete, hanem inkább kalsszikus kultúrtörténeti alkotás, amely egyetlen összefüggő folyamatot, a puritanizmus irodalomelméletének kialakulását, virágzását és bukását öleli föl. Kretzoi Sarolta rekonstruálta a korszak irodalmi légkörét és eszmétörténeti hátterét, megvizsgálta az új körülmények között létrejött irodalom funkcióját, az irodalmi tudat alakulását, a művészi tudatosság fejlődését, a puritán irodalom "amerikaiságát", valamint a különböző jellegű gyarmatok ideológiai-műveltségbeli-vallási örökségét, tudományos világképét, állam- és társadalomszemléletét, amelyek meghatározták a korabeli írás motívumait. A mű magas színvonalú szintézis, adatokban gazdag, élvezetes olvasmány, amely kiegészítette, helyenként módosította az amerikai irodalomtörténetírás kalsszikusainak⁵⁴ megállapításait. A könyv alapos ismereteket nyújt a 19. század nagy amerikai íróinak és a 20. század hatalmas irodalmának megértéséhez.

Jelentős még Ország Lászlónak a gyarmati korszak irodalmáról írt alapvető összefoglalása,⁵⁵ valamint Halácsy Katalin⁵⁶ és Máté Krisztina⁵⁷ részlettanulmányai.

Jegyzetek

1. Legjelentősebbek: William Perkins (1558--1602), Lewis Bayly (?--1631), William Ames (1576--1633). E fordítás-irodalom együtt járt az angol nyelv ismeretének elterjedésével a református egyházi értelmiség körében. Az angol puritán szerzők magyarra fordításának, és az angol vallásos könyvek eredetiben való olvasásának igénye készítette Komáromi Csipkés Györgyöt az első magyarországi angol nyelvtan megírására és kiadására (Anglicum spicilegium, Debrecen, 1664).
2. Fundamental Orders (1639).
3. Köleséri Sámuel valószínű angliai tartózkodása folyamán ismerkedett meg az Amerikába vándorolt puritán Thomas Hooker műveivel.
4. Horváth Mihály (1809--1878). Bölcséleti doktor, római katolikus püspök, a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia tagja, a Kisfaludi-társaság elnöke, a szabadságharc alatt vallás- és közoktatásügyi miniszter. Irod.: MÁRKI SÁNDOR: Horváth Mihály. Budapest, Athenaeum, 1917. -- PAMLÉNYI ERVIN: Horváth Mihály. Budapest, Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó. 1954.
5. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: Williams Roger a "szabad egyház a szabad államban" elv teremtetője s megtestesítője. Pest, Ráth Mór kiadása, 1868. 5. 8.
6. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: Párhuzam az Európába költözködő magyar nemzet és az akkori Európa polgári s erkölcsi műveltsége között. Pest, 1847. -- Iluszonöt év Magyarország történetéből 1823-tól 1848-ig. Genf, Puky ny., 1864. -- Magyarország függetlenségi harczának története 1848 és 1849-ben. Genf, Puky ny., 1865. -- A kereszténység első százada Magyarországon. Budapest, Ráth Mór kiadása, 1878. -- "Szükség és szabadság a történetben." Athenaeum, 1838. II. félév, 53. sz. 833-840. -- "Gondolatok a történetírás theoriájából" Athenaeum, 1839. I. félév, 22. sz. 337--341. -- "Az olygarchia harca az alkotmány ellen." Hazánk, 1860. II. évf. 1--37. "A magyar egyház függetlensége szent István alatt." Reform, 1870. 48--51. sz.
7. Horváth Mihály utalása szerint Roger Williams életrajzi vonatkozású adatait J. F. Astié 1865-ben megjelent jeles munkájából merítette: Histoire de la Republique des États-Unis.
8. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: i. m. 56.
9. Uo. 67.

10. Uo. 25.
11. Uo. 55.
12. A vallási vitairatok legfőbb 17. és 18. századi amerikai művelői Roger Williams mellett: John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Richard Mather, Cotton Mather, Benjamin Colman és Jonathan Edwards.
13. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: i. m. 47.
14. Kretzoi Saroltát is a magyar hitvitákra emlékeztette Roger Williams és John Cotton szópárbaja. KRETZOI MIKLÓSNÉ: Az amerikai irodalom kezdetei 1607--1750. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976. 174.
15. John Cotton 1638-ban írta Roger Williams Massachusettsből való kitiltását igazoló pamfletjét, amelyre Williams Angliából válaszolt: The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution (London, 1644). Cotton válasza: The Bloudy Tenent Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb. (London, 1647.) Williams vitazáró írása: The Bloudy Tenent Yet More Bloudy. (London, 1652)
16. Horváth Mihály és Roger Williams nemcsak történelmi és vallási elvi kérdésekben vallottak hasonló nézeteket. Mindketten, mind írásaikban, mind prédikációikban nagy gondot fordítottak a tiszta, közérthető, gyakran művészi stílusra. Mindketten írtak egyházi alkalmi verseket is.
17. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: i. m. 5.
18. Az Andrássy-kormány programja, bár messze elmaradt az azonos tárgyban intézkedő 1848-as törvényektől, jelentős polgári reformokkal korszerűsítette a magyar állam- és jogrendszert. A kormány hivatalba lépése napján elismerte a polgári szabadságjogokat: a sajtó-, gyülekezési és egyesülési szabadságot.
19. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: "Williams Roger." Budapesti Szemle, 1868. XI. kötet, 91--147.
20. HORVÁTH MIHÁLY: Williams Roger "a szabad egyház a szabad államban" elv teremője és megtestesítője. Pest, Ráth, 1868.
21. 1870-ben a vatikáni zsinat a pápa követelésére kimondta a "pápai csalhatatlanság" dogmáját. A Vatikánnak ez a lépése azzal fenyegetett, hogy a pápa nem enged beleszólást a kormánynak a püspökök kinevezésébe, a papságot kivonja a világi törvények alól, a katolikus híveket pedig szembeállítja az állam liberális politikájával. A kormány

a vatikáni lépésre a placetum regium felújításával válaszolt, amely évszázados gyakorlat szerint az egyházi javadalmak betöltését, a pápai bullák kihirdetését a király jóváhagyásához kötötte. Ez tehát a csalhatatlansági dogma kihirdetésének tilalmát jelentette.

Deák Ferenc halála előtt utolsó képviselőházi beszédét 1873-ban tartotta. Ebben mintegy végrendeletül a liberális reformok következetes megvalósítását, mindenekelőtt az egyház és az állam szétválasztását szorgalmazta.

22. 1892. november 21-én a Wekerle-kormány bemutatkozásakor a legsürgősebb teendőjét az egyházpolitikai reformok megalkotásában jelölte meg. 1893-ban a "vallásüldözésnek" bélyegzett reformok elleni agitáció, a vallási fanatizmus szítása fokról fokra erősödött. A klerikális ellenzék harcának nagy lendületet és bizonyos szervezettséget adott a pápa 1893 szeptemberében kiadott "Constanti Hungarorum" című enciklikája, amely aktívabb harcra buzdította a magyar egyházfőket, erőteljesebb befolyást követelt a politikai életben, és az ifjúság gondosabb katolikus szellemű vallásos nevelését szorgalmazta. Az egyházpolitikai küzdelem lényegében 1894 végén befejeződött. "A házassági jogról" (1894: XXXI. tc.), "a gyerekek vallásáról" (1894: XXXII. tc.), "az állami anyakönyvekről" (1894: XXXIII. tc.), "az izraelita vallás recepciójáról" (1895: XLII. tc.) és "a vallás szabad gyakorlatairól" (1895: XLIII. tc.) szóló törvények haladó liberális alkotások voltak, amelyek ha megkésve és részlegesen is, a polgári átalakulás egyik követelményét, az egyház és az állam szétválasztását valósították meg, és vallási téren biztosították a polgári szabadságot.
23. Johannes Leusden (1624--1699) az utrechti egyetem keleti nyelvek tanára, alapvető ószövetségtudományi munkák szerzője, a legjobb héber Ószövetség kiadója
24. Increase Mather latin nyelvű levelét 1686-ban kétszer is kiadták Londonban. 1689-ben kisebb változtatásokkal megjelent angol nyelven a szerzőnek The Brief Relation of the State of New England from the plantation to this present year című munkájában. Az Újvilágban angol fordításban először 1691-ben látott napvilágot Mathernek The Triumphs of Reformed Religion in America című művében. Hollandiában, Utrechthben három latin nyelvű kiadást is megért 1693-ban, 1697-ben és

- 1699-ben. Francia fordítása 1689-ben hagyta el a sajtót. Az első német nyelvű fordítását 1696-ban Halleban nyomtatták. Tudunk még egy elveszett valamelyik indián nyelvre történt fordításról. Vö. Országh László: "Misztótfalusi Kis és az első magyar könyv Amerikáról." Magyar Könyvszemle, 1958. LXXIV. évf. 1. sz. 24.
25. Régi Magyar Könyvtár. I. 1455. sz. a.
26. Berg Pál: Angol hatások tizenhetedik századi irodalmunkban. Budapest. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár kiadványai, XXI. kötet. 1946. 177--178.
27. Országh László: "Misztótfalusi Kis és az első magyar könyv Amerikáról." Magyar Könyvszemle, 1958. LXXIV. évf. 1. sz. 22-41.
28. A mű rekonstruált címlapja -- a kikövetkeztetett hiányzó szavak és betűk aláhúzásával megjelölve -- betűhű másolatban és sor-elrendezésben a következő: A Napnyugati || INDIABAN || Melly AMERICANABAN az ÚJ || VILÁGNAK - is neveztetik || Az UJANGLIAI POGÁNYOK KÜ || zött az Evangéliumnak terjedéséről || IROTT-LEVÉL || A Tiszteletes || LEUSDEN JÁNOSHOZ || az Ultrajectumi Academiában a Szent || Nyelvnek Professzorához || CRESCENTIUS MATHERUSTÓL || Bostóniai Leiki-tanítótól, az Új-Angliai || Cantabrigiában való Harvard Collégiumának || Igazgatójától || Melly Angliában elsőbben 1688-ban, azutánis egy- || néhány izben; Az elmúlt esztendőben pedig Belgiumbanis || a Napkeleti INDIABAN az Evangéliumnak hasonló || terjedéséről IROTT-LEVELEKKEL együtt || Deák-nyelven kibotsáttatott. || Már most a Magyar Nemzet kedvéért Ma- || gyarrá fordittatván közönségessé tétetett || KOLOSVA-RATT || M. Tótfalusi Kis Miklós által || 1694-ben.
29. Országh László: i.m. 24--27.
30. Uo. 28.
31. A debreceni példányon kívül még egy példányról van a könyvészeti irodalomnak tudomása, amely 1752-ben Bethlen Kata könyvtárában volt található. Lásd: Kerékgyártó Elemér: "Angol szellem Bethlen Kata udvarában." Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok, IV. 1942. 94. Bethlen Katától a példány a nagyenyedi református kollégium könyvtárába került, ahonnan 1849-ben elveszett.
32. Ferenczi Zoltán: A kolozsvári nyomdászat története. Kolozsvár, 1896. 65--68. és Dézsi Lajos: Magyar író és könyvnyomtató a XVII. század-

- ban. Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós (1650--1702). Magyar Történeti Életrajzok. Budapest, 1899. 120-121.
33. Országh László: i.m. 39--40.
34. Uo. 29.
35. "...már most a Magyar Nemzet kedvéért Magyarra fordítatván közönsé-
gessé tétetett Kolosvaratt M. Tótfalusi Kis Miklós által"
36. Országh László a címlap szövegezése alapján nem tartotta valószínű-
nek, hogy a fordító az 1688-ban londoni kiadásból fordított. Országh
László: i.m. 39.
37. A hátlapon a következő bejegyzés olvasható: Liber Collegii Rfti Deb-
receniensis entus Ac. 1761.
38. R. Harkó Viola: A Debreceni Református Kollégium angol könyvanyaga és
annak kialakulása. (Kéziratos disszertáció.) Debrecen, 1948. 63--64.
39. Országh László: i. m. 40--41.
40. Észak-amerikai költők antológiája. (Válogatta, szerkesztette Vajda
Miklós.) Budapest, Athenaeum Nyomda, 1966. 21--23. ford. Tarbay Ede.
41. Uo. 24. Ford. Eörsi István.
42. Uo. 24--26. Ford. Jánossy István.
43. KREIZOI SAROLTA: Amerikai irodalmi szöveggyűjtemény a kezdetektől
1900-ig. Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1987. 7--18. William Bradford:
Mayflower Compact; The Bay Psalm Book (Psalm 23); A Narrative of the
Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson; Anne Bradstreet:
The Tenth Muse. The Prologue, The Author to Her Book, To My Dear and
Loving Husband, Before the Birth of One of Her Children, In Memory of
My Dear Grandchild Elizabeth Bradstreet, Who Deceased August, 1665,
Being a Year and Half Old; Michael Wigglesworth: The Day of Doom. --
VADON LEHEL: An Anthology of American Literature. Prose. Budapest,
Tankönyvkiadó, 1988. 13--24. Captain John Smith: From A Description
of New England; William Bradford: From Of Plymouth Plantation. From
"Chapter XI. (The Mayflower Compact)"; Cotton Mather: From Magnalia
Christi Americana. A General Introduction.
44. "Az Egyesült Északamerikai Birodalmak' literatúrája." Literaturai
Lapok, 1836. 3dik Szám. Januárus 15-én. 17--21; 4dik Szám. Január-
us 22-én, 25--30; 5dik Szám. Januárus 29-én. 33-36; 6dik Szám.
Februárus 5-én. 48--49; 7dik Szám. Februárus 12-én. 49--56.

45. "Az Egyesült Északamerikai Birodalmak' literatúrája." Literaturai Lapok, 1836. 5dik Szám. Januáriuŝ 29-én. 35.
46. Uo. 36.
47. "Az Egyesült Északamerikai Birodalmak' literatúrája." Literaturai Lapok, 1836. 6dik Szám. Februáriuŝ 5-én. 49.
48. "Az Egyesült Északamerikai Birodalmak' literatúrája." Literaturai Lapok, 1836. 7dik Szám. Februáriuŝ 12-én. 56.
49. SCOSSA DEZSŐ: "Az amerikai költészet története." Ország-Világ, 1880. VII. Füzet. 158--159.
50. ERDÉLYI GYULA: "Amerikai költőnők." A Budapesti Bazár Melléklapja, 1883. XIV. évf. április 15. 62.
51. "ha Virgil elolvasta volna verseit, a magáét elégeti"
52. KRETZOI MIKLÓSNÉ: "A költészet szerepe Amerikában a függetlenségi háború előtt (1607--1760)." Filológiai Közlöny, 1967. XI. évf. 3-4. sz. 276--292. -- CHARLOTTE KRETZOI: "The Concept of Poetry in Colonial America." Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok III., 1967. 5--21. KRETZOI MIKLÓSNÉ: "Az irodalom funkciója az észak-amerikai angol gyarmatokon (1607--1750)." Helikon Világirodalmi Figyelő, 1974. XXX. évf. 1. sz. 11--17. -- CHARLOTTE KRETZOI: "The Function of Literature in Colonial America." Actes du VIIe Congres de l'Association Internationale de Litterature Comparee, 1979. 53--57. -- CHARLOTTE KRETZOI: "Attitude and Form: Puritan Style in 17th Century American Prose." Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok XIV., 1981. 57--68. -- CHARLOTTE KRETZOI: "Changes in the Meaning and Function of Plain Style." Proceedings of the IXth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association Innsbruck 1979. Classical Models in Literature 1. 1981. 249--253.
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SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING STRATEGIES

The history of foreign language teaching has been and continues to be marked by controversy rather than by consensus about the best way, "the one true way" to teach a foreign language. Linguists and methodologists, traditionally grouped into two battalions -- the rationalists and the empiricists -- have been attempting to convince one another about the way foreign languages ought to be taught. Those who have become disillusioned by the failure of the absolutists have written 'eclecticism' on their flag. With this new "one true way" came a new kind of diversity within the foreign language teaching profession. Without having a common yardstick, however, against which the outcomes of the various language teaching strategies could be measured no consensus can be arrived at about the future directions of our profession (Omaggio 1983) and we are working with only a set of working hypotheses for ourselves as foreign language teachers (Strasheim 1976).

Instead of presuming to identify some "organizing principle" for language teaching which would have the potential to revolutionize foreign language education in some enduring way (Omaggio 1983), I will attempt to clarify the basic assumptions underlying some major foreign language teaching strategies.

Being aware of the diffuseness of the notion 'strategy' in the recent literature on various foreign language teaching methodologies, I do not venture to give a viable definition of it. Throughout this contribution, 'strategy' will be used as a cover term for both 'method' and 'approach', as something that largely determines the why, the what, and the how of foreign language instruction.

Methods of and approaches to foreign language teaching and learning have been constantly swayed by trends and developments in allied

disciplines, especially linguistics and psychology. Such influence is inevitable, since language instruction must be based on a certain view of language and of language acquisition. In recent years, the trend towards an interdisciplinary approach -- and away from theoretical fragmentation -- has become evident in many spheres. Foreign language teaching methodology should encompass not only a study of the language and its acquisition, but also insights gleaned from various sources (Raz 1982).

Differences in strategies may be the result of (1) different theories of the nature of language, (2) different types of language descriptions, and (3) different ideas on language learning and language acquisition (cf. Mackey 1965).

During the Middle Ages grammar was associated with logic, assuming that grammar was dependent on logical analysis. Language was divided into writing, speaking and thinking, which resulted in a close association of the processes of thought and grammar. And as logic, i. e. the laws of thought appeared to be universal, it followed that grammar was universal, too; one grammar would do for all languages despite individual word variations. Ignoring the characteristic differences between languages, grammarians modelled their description of a language on that of Latin. The mediaeval concept of language had and has not even now ceased to have far-reaching consequences for foreign language teaching and learning. The Grammar-Translation Method, the outcome of the concept, can be typified by the following:

- collections of semantically unrelated sentences dominated by formal grammar, whose main concern is the word and the sentence;
- the learning of grammar for grammar's sake (the knowledge of the rules being more important than their applications): the memorizing of labels, definitions, rules, and paradigms; the use of jingles for memorizing rare exceptions to paradigms, prepositions, governments, etc.;
- learning unstructured bilingual lists of words, which results in poor retention, confusion of words and ideas;
- practising rules, paradigms and isolated vocabulary items through exercises in two-way translation;

-- two-way translation of texts of increasing difficulty (foreign texts are seen as a sort of unfolding confirmation of the grammar and its rules.);

-- the lack of oral work or teaching pronunciation (which is limited to a few introductory notes).

The ultimate goals of teaching a foreign language are (1) to enable the learner to translate literary works, (2) translation into the foreign language through the conscious application of rules of grammar, and (3) knowledge about the language.

The developments in allied disciplines laying the foundations of the Direct Method are (1) descriptive phonetics and (2) principles of psychology to the learning of languages: the association of ideas, visualization, and learning through the senses.

The main features of the Direct Method are as follows:

-- the primacy of speech; work on the spoken language which starts with the study of sounds through the aid of phonetic notation;

-- reading through roughly graded material written in a contemporary style; the presentation of all reading matter orally;

-- the use of written work in the form of reproduction exercises;

-- the exclusion of the mother tongue as a vehicle of instruction; the abolition of translation exercises, and talk about the foreign language;

-- stressing the importance of imitation, intuition, rote memory, associations and analogy in the learning process;

-- teaching grammar points inductively by means of examples and analogy, adopting techniques based on what happens when we learn the mother tongue, teaching grammar through the study of texts in the foreign language, through visual demonstration and by situation;

-- the use of many new items in the same lesson to encourage normal conversation;

-- presenting new items of vocabulary in the context of the reading passage;

-- the teaching of meaning by inference; the teaching of concrete things through objects, pictures and gestures, and abstract ones through definitions (i. e. through the association of ideas);

- oral teaching of grammar and vocabulary;
- extensive listening and imitation until forms become automatic;
- the use of dialogues and dramatization.

By emphasizing the importance of spoken language and discarding the use of translation, the Direct Method was paving the way for the Audiolingual Method, which held sway in the 1950s and 1960s. The primacy of speech over writing was also promoted by the work of cultural anthropologists such as Sapir (1921), structural linguists such as Bloomfield (1933) as well as behaviourist psychologists such as Skinner (1957). The anthropologists' exploration of Indian languages involved spoken raw material and required a descriptive method of handling an unfamiliar language. This is the origin of American structuralism, which considers language as a self-contained system of interrelated parts. Units of meaning are discovered on the basis of formal patterning rather than the explicit use of notional or semantic criteria. The theory of learning underlying the Audiolingual Method is behaviourist; this views language acquisition as a process of habit formation and conditioned responses to external stimuli.

The Audiolingual Method places emphasis on the careful selection and strict grading of structures, oral practice and repetition. The order of presentation of the language skills are listening, speaking, reading and writing. Grammatical structures are embedded in short dialogues which are to be learned by heart; vocabulary is kept to a minimum. The presentation of the dialogue is followed by choral, then individual drilling. Meaning is viewed as secondary in importance compared to formal competence. Pattern drills and substitution tables are often mechanical, although they may also be followed by an analysis of grammatical points built on the learner's knowledge of principal rules of grammar. This gives the learner the intellectual knowhow to comprehend the given patterns and discourages meaningless memorization. Special emphasis being laid on the production of correct sentences, error is to be avoided at all costs as encouraging the formation of bad habits. It is also assumed that the majority of errors are due to the fact that languages are structurally different and the habits of the mother tongue acquisition interfere with

the learning of new linguistic habits. Contrastive linguistic analysis is therefore of great importance in the selection and grading of structures for teaching purposes. Linguistic competence being the focus of interest, little systematic attention is paid to the way structures can be applied to communicative situations in the expectation that communication will naturally follow. With this approach the learner is able to produce correct sentences, but in real situations the true test of communication too often eludes him.

In spite of Noam Chomsky's scepticism concerning the direct relevance of linguistic and psychological theories to language teaching ("I am, frankly, rather skeptical about the significance, for the teaching of languages, of such insights and understanding as has been attained in linguistics and psychology" 1966: 43), his work gave added impetus to the 'cognitive' reaction to 'behaviourist' theories of learning, which is due to the emphasis placed on the creative aspect of language use and the intrinsic organizing capacity of the mind. The fact that, according to Chomsky we produce and comprehend new sentences on the basis of a limited number of grammatical rules has given conscious learning a new respectability, and has helped shift the emphasis from teacher-centred to learner-centred strategies where problem-solving activities are of prime importance. With communicative approaches the stress has shifted from accuracy to fluency. Cognitive code learning claims that language learning is the acquisition of rules, that individuals learn in different ways and that errors are an inevitable and useful aspect of learning, informing the teacher about the learning strategies adopted by the learner at various stages, and giving a sign of the learner's attempt to communicate independently.

In sum, in more recent strategies to be discussed below, the learner has become the centre of interest, linguistic competence and accuracy have given way to communicative competence and fluency, and errors, presupposed by natural communication, creativity and fluency, receive appropriate treatment. "The latest prodigy of the language teaching world", one of the most powerful influences on foreign language teaching methodology has been the Communicative Approach, "a cover term for all those approaches which have as their primary emphasis the development of

the student's communicative competence. Thus situational and notional-functional approaches would be included; structural syllabuses and grammar-translation methods automatically excluded" (Murray 1984: 135). Although theorists had begun to offer the language teaching profession the notion 'communicative competence' based on linguistic and sociolinguistic insights, methodologists were tardy in formulating the new strategy. The eventual shift in focus from the teaching of linguistic competence to communicative competence was facilitated by Wilkins' (1976) notional-functional syllabus and Munby's work (1978) dealing with the learner-centred aspect of the Communicative Approach (Murry 1984).

In one of the major publications of the Council of Europe Modern Language Project (1980), we are provided with the outline of the necessary components of a communicative syllabus in which there is primary concern for:

1. the learning objectives defined in terms of behaviour (The aim of learning is always to enable the learner to do something which he could not do at the beginning of the learning process.);
2. the situations specified in terms of roles, settings, and topics (the situations in which the learner will need the foreign language);
3. the socially and psychologically defined roles a language-user will have to play;
4. the settings in which the learner will have to play the roles;
5. the topics the learner will have to deal with;
6. the language activities in which the learner will participate;
7. the language functions the learner will have to fulfil;
8. the general and specific (topic-related) notions which the learner will have to be able to handle (The learner will need the ability to refer to entities - things, people, ideas, states, actions, events, etc. - , to properties and qualities of entities, and to relations between entities. The notions are largely determined by the topics, though notions of properties and qualities, and those of relations, are used more generally.);
9. the language forms (words, phrases, and structures) the learner will have to be able to use in order to do all that has been

specified;

10. the degrees of skill with which the learner will have to be able to perform) in other words, how well he will have to be able to do all that has been specified).

As Murray (1984: 136-137) points out the results of the Communicative Approach have not been as promising as expected, the Communicative Approach is not without its problems. It is only different from former foreign language teaching strategies in that it replaces an inventory of structures by a descriptive taxonomy of idealized language functions. It is based on the faulty assumption "that whatever is presented to the learner must be broken into a linguist's descriptive categories and subsequently will be learnt in the order in which it is presented". This mechanistic view of the language learning process and the static view of communicative competence disregards "the naturalness, the spontaneity, the dynamism and the creativity we know to be involved in everyday language behaviour" as well as "the generative capacity that is the defining characteristic of language (Chomsky 1965)".

The effects on second language acquisition research of the Chomskyan revolution in linguistics have also created a vacuum as regards theory. The inadequate behaviourist model of acquisition has been put aside, but no new model of language acquisition has been presented, which may be attributable to the growing rift between transformational-generative grammar in particular and theoretical linguistics in general. This, if true, is regrettable, "since a theory of language acquisition without a linguistic theory is doomed to inconsequentiality". The most important discovery in recent years to fill in the vacuum is probably Stephen Krashen's coherent theory of second language acquisition. Krashen (1981, 1982a) submits five main hypotheses:

1. the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis,
2. the Input Hypothesis,
3. the Monitor Hypothesis,
4. the Affective Filter Hypothesis, and
5. the Natural Order Hypothesis (Gregg 1984: 79).

The acquisition-learning distinction is based on the assumption that

for rule internalization two distinct types of cognitive structures can be postulated: "1/ those mechanisms that guide 'automatic' language performance ... that is, performance ... where speed and spontaneity are crucial and the learner has no time to consciously apply linguistic mechanisms ... and (2) those mechanisms that guide puzzle- or problem-solving performance..." (Lawler-Selinker 1971: 35).

A similar distinction can be made between informal and formal learning. The former replicates the acquisition of the mother tongue by the child. This approach emphasizes the importance of fluency, understanding, conveying and acting on messages. The latter focuses on vocabulary items, grammatical structures and lays special emphasis on accuracy (White 1984).

Krashen's Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis states "that adults have two independent systems for developing ability in second languages, subconscious language acquisition and conscious language learning, and that these systems are interrelated in definite way: subconscious acquisition appears to be far more important... Language acquisition is very similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language -- natural communication -- in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding. Error correction and explicit teaching of rules are not relevant to language acquisition..." (Krashen 1981: 1). Also, conversation, 'practising speaking' does not directly aid foreign language acquisition. It may be beneficial, however, indirectly, because the student involved in a conversation is likely to get comprehensible input.

Krashen's hypothesis has given rise to much controversy. He points out that conscious learning need not precede subconscious acquisition, but he does not show that it cannot, that the acquisition of a foreign language cannot be facilitated by presentation of rules and explanations. Maintaining that learning does not become acquisition is undermining the principal foundation of the cognitive code theory, whose main plank is that explicit knowledge through plentiful practice will get internalized

into implicit knowledge.

Unfortunately, Krashen fails to define the terms 'conscious' and 'subconscious' (McLaughlin 1978). Does 'conscious' entail 'incapable of becoming unconscious'? Does 'subconscious' mean 'not accessible to the conscious' or 'not conscious at a given moment'? "If by definition the 'subconscious' is inaccessible, and conscious 'learning' is always accessible, then Krashen's claim that 'learning' does not become 'acquisition' is of course trivially true, but uninteresting. On the other hand, if (some) unconscious knowledge is capable of being brought to consciousness, and if conscious knowledge is capable of becoming unconscious... then there is no reason whatever to accept Krashen's claim, in absence of evidence" (Gregg 1984).

Let us now go on to Krashen's Input Hypothesis. He says that the Input Hypothesis may be the single most important concept in language acquisition. His claim is dramatic: it is that those who receive comprehensible input acquire language, whereas conscious learning does not help acquisition. Although it may help the learner to monitor his output, it is, essentially, a luxury (Hamer 1983). "The major function of the second language classroom is to provide intake for acquisition. This being a very difficult task, one could also say that the major challenge facing the field of applied linguistics is to create materials and contexts that provide intake" (Krashen 1981: 101). Some further requirements need to be added: (1) successful acquisition requires large quantities of comprehensible input (it seems to take about two hours per day for one year -- about 700 hours -- to reach medium levels of proficiency); (2) the input needs to be so interesting and relevant that the acquirer actually forgets he is listening or reading in a foreign language and is totally focussed on the meaning (He does not acquire by first learning the rules and then trying to use them: he acquires by focussing on meaning. He is aided in comprehension by his knowledge of the world, by the context, as well as his knowledge of the language.); (3) the input needs to get progressively more complex (The input needs to be a roughly-tuned, i. e. language adapted to a level at which the acquirer can understand what he hears or reads even though he may not know all the items of language included.)

In short, the input does not have to be grammatically sequenced; it just has to be understood. If it is comprehensible, and if there is enough of it, and if it is varied, it will contain everything the acquirer needs (Krashen 1982b).

The fundamental claim of the Monitor Hypothesis is that conscious learning is available to the language performer only as a Monitor ... and makes only a small contribution to communicative ability, there being several constraints on the use of the Monitor: (1) the performer must have sufficient time, (2) he or she needs to know the rule. Conscious learning is therefore very difficult to apply to performance successfully (Krashen 1981).

The Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis also helps to interpret the terms language aptitude and attitude. It has been stated that both aptitude and attitude (i. e. affective variables) are related to foreign language achievement, but are not related to each other. Language aptitude is directly related to conscious learning, while attitude is more closely linked to unconscious acquisition. According to Savignon (1976), "attitude is the single most important factor in second language learning".

Language aptitude can be defined in terms of (1) phonetic coding ability (i. e. the ability to store new sequences of sounds in memory), (2) grammatical sensitivity, and (3) inductive ability. (Through this third factor, foreign language aptitude is probably closely related to general intelligence.) (Carroll 1973)

Attitudinal factors can either encourage intake or enable the student to utilize input for acquisition. The Affective Filter Hypothesis, originally proposed by Dulay and Burt (1977) says that the student must not only understand the input, but he must also be 'open' to it. Many people are thought to have an 'affective filter', a mental block that prevents them from achieving competence in a foreign language. When the filter is 'up', comprehensible as the input may be, it does not reach those areas of the brain which are responsible for acquisition.

The following attitudinal factors are said to contribute to a low affective filter: (1) integrative motivation /the desire to be like valued members of the community; (2) instrumental motivation /the desire

to master a language for practical reasons); (3) personality factors - interrelated with motivational factors - such as self-confidence (lack of anxiety, self-esteem, outgoing pershoes), attitude toward the classroom and the teacher, and an analytic orientation, which is relatable to conscious learning.

The Natural Order Hypothesis claims that "Second language acquirers acquire (not learn) grammatical structures in a predictable order" (Krashen 1980: 169), which seems to be supported by a series of morpheme studies. Krashen, however, does not make himself very clear on what 'structure' is and makes no principled distinction between comparable and non-comparable 'structures'. He has no linguistic theory to relate to the data from the morpheme studies. In the absence of such a theory, there is no reason to assume that, say, third person -s and progressive -ing are comparable, let alone (r) and negation. Krashen seems to recognize that "a strictly linear view of the natural order hypothesis, that there is only one stream of progress that acquirers follow in strict sequence" is incorrect. Rather, "several streams of development are taking place at the same time" (1982a: 53-54). "One definite consequence of allowing more than one 'natural order', however, is to vitiate the Natural Order Hypothesis" (Gregg 1984: 85).

The fact that no one knows what the 'natural order' is and that Krashen himself seems to be in the dark about it has not kept him and Tracy D. Terrell (1983) from trying to adopt a strategy based on the Natural Order Hypothesis. Terrell's Natural Approach to foreign language teaching can be typified by:

- extensive listening activities,
- delayed speech,
- massive vocabulary acquisition in early stages, and
- minimal error correction.

Well-founded as many of the criticisms of Krashen's hypotheses may be, I must admit that there is much truth in what Earl Stevick, one of his reviewers said, "potentially the most fruitful concept for language teachers that has come out of the linguistic sciences during my professional lifetime...". Krashen's theory really provides new insight into all areas of second language research and practice, challenging us

to verify our approaches to foreign language teaching. The use of techniques such as James J. Asher's Total Physical Response (Asher 1966, 1969, 1977), which is fairly consistent with Krashen's Input Hypothesis, may provide useful amounts of intake in the classroom. In Asher's approach, the teaching material consists of series of actions in the imperative. The idea of such series was originated by Francois Gouin (1880) more than a century ago. Subsequently, in the 1920s, it was Harold E. Palmer (1925), who introduced action series into the foreign language classroom. Unfortunately, they eventually fell into disuse. It is to Asher that we owe thanks for the rediscovery of action series in the 1960s.

The key ideas in Total Physical Response are the following:

1. Listening comprehension should be developed in advance of speaking. (According to Krashen (1981: 107) Total Physical Response "does indeed work: foreign language students, after 32 hours of IPR, had significantly better listening comprehension scores than students in 'ordinary' classes after 160 hours, and scores on other tests were about the same.

2. Listening comprehension should be developed through movements of the student's body. Students are required to respond to teacher commands physically and to give commands to evoke physical response by other students (or even the teacher).

3. Students may remain silent in early stages, they should not be forced to speak. After internalizing some portion of the foreign language, they will spontaneously begin to talk, which usually happens after ten hours of comprehensible input.

A condensed description of the basic procedures of Total Physical Response follows (cf. Seely 1981):

1. Setting up the situation, with props, before the students' eyes.

While setting up the situation, students are asked to name objects.

2. Initial demonstration of series. The teacher dramatically reads the series aloud while someone responds physically and emotionally to his reading. Pantomime may also be used by the performer. The demonstration may be repeated once or twice.

3. Group live action. The teacher tells the whole class/group to do each of the actions in the series.
(The first three procedures may be repeated several times.)
4. Written copy. This is the first time the students can see the series in writing.
5. Oral repetition. Plenty of time may be devoted to pronunciation. At this point meaning can also be clarified.
6. Students giving commands - teacher and other students responding physically.
7. Students all working in pairs. The teacher goes round listening, encouraging, approving, and helping.

And now let us look at a sample of the series:

ICE CREAM AND T.V.

1. Go to the refrigerator.
2. Open the freezer.
3. Get the ice cream out.
4. Close the freezer and the refrigerator.
5. Put some ice cream in a bowl.
6. Leave the carton on the counter.
7. Go into the other room.
8. Turn on the T.V.
9. Sit down and watch your favourite programme.
10. Eat your ice cream.
11. When you're finished, go back for more.
12. Oh no! The ice cream's melted! You forgot to put it away! What a mess!

The Direct Method opposed to the Grammar-Translation Method, the Communicative Approach opposing the Audiolingual Method, Krashen's hypotheses denying the importance of conscious learning are all extremes, which take root in a negation of the other extreme, and result in a new state of imbalance between the different but coherent sides of human

beings. Only a new perception of the individual can be expected to create the equilibrium.

Many of the foreign language teaching strategies that have recently surfaced are based on a new image of the individual popularized in the 1960s in the field of education by humanistic psychology (Maslow 1966, 1968), opposing both behaviourism and Freudianism as well as cognitivism. Both behaviourism and Freudian psychology reflect a view of the individual as an essentially passive and reactive being, whose emotions, desires and individual experiences are irrelevant, who lives in an environment from which he is, in some way, estranged; cognitive theories of learning emphasize the mind's innate capacity to understand and organize experience meaningfully, sacrificing the affective realm of the individual; humanistic psychologists, however, call for education of the total individual. Humanistic psychology focuses on such distinctively human qualities as self-awareness, self-actualization, creativity, valuation, choice, responsibility; it views an individual as unique, self-motivating, voluntry, and active rather than reactive; as a creature and creator of a dynamic interaction with others and the world; as an indivisible entity, a whole person whose body, mind and emotions are in harmony (Yoshikawa 1982).

In Suggestopedia, the individual is seen as a whole person. In this approach, cognitive, conscious learning is as important as affective, unconscious acquisition. When the individual has brain balance, i. e. when the two halves of his brain, the logical left side and the intuitive, creative right side are brought into harmony, there is a considerable increase in the effectiveness of learning. "The basic premise embodied in this approach is that each individual is potentially a whole being, but ordinarily the individual views him/herself as less than that, mainly due to individual and cultural differences that reinforce different realms of the human brain. Each individual is capable of restoring individual wholeness through such techniques as breathing and listening to alpha brain wave-inducing music." (Yoshikawa 1982: 393-394)

Although there has been considerable controversy over Suggestopedia, numerous are also its advocates in many countries of the world.

Now let us look briefly at the introduction of one of the textbooks

(Gateva 1978) consistent with the latest requirements of the suggestopedic system. This is what Professor Lozanov (with whom I had the luck to discuss some of the issues of Suggestopedia in Sofia in 1983) finds important to say in the introduction to the textbook of the Italian language.

The material is drawn from life on a communicative level. Following the plot of the light didactic story, the students become familiar with various aspects of the characters' psychology, with the characteristic features of Italy and its ancient and modern culture; they penetrate into the beauty of the foreign language. In this way difficulties of mastering the language recede into the background and are overcome imperceptibly.

The textbook is consistent with the basis of suggestology, as well as with the principles and techniques of suggestopedia. Its correct use makes it possible for the teacher to help students to realize the reserve complex, i. e. to learn the material with considerable ease at a creative level and without unpleasant fatigue, with no harmful effects on the nervous-system, with favourable educational effects and with ever-growing motivation.

Besides giving the whole plot of the didactic play, the textbook has the following new points, advantages from the standpoint of Suggestopedia:

1. Most of the subject-matter (850 new words and considerable part of the essential grammar) is presented already in the first lesson. So use is made of the particular suggestive features at the first meeting, when learning is the easiest. At the same time, the students have a wide choice of words, phrases, models and grammatical forms in all the classes for the elaboration of the new material. They do not feel "conditioned" and restricted within the framework of a few words and models when expressing their thoughts in the foreign language. In the following lessons, the number of new words and grammar units decreases, so that learning them is easier.
2. The different parts of the sentences, as well as the word groups, have been put in separate lines so that can be changed. In this way, hundreds of (parts of) patterns of the spoken language that can be changed are learnt more easily. Without falling into structuralism, patterns are used

imperceptibly, naturally, and usefully.

3. The visual aids in the textbook are connected with the subject-matter and globalized. In this way, audio-visualization is carried out at a semantic and double-plane level, with great liberty for creative initiative, avoiding conditioning within the narrow framework of a small number of visualized elements.

4. The music and the words of the songs are consistent with suggestive requirements for the emotional 'introduction' of important semantic, phonetic and grammatical units.

5. Students are given translations of every lesson in the textbook in order to grasp the starting vocabulary better and in order to satisfy the needs of the students' cognitive process in the initial two phases of the suggestopedic process of learning: deciphering and active concert session. On the second day, the translations are taken away from the students. This is in line with the requirements for learning the foreign language and for rapid transition to thinking in the foreign language.

6. The textbook can serve as a model methodical handbook for compiling other similar ones for the suggestopedic system of teaching and learning foreign languages.

7. The text-book is for working with a teacher, who has been trained in the suggestopedic system. During the second half of the course, students are already trained to study independently as well. (Detailed instructions for the way teachers and students should work with the textbook are to be found in the methodical handbook for the whole suggestopedic teaching-education-remedial system, e. g. Lozanov-Gateva 1981).

The textbook, the didactic story, is divided into eight parts:

1. Making an Acquaintance aboard the Plane,
2. Waking up,
3. The Eternal City,
4. The Seasons,
5. The Months,
6. At the Concert,
7. Friendship,

8. Good Bye, Rome.

It contains some 2500 lexical items and the essential grammar of the Italian language. The whole material is supposed to be acquired in 4 study periods per day for a month (24 days), by the help of a good teacher, who has high qualification in the subject, who is honest towards the method, who is a clever, flexible, and artistic personality.

I conclude my contribution by saying that my purpose has only been to provide a brief review of some fresh perspectives on the language teaching profession for those not familiar with most current approaches to foreign language teaching and learning. Although I subscribe to no specific one of the recently formulated assumptions, my sympathies are with an image of the individual as synthetic and holistic in nature; and I wish to suggest that some of our research efforts ought to be in this direction. Acknowledging that there are caveats to be borne in mind when adopting a strategy based on a view of the new beliefs, I am fully convinced that many things that go on in the classroom are badly in need of improvement.

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HUBY, JÓZSEF

SAJTÓOLVASÁS A NYELV- ÉS STÍLUSGYAKORLATOK ÓRÁN

1. Hazai módszertani szakirodalmunkban az ún. "advanced reading" kategóriájával (olvasás haladó szinten) foglalkozó cikkek száma nem túl magas. Kasnya Sándorné (1983), dr. Major Ferencné (1978), dr. Major Ferencné (1980).

Sokkal jellemzőbb, hogy az alapfokon vagy kezdőfokon álló nyelvtanulók olvasástanításáról, illetve a középiskolai nyelvtanításban történő olvasás tanításával kapcsolatos cikkek látnak napvilágot. Mi most (részben a hiányt is pótolandó) a felsőoktatásban végzett olvasástanítással kapcsolatos tapasztalatokról szeretnénk beszámolni.

Tanszékünk, amely tanár-képző intézmény keretein belül működik, kiemelt feladatként kezeli a jövőendő általános iskolai tanárok célnyelvi képzését. Ezt az is bizonyítja, hogy a tanterv a képzés mind a négy évre előírányozza a nyelv- és stílusgyakorlatok oktatását. Ezen tantárgy keretein belül szisztematikusan fejlesztjük mind az írás, olvasás, beszédértés, illetve kommunikációs készséget.

E cikk az olvasási készség fejlesztésének kérdéseivel foglalkozik, természetesen figyelembe véve, hogy egyetlen ún. nyelvi tevékenységi forma (skill) sem tanítható, illetve fejleszthető csupán önmagában, elszigetelten.

Szűkebb értelemben foglalkozunk azzal, hogy használhatók fel angol, illetve amerikai újságokból kiollózott cikkek egyrészt az olvasási készség, másrészt egyéb képességek fejlesztésére.

Napjainkban amikor (végre valahára) a kommunikáció központú nyelvoktatás korát éljük, mintha kicsit hajlamosak lennénk elfeledkezni arról, hogy aki beszélni akar egy idegen nyelven, annak előbb olvasni is kell, s egyáltalán nem keveset! Ha összeszámolnánk, ahhoz, hogy elfogadható fo-

lyékonysággal és tolerálható hibaszázalékkal beszéljünk egy idegen nyelvet, hány oldalt kell(ene) olvasnunk, valószínűleg egy kicsit magunk is megijednénk, illetve ha mi magunk nem is, de a kezdő nyelvtanulók közül bizony sokan, talán egyszer s mindenkorra letennék a tankönyvet, s valami más elfoglaltság után néznének. Hiszen különböző tanulmányokból tudjuk, hogy milyen sokszor kell egy szóval találkozunk ahhoz, hogy aktív szókincsünk szerves részévé váljék. Egy több száz éves mondást a kontextushoz alakítva, akár úgy is feltehetnénk a kérdést: Mi kell (minimum!) a jó nyelvtudáshoz? Természetesen olvasás, olvasás, olvasás. A kötelező irodalmak angolul való olvastatása is ezt van hivatva szolgálni. Maga az angol újságnyelv meglehetősen különleges nyelvi réteget jelent. Könnyen elképzelhető, hogy az a hallgató, vagy (más, a nyelvet tanuló személy) aki egyébként viszonylag jól boldogul bizonyos irodalmi (netán szakmai) szövegekkel, egy angol újságba pillantva rögtön úgy érzi, hogy ő bizony alig tud valamit is angolul. Az angol (amerikai) újságnyelvnek is megvan a maga sajátos szókészlete, szerkezete, szerkesztési módja. Arról nem is beszélve, hogy erősen konnotatív, hiszen egy-két szó, esetleg félmondat olyan dolgokra utalhat, amelyeket egy olyan személy, aki a célországban nem töltött huzamosabb időt, nem tudhat, de amelyek az angol újságolvasó állampolgár mindennapi tudatának szerves részei.

Az újságolvasásra is igaz, ami egyéb szövegek (különösen szakszövegek) olvasására, illetve fordítására, nevezetesen, hogy megfelelő mélységű és frissességű háttérinformáció nélkül nem olvasható, illetve nem fordítható. Mindjárt az első nehézséget maga a cikk címe jelenti. Egy-egy jó cím 2--3 szóban az egész cikk tartalmi sűrítménye lehet. Így eshet meg azután, hogy míg a "native speaker" (anyanyelvi beszélő) átlapozza az újságot (scanning) és böngészi a címeket, hogy az érdeklődésének megfelelő cikket megtalálja, addig az újságnyelvben járatlan tanuló sok esetben magát a cikket kénytelen elolvasni ahhoz, hogy "desifrirozza" a címet! A címekre jellemző tömörség -- mégha kisebb mértékben is -- végig kíséri magukat a cikkeket is. Egy 5--6 soros mondat akár 15--17 tényt is tartalmazhat. Nem csoda tehát, ha legalábbis kezdetben rejtvényfejtéssel ér fel egy-egy újságcikk elolvasása, értelmezése.

A rejtvényekre fogékony olvasó élményei tovább gyarapodnak, ha az újsághirdetésekhöz lapoz. Talányos rövidítések fogadják, amelyek lehet,

hogy éppen olyan dolgot jelölnek, aminek a létezéséről még csak nem is tud az illető. Nincs tehát hiány érdekes részletekben. Gondoljunk csak arra, hogy egy magyar újság hirdetési rovata is mennyi csomagot tartogat az értékek szemek.

Minthogy a beszédgyakorlat tantárgy oktatása meghatározott tematika alapján történik, a cikkeket is természetesen ilyen elvek alapján válogattuk össze. Tehát amikor pl. a film, a színház volt soron a tematikában, ilyen témájú cikkek kerültek feldolgozásra. Adott esetben ezek filmismertetések, filmkritikák voltak. Általános követelményként tartottuk szem előtt, hogy a kiválasztott anyag (bármilyen témájú is legyen az) érdekes, intellektuálisan stimuláló legyen. Igyekeztünk úgy válogatni a cikkek közül, hogy azok nehézsége (most elsősorban tartalmi nehézségre gondolunk) fejlessze hallgatóink értelmi, értelmező képességét is, s így egyfajta szellemi kihívást jelentsen számukra. Ugyancsak fontosnak tartottuk, hogy a cikkek semmiképpen se legyenek szerkesztve, egyszerűsítve, "manipulálva", hanem úgy kerüljenek a hallgatók elé, ahogyan azokat az újságíró megírta. Nehézség szerint sem végeztünk semmiféle csoportosítást, szelekciót. Lévéen szó jövőendő nyelvzakos tanárokról, elengedhetetlen, hogy a hallgatók minél nagyobb számban találkozzanak (lehetőleg minél komplexebb) autentikus idegen nyelvi szövegekkel. A szövegek a következő újságokból kerültek ki: The Times, The Guardian Weekly, The Morning Star és a Christian Science Monitor. Lévéen közöttük egy amerikai újság is, lehetőség nyílt arra, hogy a brit és amerikai angol néhány sajátosságát is szemügyre vegyük. Az utolsó általános kritérium az volt, hogy a választott szövegek minél frisebbek legyenek, segítsenek a hallgatóknak aktuális országismereti kérdések minél jobb megértésében.

2. A következőkben nézzük meg részletesen, helyenként példákkal is illusztrálva, hogyan, milyen gyakorlatok segítségével dolgoztuk fel az egyes újságcikkeket.

2.1. Először magukkal az újságcikk címekkel foglalkoztunk. Már említettük, hogy az újságcikk címek minnyi probléma forrásai lehetnek. Az angol újságnyelv egyik legszembeötlőbb jellegzetessége, hogy a névelők gyakorlatilag teljesen hiányoznak a címekből. Igen elterjedt a rövidítések

használata is. Pl.: Queen Opens New Hospital. Vagy: NZ Premier Slams IMF PLAN. Ha teljes mondatokat formálnánk ezekből a következőket kapnánk: The Queen opens a new hospital, valamint The New Zealand Premier slams the International Monetary Fund plan.

Hadd említsünk még meg 3 jellegzetességet 1-2 példával illusztrálva. Egyik ilyen jellegzetesség a past participium alak használata a létige megfelelő alakjának mellőzésével. Medical Ties With South-Africa Cut. Ezen cím teljessé téve: Medical ties with South Africa have been cut. Egy másik példánk: 4 Killed in M-Way Crash / Four people have been killed in a motorway crash.

Az infinitivus használata jövőidejűséget fejez ki: US To Cut Supplies To Freedom Fighters (The US is to cut supplies to freedom fighters). Avagy: TUC To End Ban On Talks With Employment Minister (The Trade Union Congress is to end the ban on talks with the employment minister).

Elsődleges fontosságú, hogy a cikkek címei megragadják az olvasót, fölkeltsék érdeklődésüket. Ezért aztán a cikk írója a többértelműségtől a szójátékig mindenféle nyelvi leleményt felhasznál. Lássunk erre is két példát. Police Found Safe Under Blanket, Passengers Hit By Cancelled Trains.

Azzal kezdtük, hogy mielőtt még cikkeket egyáltalán kezükbe kaptak volna a hallgatók, címeket néztünk meg. Nagyon sok humoros ötlet született megfigyeltként. Ha a hallgatóknak semmilyen ötletük nem volt, természetesen adtam segítséget, de mindig csupán nagyon kevés újat, azaz kiegészítő információt adagolva. A legfőbb követelmény itt is az maradt, hogy lehetőleg minél többet a hallgató fedezzen fel. Amikor úgy éreztük, hogy sikerült némi praxisra szert tenni a címek megfejtése terén, a tanulók önállóan is próbálkoztak címek írásával, majd hozzákezdünk magukhoz a cikkekhez.

2.2. A cikkeket szintén frontális osztálymunka keretében, ún. teljes szóismereten alapuló gyakorlatok segítségével elemeztük. Az órán a hallgatók megkapták egy cikk fénymásolt példányait (mindenki ugyanazét a cikket), amit aztán közösen olvastunk el. Ezeket a cikkeket a hallgatók gyakran olvasták hangosan is, gyakorolva így a fennhangon olvasáskor használatos intonációs formákat. Ha ismeretlen nyelvi elemhez értkeztünk, megkértem a

hallgatókat, hogy tegyenek meg mindent annak érdekében, hogy a szót szótár nélkül "fejtsék meg". Itt a hallgató támaszkodhatott egyrészt nyelvi ismereteire (szintaktikai, morfológiai ismereteire), másrészt a témával kapcsolatos esetleges információra. Amennyiben semmi sem segített, a tanár következett. Angolul magyarázta el a szó jelentését, illetve szinonimákat sorolt fel. Arra biztattuk a tanulókat, hogy ne ragadjanak le egy szónál, menjenek tovább, majd visszatérve újra próbálják megtalálni a szó jelentését.

Ez a módszer az esetek egy részében sikerre vezetett, legalábbis a hallgatók egy részénél. Ha az előző közelítések nem segítettek a tanár a magyar jelentést is mellékelte. Miután hasonló stílusban végigolvastuk az illető cikket, következtek a gyakorlatok. Először a hagyományos comprehension (azaz tartalmi) kérdéseket tettük fel, ellenőrizve, így az illető cikk megértettségét. Majd a hallgatók az új szavakat, kifejezéseket próbálták alkalmazni új szituációkban. Ha azt mondtam a hallgatóknak, hogy csupán szóban gondoljanak ki mondatokat, helyzeteket, amelyekben a számukra új szavak előfordulnak, sokan, enyhén szólva nem voltak elég aktívak. Ezért a későbbiekben gyakrabban folyamodtam ahhoz a megoldáshoz, hogy megkértem őket, írjanak mondatokat, illetve szituációkat. Házi feladatként azt kapták a hallgatók, hogy a megismert szavak, kifejezések egészen más jelentését is derítsék föl (szótár segítségével), és úgyszintén otthon írjanak velük mondatokat. Hamar nyilvánvalóvá vált, hogy ez a feldolgozási forma sem nem túl szórakoztató a hallgatóknak, sem nem túl hasznos. Meg kellett törni a hagyományos "kommunikáció a tanári asztal két oldala között" szituációt.

2.3. Feldolgozás párokban

Ebben a feldolgozási formában két-két hallgató kapott meg egy újságcikket. Ekkor még minden páros ugyanazt a cikket kapta. A feldolgozás félig csoportmunka, félig frontális osztálymunka keretében történt. A párok elkezdték olvasni a szöveget, ha problémájuk akadt, azt előbb egymás között kísérelték meg megoldani, majd ha nem sikerült megoldást találni, a tanár segítségével léptek túl a problémán. Az egymás közötti megbeszélést természetesen angolul végezték. Itt kezdődött el az, ami később majd a tényleges csoportmunkában teljesedett ki (3--4 fős csoportok), hogy az

újságcikk mintegy önmaga nyelvi szempontból vett értékén túlmutatva "conversational stimulus"-ként (beszélgetésre serkentő tényezőként) működött.

(A mikroszámítógépet nyelvtanításra felhasználó kollégák is használják gépeiket úgy, mint mi az újságcikket, tehát társalgás "generálásra". Ők az eredményt spin - off - nak nevezik).

Természetesen volt némi kísértés a hallgatók részéről arra, hogy a szöveg megbeszélését magyarul végezzék, de ez a második, illetve harmadik alkalomra jelentősen csökkent. A szöveg elolvasása után a hallgatók tartalmi kérdéseket kaptak - most azonban már a párok adhatták föl kérdéseiket egymásnak. Miután a tartalmi oldalt megbeszéltük, rátértünk a nyelvi rész további elemzésére. Itt már több tanári segítségre volt szükség, hiszen új helyzetekben kellett alkalmazni a frissen megismert szavakat. Különböző párok különböző szempontok szerint nézték meg a szöveget.

2.4. Kiscsoportos feldolgozás

A kiscsoportos keretben kétféleképpen dolgoztuk fel a cikkeket. Először mindegyik csoport (3--4 fősek voltak a csoportok) ugyanazt a cikket kapta, s mellé egy egynyelvű szótárt. A későbbiekben más-más cikkeket kellett olvasniuk az egyes csoportoknak, és azokat bemutatni a többieknek.

2.4.1. Első variációként a csoportok tehát megkapták ugyanazon cikk fénymásolt példányát és vele egy egynyelvű szótárt. A hallgatók kb. 80 %-a még nem dolgozott ún. értelmező szótárral, így mielőtt elkezdtük volna magát az olvasást, néhány gyakorlat segítségével megpróbáltuk bevezetni a hallgatókat a szótár használatába. Az angolul való szómagyarázatot már alkalmaztuk, így túl nagy nehézséget nem jelentett, hogy a szótár is ezt teszi. Mindazonáltal először megnéztük néhány alapvető szó meghatározását, ügyelve arra, hogy a különböző szófajok mind képviselve legyenek. Természetesen nem törekedtünk arra, hogy ezen gyakorlatok közben a hallgatók "profi" szinten megtanulják kezelni a szótárt. Ezt (is) volt hivatva szolgálni a kezdetben csoportos szótározás. A csoportok különböző szempontok szerint nézték meg a cikkeket, majd miután mindegyik csoport ismerte a maga "részeredményeit", összeállt az egész cikk. A teljes cikk ismeretében aztán elkezdhattunk beszélni az érintett kérdésről. A hallga-

tők igen szívesen nyilvánítottak véleményt. Úgyeltünk persze, hogy miközben olvassák, illetve "fejtik" a szöveget, az angol nyelven beszéljenek egymással.

2.4.2. A második variáció az, amikor a csoportok különböző cikkeket kapnak kézhez. Amikor a csoportok az olvasással, illetve szövegfejtéssel készen voltak, előbb az egyes cikkek nyelvi részét tárták társaik elé. Egy-egy komplikáltabb szó, kifejezés felkerült a táblára is. Az esetek többségében az angol nyelvi magyarázat és/vagy a szó szűkebb, illetve tágabb szöveggörnyezete elegendőnek bizonyult a megértéshez. Ezután a munkacsoport egy másik tagja a szöveg tartalmi ismertetését végezte el. A bemutatót végző kis csoport tagjainak módjuk volt ellenőrző kérdéseket feltenni társaiknak, illetve a többi munkacsoport tagjai is tehettek föl kérdéseket a szövegre vonatkozóan. Minthogy a cikkeket tematikus szempontok figyelembevételével kapták a hallgatók, mód nyílt arra is, hogy egy-egy kérdést többféle újságból vett cikkek segítségével körüljárjunk, nézeteket ütköztessünk. Szerencsésebb esetben a hallgatóknak közvetlen élményei is voltak a cikkekben tárgyalt anyaggal kapcsolatban. Ez pl. akkor fordult elő, amikor filmkritikákat olvastunk, és a diákok látták a filmet.

Még érdekesebbé tette a feldolgozást, amikor a munkacsoport, mielőtt ismertette volna a cikk tartalmát, annak csupán címét árulta el. Ilyenkor mintegy barkóba játékra került sor, a diákok kérdéseikkel közelítették a cikk tartalmához. Ez annál is érdekesebb volt, mivel egyben a bemutatást végző munkacsoportot is próbára tette abból a szempontból, hogy ők maguk mennyire alaposan értették meg a cikket.

3. Amikor valamit tanítunk, tesztelnünk is kell utána. Így történt ez ebben az esetben is. A feleletekhez a tanulók kaptak egy újságcikket és egy egynyelvű szótárt. Míg mi a csoport többi tagjával frontális munka keretében foglalkoztunk, addig a kijelölt hallgatók felkészültek a cikk nyelvi és tartalmi ismertetésére. Az osztályozási szempontok, természetesen nem voltak forradalmian újak. Elsősorban arra kapták a tanulók a jegyet, hogy milyen nyelvhelyességgel ismertették a cikket.

Az egynyelvű szótár kiegészítő eszközként szerepelt, illetve azért,

hogy azok a hallgatók, akik még nem ismerték, vagy ismerték, de idegenkedtek használatától, megbarátkozzanak vele. Igyekeztünk a hallgatókat rávezetni, hogy az egynyelvű szótár segítségével biztosabb, sokrétűbb nyelvtudás birtokába juthatnak. Sajnos a hallgatók többsége csupán a többlet erőfeszítést érzékelte mindebből, s nem azt a pluszt, amit az ilyen szótárak rendszeres használata jelent.

Fő célunk az volt, hogy különböző olvasási stratégiákat alakítsunk ki hallgatóinknál, erősítsük azt a képességüket, hogy a szöveggörnyezet, valamint háttérismeretek segítségével minél többet értsenek meg egy olvasott szövegből. Úgy tűnik, hogy azok a szavak, amelyeknek jelentését sikerül a tanulóknak a szöveggörnyezetből mintegy kihámozni, jobban rögzülnek mint azok, amelyeknek jelentését a tanuló a szótárból azonnal kinézi. Ugyancsak a szó rögzülését segítette az, hogy a szavak lehetséges más jelentéseit is föltártuk, és igyekeztük begyakorolni. Az órák annál érdekesebbek és sikerebbek voltak, minél inkább a tanulók játszották a fő szerepet. Ilyenkor a tanár csupán karmesteri szerepet töltött be, ha egy-egy párbeszéd, vita, ismertetés befejeződött, akkor a tanár újra mozgásba hozta az óra gépezetét.

Annak érdekében, hogy könnyebb legyen a szöveg tartalmát felhasználni ismeretlen szavak jelentésének kikövetkeztetésére, egyes olyan cikkek előtt amelyeknek témája véleményünk szerint az átlagosnál távolabb állt a hallgatóktól, bővebb háttérinformációt adtunk. Ezek a bővebb háttérrel igénylő cikkek főleg olyan témakörökből kerültek ki, mint a politikai élet vagy a tudomány.

4. Amellett, hogy különböző szöveggörnyezeti stratégiákat tanítottunk hallgatóinknak igyekeztünk minél inkább a szókincs fejlesztés eszközévé is tenni a sajtóolvasást.

Összefoglalva négy lépést említhetünk, amelyekben keresztül egy új szó interiorizálása történik:

- a) a jelentés kikövetkeztetése szöveggörnyezet alapján;
- b) egynyelvű szótárban nézzük meg a szót (további jelentések)
- c) rögzítjük a szóelőfordulást az eredeti mondatban (esetleg úgy, hogy megtanuljuk magát a mondatot);
- d) új mondatokba, szituációkba helyezzük a szót.

Az utolsó lépés a legfontosabb, hiszen itt történik meg az (már amennyiben az új mondatban helyesen van használva a szó), amit az új szó végleges birtokbavételének nevezhetünk, azaz itt válik a szó a tanuló állandó szókincsének aktív tagjává.

Mint említettük, csoportmunka során a tanár csupán karmester szerepet tölt be. Jó, hogy ezt sikerült elérni, mert egyébként a diák le sem veszi a szemét a tanárról óra közben, még akkor sem, ha egyébként társainak magyaráz. Az a tény, hogy a tanárt sikerül kivonni a figyelem középpontjából, sokkal valóságosabb és természetesebb tette az óra alatti kommunikációt.

A kis csoportokban történő feldolgozás során a hallgatók -- a már említetteken kívül -- egyéb feladatokat is kaptak.

Például: keressenek olyan szavakat, amelyekkel a cikk írója az olvasó érdeklődését igyekszik felkelteni, illetve ébrentartani. Vagy: keressenek olyan szavakat és kifejezéseket, amelyekkel az újságíró argumentál.

További előnye a csoportos feldolgozásnak, hogy az egyébként gátlásos, ritkán és nehezen megnyilatkozó tanuló is könnyebben aktivizálható. Az, aki nem szólal meg az egész csoport előtt, megszólal a kiscsoportban, és ez a közbülső lépés hozzásegíti ahhoz, hogy az egész csoport előtt is merjen beszélni.

Úgy véljük, hogy a fentebb leírtakkal mindenképpen továbbgondolkodásra érdemes, előremutató tapasztalatokról számoltunk be.

Hadd zárjuk nos sorainakat Krashen egyik axiómájával:

"READING IS THE ONLY WAY"

(Ami magyarul annyit tesz: Nincs más út, mint az olvasás.)

KOVÁCS, ÉVA

THE HISTORY OF TEACHING VOCABULARY

The proliferation of approaches and methods is a prominent characteristic of the history of foreign language teaching. The establishment of new classroom practices and approaches to designing language programs and materials reflects a commitment to finding more efficient and more effective ways of teaching languages. The main aim of this paper is to provide an account of some trends in language teaching beginning with the direct method through the eclectic, the linguistic approach, the contextual, the audio-visual and the bilingual method to the conscious-practical method concentrating on teaching lexis.

Teaching vocabulary has always been a neglected field of foreign language teaching though recently more and more attention is being paid to the problems of vocabulary in foreign language teaching and a steadily growing amount of work is beginning to challenge assumptions that have relegated vocabulary teaching to a secondary position in the priorities of language teaching. Despite this, even in the popular best-selling communicative coursebooks such as the STRATEGIES series (Brian Abbs and Ingrid Freebairn, 1975-82), there is still a prevailing assumption that the lexical burden must be kept to the minimum and new lexis is still largely subordinated to structural and functional patterning in practice and production. The new lexical items are not reinforced and practised in vocabulary exercises and this overall lack of lexical emphasis continues throughout the books with the view that vocabulary will accumulate incidentally.

The main concern of this paper is to present an argument for the importance of vocabulary teaching and highlight what kind of a role vocabulary teaching has played in the history of foreign language teaching with the hope that it will help both teachers and teacher

trainees to arrive at their own judgements and decisions and integrate them in their everyday practice.

I. THE DIRECT METHOD

The direct method was introduced into modern language teaching at the end of the 19th century. It turned against the grammar translation method of teaching the Greek and Latin languages.

One of the most important principles of the direct method is the primacy of the foreign language and the exclusion of the mother tongue with the one precondition that monolingual semantizing should be used only when it is not a waste of time and is clear and unambiguous. This method teaches grammar inductively and it was this method which introduced the teaching of phonetics into foreign language teaching. An extremely important requirement is the emphasis on oral production and the texts for oral practice should meet the pupils' needs and interests and they should be taken from everyday life. As far as translation is concerned the representatives of the direct method are divided in their views but most of them object to translation as thinking in the mother tongue is an obstacle to oral production.

As we will see later on the representatives of the other different methods adopted and refined quite a lot of the methodological principles of the direct method which can still be regarded valid.

The founder of the direct method was Wilhelm Viëtor. His main work is *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren* which was published in 1882.

A language lesson is built up by Viëtor like this:

1. The pupil hears first only the phonetic form of the language while his book is closed.
2. After having read the text several times the teacher semanticizes the unknown words. Viëtor recommends the combination of the following ways of conveying the meaning:
 - the use of - pictures
 - objects
 - actions

These ways of semanticizing are still used in foreign language teaching.

3. Now the pupil can see the written form, too. They read the text and translate it into the mother tongue.
4. The next step is a free conversation between the teacher and the pupils on the text while the books are open.
5. After this conversation the majority of the pupils are able to tell the story while the books are closed.
6. At the end of the lesson the teacher writes the written form of the new lexical items on the blackboard and the pupils copy them into their exercise-books.

It seems, however, doubtful whether all this can be done in a single lesson and whether all the pupils will be able to tell the story at the end of the lesson. Victor's greatest merit is that by emphasizing the priority of listening comprehension and speaking over reading and writing he preceded the oral approach.

The English representative of the direct method was Henry Sweet. It was Sweet who laid the linguistic foundation of the first scientific method in his *The Practical Study of Languages* which came out in 1899.

The main categories of his method are:

1. selection
2. limitation
3. arrangement
4. the grading of the material

Sweet's systematic method served as a basis for Otto Jespersen's and Harold Palmer's methodology.

Sweet sees the main difficulty of language learning not in the mastering of the phonetic and syntactic categories but in that of the vocabulary. He distinguishes between certain outer and inner difficulties. The interlinguistic difficulties can be attributed to the interferences between the mother tongue (L_1) and the target language (L_2) which are a hindrance to any thorough knowledge, because of the constant cross-associations that are sure to present themselves. (Sweet 1899: 54).

The intralinguistic difficulties arise from the interferences in the target language itself, such as logic, definiteness, simplicity, phonetic difficulties and general difficulties. Sweet realized that the difficulties are the result of false analogy in the case of learning any foreign languages and the grade of difficulties is about the same in any language.

What kind of a stand does Sweet take in mastering vocabulary? It was Sweet who introduced and worked out the principle of grading in the arrangement of the lexical material too. In teaching lexis Sweet puts a special emphasis on global reading and clear, direct and concrete associations. He completely rejects mono-lingual semanticizing as cross-associations are unavoidable by this way of conveying meaning and it can be only time consuming and confusing. He thinks that it is a fallacy that if we were only to get rid of translation in teaching a foreign language, substituting pictures or gestures, we should get rid of the cross-associations of our own language. But these cross-associations are independent of translation. They arise simply from the fact that each idea that comes into our minds instantly suggests the native expression of it, whether the words are uttered or not: and however strongly we may stamp the foreign expression on our memories, the native one will always be stronger. (Sweet 1899: 197). Sweet's main argument against explaining in the foreign language is that as long as we are learning the foreign language it is our first business to have it explained to us as clearly and unambiguously as possible. Therefore all explanations ought to be in the language we know - that is our own - not in the one we do not know. (Sweet 1899: 199). Thus Sweet gives priority to translation in conveying the meaning of lexical units. It is this very principle C. J. Dodson took over from Sweet when he worked out his bilingual method later. Sweet rejects the picture method as well which is undoubtedly very effective and useful at a beginner level. He is against pictures as a means of semanticizing as they do not lead to generalization. This point-of-view appears later in Baljaev's conscious-practical method.

Although semanticizing by pictures can be useful and successful when teaching beginners, but its effectiveness may be doubtful when our aim is to teach not only the denotative meaning but also the connotative

meanings of a lexical item, which is essential for the learner to be able to think in the foreign language.

The third most important linguist of the direct method is Otto Jaspersen whose main methodological contribution is *How to teach a Foreign Language* published in English in 1904. Jaspersen shares Sweet's opinion in a lot of methodological questions, e. g. as far as the selection and grading of the material are concerned. Besides emphasizing the communicative practical aims of language teaching Jaspersen totally rejects teaching translation as a skill. On the other hand he accepts translation if it is used to semantize a concept, an abstract thing. It must be admitted that there are many words where an English translation gives the information required more quickly and more clearly than it could be given in a long explanation in the foreign language. (Jaspersen 1909: 70/71). Jaspersen warns the teachers, however, not to use this undoubtedly comfortable way of conveying meaning too often. Jaspersen suggests the same ways of semanticizing as Vietor does, i. e. the use of pictures, objects and actions and he introduced other ways, too like

- analogy
- context
- definition

At a beginner's level, however, these latter ways of semanticizing can only be used to a limited extent because of the lack of sufficient vocabulary and the result is rather confusion than clarity.

Now let's sum up which principles of the direct method could be put into practice and would be effective in teaching foreign languages in the primary school:

1. A proper place should be given to teaching phonetics.
2. A very important requirement should be to develop the oral skills.
3. Grammar should be taught inductively.
4. We should use the principle of global reading.
5. We can just about agree with the rejection of teaching translation as a skill.

6. The principle of the exclusion of the mother tongue and the primacy of the foreign language as a means of semanticizing should be used only when it is not time consuming and not confusing.

II. THE ECLECTIC APPROACH

Harold E. Palmer

Harold E. Palmer contributed to ELI methodology and linguistics with a number of works. Now I would like to concentrate on two of his most important works to describe his methodological principles and mainly the ones referring to teaching lexis. They are as follows: *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages* and *The Principles of Language-Study*.

Palmer does not reject the direct method, but he does not accept it completely either. As a follower of Henry Sweet he determined the linguistic basis of foreign language teaching in an exact way. Palmer describes his eclectic approach in the following way in *The Principles of Language-Study*:

"This attitude is fairly well designated by the term eclectic; it implies the deliberate choice of all things which are good, a judicious and reasoned selection of all the diverse factors the sum of which may constitute a complete and homogeneous system." (108)

A special emphasis is laid on how to teach lexis in Palmer's eclectic approach. Palmer classifies the lexical units like this:

1. Monologs - words considered merely as conventional orthographic units of vocabulary:
dog, beautiful, go, slow, up etc.
2. Polylogs - units composed of two or more monologs in juxtaposition but functionally and semantically equal to a monolog.
Polylogs are often called phrases, groupwords or word groups: in case, leave off, every year, etc.

3. Morphology - are significative or functional units such as affixes and the more concrete inflexions: -ly, -ment, -less, -ed, -ing, -ist, -er.
Mono-, bi-, multi-, poly-, uni-, coo-, in-, ex, etc.
4. Alogism is the term we may use in order to designate those cases in which a given concept is expressed without the use of any concrete lexicological unit. Instead of saying tree which bears fruit we may say fruit tree.

Palmer calls the smallest unit of the language the ergon which can be any of the above mentioned lexical units and sentences are formed from these ergons. This concept appears later in the theory of kernel sentences by Chomsky and in this way Palmer precedes generative and transformative grammar. Palmer's principle of ergonic combination means that beginners should learn first the basic units of the language i. e. the primary matter imitatively by heart and from this they will be able to build up and derive sentences i. e. the secondary matter. (Palmer 1917: 68). That is why Palmer lays great emphasis on learning by heart which he regards the basis of all linguistic study, for every sentence ever uttered or written by anybody has either been learnt in its entirety or else has been composed (consciously or subconsciously) from smaller units, each of which must at one time have been learnt by heart. (Palmer 1917: 68). For this principle i. e. creative learning at a syntactic level Palmer developed a special methodological procedure in the form of substitution tables.

Palmer suggests the following four ways of semanticizing:

1. By immediate association, i. e. associating the unit with that which is designated by it.
2. By translation, i. e. associating the unit with the equivalent native unit.
3. By definition, i. e. associating the unit with its definition or paraphrase.
4. By context, i. e. giving examples of its use

Though Palmer emphasizes the primacy of the foreign language he does not exclude the mother tongue when semanticizing. When it is convenient to

use material association there is no reason whatever why this mode should not be given preference, but when neither the objects nor pictures representing them are available, translation is by no means to be despised and will very often be found more 'direct' than the two other modes (Palmer 1917: 55).

Palmer knows for sure from practice that bilingual associations cannot be avoided. The tendency of the average student, more especially in the early stages, is to associate the foreign word with its native equivalent. We may, if we choose so, assure him, that this is a vicious tendency: we may go to great trouble to replace it by the three other modes. We may refuse to give him the native equivalent and forbid the use of the bilingual dictionary. But we do not and cannot prevent the student from forming bilingual association if he wishes to do so (Palmer 1917: 69). That is why Palmer disapproves of the exclusion of translation as a means of semanticizing both pedagogically and from the point of view of usefulness.

I think we can share Palmer's opinion that no hard-and-fast rules can be laid down as concerns the permissible ways of semanticizing. When conveying the meaning of a certain lexical item we cannot say that exclusively only one method can be used and we cannot totally reject any of them. Each of them has its own place and any of them can be effective and reasonable.

Palmer also points to the importance of the visual method as the most important mnemonic method in language teaching which helps to form correct associations. No doubt, especially in the primary school it is more reasonable and effective than verbal explanation.

Now let me sum up Palmer's basic methodological principles in the light of teaching lexis which he laid down in *The Principles of Language Study*:

1. Palmer regards language learning as a habit forming process, a process during which we must acquire new habits. We may acquire proficiency in two ways: by forming new habits or by utilizing and adopting appropriate old habits (i. e. habits already acquired). By the natural or spontaneous method we learn unconsciously; we must therefore train ourselves or our students to form habits unconsciously. When

teaching lexis it can be attained by exercises aiming at the formation of the right associations between the words and their meanings, by means of rightly formed associations. We have not acquired a word until we can produce it automatically. Automatism can be formed by repetition, but it should not be monotonous, parrot-like.

2. Accuracy means conformity with a given model or standard. The principle of accuracy requires that the student shall have no opportunities for making mistakes until he has arrived at the stage at which accurate work is reasonable to be expected. There may be accuracy and inaccuracy in meanings. The meaning of a word may vary considerably according to its context. Most English words have two or more meanings, the foreign words which are assumed to be their equivalent may also have two or more meanings, but the foreign word does not necessarily have all the meanings of the English word and vice versa.

3. Gradation means passing from the known by easy steps, each of which serves as a preparation for the next. The vocabulary in a well-graded language course will be arranged in such a manner that the more useful words will be learnt before the less useful. There are two sorts of useful words; those which are useful in themselves and words which are useful as sentence formers. In the ideally graded course the student first assimilates a relatively small but exceedingly important vocabulary; he learns to use it, he learns the most important peculiarities of each word; he learns how to combine these words in sentences; he learns the exact range of meanings covered by each word.

4. The principle of proportion does not necessarily imply equivalency of treatment nor even a fixed standard of ratios; it simply means that all the items in the range of subjects and aspects must receive an appropriate degree of attention, so that the student's knowledge of them may ultimately form a harmonious whole. The principle of proportion may also be observed or violated in the selection of vocabularies. To include in early lessons words or forms which are comparatively rare, archaic and useless, while excluding some of the commonest and most useful items of language material is an offence not only against the principle of gradation but also against the principle of proportion. We have also to note a regrettable tendency to give preference in vocabularies to words

of special utility (such as names of plants, animals, parts of body, tools) and to neglect unduly words of general utility, words which may occur in any context and which are common to any subject.

5. The principle of concreteness means to teach more by examples than by pretext. The examples themselves may vary in concreteness, therefore we should select for our purpose those which demonstrate in the clearest possible way the point we are teaching and which tend to form the closest semantic association. There are four ways and four ways only of furnishing a student with the meaning of given foreign units:

- by immediate association
- by translation
- by definition
- by context

These four methods or modes of semanticizing a unit are here given in order of what are generally their relative degrees of concreteness. There may, however, be some cases in which translation will be more concrete than immediate association.

6. No work is likely to be successfully accomplished if the student is not interested in what he is doing. Habit forming work has the reputation of being dull and tedious. The true remedy is to devise a number of varied and appropriate exercises in order to make the habit forming work itself interesting.

At the end of his work Principles of Language Study Palmer summarizes again the essence of his eclectic approach which he also calls a multiple-line of approach.

"The term 'multiple-line of approach' implies that we are to proceed simultaneously from many different starting points towards one and the same end; we use each and every method, process, exercise, drill, or device which may further us in our immediate purpose and bring us nearer to our ultimate goal: we adopt every good idea and leave the door open for all future developments; we reject nothing except useless and harmful forms of work. The multiple line of approach embodies the eclectic principle, for it enjoins us to select judiciously and without prejudice all that is likely to help

us in our work..... We adopt the best and most appropriate means towards the required end". (Palmer 1921: 141)

Palmer's eclectic approach and his substitution tables were a significant contribution to the methodology of foreign language teaching and in the next chapter we will see how the American linguists made use of and developed his substitution tables.

III. THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH

The beginnings of the linguistic approach go back to the years of World War II. and it was popularized later by Charles Fries and Robert Lado.

One of the main characteristics of the linguistic approach is that it gives priority to modern linguistics. A special emphasis is laid on the spoken form with the aim of perfect native pronunciation. Intensive and long drills are used often at the expense of the context and the motivation of the pupils. Another main feature of the linguistic approach is that all the sentences of a language are systematic and can be reduced into patterns. Patterns are learned in childhood. Adults no longer have to learn new patterns, they learn new words that are used in old pattern (Lado 1964: 90-91).

It was Leonard Bloomfield who outlined first the linguistic approach in his Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages. As a follower of the direct method and Palmer, Bloomfield lays a special emphasis on teaching phonetics, especially phonetics contrasts. Bloomfield is convinced about the fact that the command of a language is not a matter of knowledge. The command of a language is a matter of practice. To understand the forms is only the first step. Copy the forms, read them out loud, get them by heart, and then practise them over and over again, day after day, until they become entirely natural and familiar. Language learning is overlearning: anything less is of no use (Bloomfield 1942: 12).

An other important representative of the linguistic approach is Charles Fries who gave a detailed analysis of the linguistic approach in his *Teaching and Learning English as a foreign Language* published in 1945.

Fries's most important contribution to language teaching is that the basis of modern language teaching should be the comparative structural analysis of the mother tongue (L_1) and the target language (L_2). Thus he places special emphasis on the mastering of structural patterns, which served as a basis for Lado's pattern drill. Only after much practice of the same patterns with diverse content do patterns themselves become productively automatic. When the student has reached this level of achievement, within a satisfactorily useful but definitely limited range of vocabulary items, he "has learned" the language (Fries 1945: 9).

The system of vocabulary is given new priority in Fries's methodology. Fries classifies vocabulary according to their frequency in the following way:

1. structural words - these are the most frequent ones that is why they should be taught relatively early
2. syntactic morphemes
3. content words - the biggest group in number

When teaching lexis Fries objects to bilingual semanticizing. Fries emphasizes that besides the denotative meaning of a word the connotative meanings should also be taught. In other words this means that if we have learnt or taught 'head' for 'fej' in a context, i. e. the denotative meaning, we should learn or teach its connotative meanings, too, such as 'head of a cabbage', 'head of a bed', 'head of a department'.

As we will see later this concept appears in Baljaev's conscious-practical method. This point-of-view of teaching vocabulary could be accepted psychologically and linguistically, but methodologically it would be too much to require. On the one hand, it would take the teacher a lot of time to present all the different meanings and on the other we may run the risk of losing the context.

The other reason why Fries is against the use of the mother tongue as a means of semanticizing is that no two languages will present the same analysis of the situations and as a result, the words of one language

will practically never have exact equivalents in another language. Any attempt, therefore, to approach the meanings of the words in English as a foreign language through a process of tying or relating the new word in English to a word in the native language will hinder and may even thwart the effective mastery of the new vocabulary (Fries 1945: 44).

The following two ways of teaching vocabulary are suggested by Fries:

1. substitution frames

Often substitution frames furnish a simple device for the introduction or the practice of new words. Such 'frames' are sentences of the same pattern and general context, in one part of which it is possible to substitute a variety of new words of the same class, all of them fitting the context. E. g. the answer to the question 'What is he wearing?' makes a frame in which the words for each of the articles of clothing can be used. Substitution frames also provide a way of introducing groups of words for differentiations in the same area of experience.

E. g. There was considerable moisture on his clothes from the
through which he was passing.

Here suitable substitutions are such words as fog, dew, cloud, rain.

The boy ... a stone through the window.

Here some substitutions are throw, tossed, hurled, handed.

2. The other exercise suggested by Fries would help to teach the connotative meanings of a word. For the problem of many diverse meanings for the same word we employ the opposite of the substitution frame. Instead of keeping the context constant and changing the word we provide a variety of contexts for the same word or vocabulary item - enough so that the distinctive features of the various situations become clear and the area of negligible variation marked out. For the word 'board' there are such varied sentences following:

He bought several half-inch-thick boards, about three feet long and four inches wide, in order to make a suitable box

A small tax increase was voted by all the boards of supervisors.

Longding is quite cheap but board is expensive for nearly all the food has to be brought in by wagon.

(Fries 1945: 55)

Thus the meaning should be inferred from the context. To be able to do so the pupils should have a wide range of vocabulary, that is why it seems to me that this way of semanticizing can really only be used at an advanced level.

Robert Lado used Fries's comparative structural analysis for his pattern drill, the detailed description of which can be found in his *Language Teaching - A Scientific Approach*.

Lado's starting point is that patterns become habits by practice i. e. by analogy, variation and transformation. On the basis of contrastive analysis we should practise first of all the patterns which are different in the foreign language and the mother tongue, i. e. problem patterns.

A grammatical pattern is an arrangement of parts having linguistic significance beyond the sum of its parts (Lado 1964: 90). Teaching a problem pattern begins with teaching the specific structure points where a formal change in the pattern is crucial and where the student is not able to manipulate the required change (Lado 1964: 95). Lado's pattern drill reminds us formally of Palmer's substitution tables, but it is still different. Palmer meant to teach sentence formation by the principle of ergonic combination, while Lado wants a certain grammatical structure to be practised in such a way that the pupils should be able to use it automatically.

The steps of teaching problem patterns are:

1. attention pointer, usually a single sentence calling the students' attention to the point at issue;
2. examples, usually minimally contrastive examples showing a pair of sentences that differ only on the point or points being made;
3. repetition by class and presentation of additional examples of the same contrast;
4. comments or generalization elicited inductively from the students and confirmed by the teacher;
5. practice with attention on the problem being taught. This is what

Lado calls oral substitution based on conscious choice.

6. Here begins the phase of unconscious learning which represents the pattern drill. The substitution is not on the problem spot.

7. Free conversation about the context.

Lado moves from the conscious towards unconscious learning in his pattern practice drill. No doubt it can be very effective in teaching grammatical structures. Lado, however, warns the teachers not to do all the teaching through it. This is not justified, since not all language learning is of the pattern type. Pattern practice fits between practice with conscious choice and free selection. The major stages of teaching a second language can be listed in order as follows:

1. mimicry-memorization

2. conscious choice

3. pattern practice

4. free selection

(Lado 1964: 112)

There are two disadvantages of Lado's pattern practice drill. On the one hand these types of exercises neglect the context, on the other the pupils may lose interest and motivation. Language is made up not just of correct linguistic habits, but it is first of all a means of communication in a certain situation. As we will see in the next chapter this is what was recognized and emphasized correctly by the contextual method.

IV. THE CONTEXTUAL METHOD

When examining the different methods and approaches in the history of language teaching so far we can say that they are all based either on the linguistic structure of the target language or on the contrastive analysis of the foreign language and the mother tongue. These methods, however, left out of consideration the fact that a language has got not just linguistic aspects but it is actually realized in a speech act, thus language is also a psychological and a sociological act. S Pit Corder worked out his contextual method which regards language as a verbal behaviour in his English Language Teaching and Television. B. F.

Skinner's Verbal Behaviour served as a basis for Corder's contextual method.

Skinner describes verbal behaviour by the following three factors:

1. There's a stimulus which evokes a verbal operant
2. The speaker responds to this stimulus
3. This response is reinforced positively or negatively by the listener.

This process is called a context of situation or speech episode.

Corder used the following five categories of Skinner's verbal behaviour for his contextual method:

1. 'Mands'

This is a shortening of words like demand, command. They are utterances in which the stimulus is in the speaker himself. This stimulus goes back to a need of the listener. (E. g. Hey, you, give me that book. or Would you give me that book, please?). Thus mands are utterances which express wishes, requests, questions, warning, etc. In the teaching process it is mainly the teacher who gives the stimulus, e. g. Suppose you are hungry ... and the pupils give the correct verbal operant provided they are familiar with the structure and the vocabulary.

2. Echoic Behaviour

Here a verbal stimulus outside the speaker evokes a response in the speaker. The response is equivalent with the stimulus or very similar to it. In the teaching process the point-to-point echoic behaviour is used every day when we get the pupils to repeat lexical units and structures. There is, however, another form of echoic behaviour, too which is quite common in small talk:

I: This is a nice house.

It's nice.

P₁: It's pretty.

P₂: It's lovely.

P₃: It's beautiful.

3. Textual Behaviour

Here the response is also the same or almost the same as the stimulus, but the stimulus is a text which evokes a kind of utterance in the reader. (E. g. the reader's utterances when reading the morning paper at

breakfast.) in the teaching process the teacher can give written exercises to the pupils who respond to these written stimuli verbally.

4. Intraverbal Behaviour

Here the verbal stimuli are outside the speaker and they evoke a verbal operant in him but is not equivalent to the verbal stimulus. Some verbal responses show no point-to-point correspondence with the verbal stimuli which evoke them. Such is the case when the response 'four' is made to the verbal stimulus 'two and two', or 'Paris' to 'the capital of France'. Skinner calls the behaviour controlled by such stimuli intraverbal (Skinner 1957: 71). Here the verbal operant or response does not correspond with the linguistic form of the stimulus as echoic behaviour did. These responses, however, are not creative ones, the speaker took them over from his environment. Small talk can be regarded as a lower form of intraverbal behaviour, too. The more complicated forms of intraverbal behaviour include free word associations, clauses as responses to questions and etc. Thus intraverbal behaviour is not creative or original at all, it tends to stereotypes, clichés.

This verbal behaviour can be realized in questions and answers and in role-playing of short situations in the classroom, which are used quite often and have been used for the longest time.

5. 'Facts'

This shortening comes from the word 'contact'. Its characteristic feature is that the controlling stimulus preceding the verbal operant is outside the speaker and is generally non-verbal. Skinner distinguishes between two types of the controlling stimuli which are usually non-verbal. One of these has already been mentioned: an audience characteristically controls a large group of responses. The other is nothing less than the whole of the physical environment - the world of things and events which a speaker is said to 'talk about'. (Skinner 1957: 81). In the classroom it is relatively difficult to create a situation which evokes this form of verbal behaviour. The teacher can give the pupils a non-verbal stimulus, e. g. pictures, slides, etc. which make them respond.

6. Autoclitic Behaviour

The term 'autoclitic' is intended to suggest behaviour which is based upon or depends upon other verbal behaviour (Skinner 1957: 315). In other

words it means that when forming sentences one part of the sentence is a kind of controlling stimulus on the other. The motto of the exercises we could use here could be: 'I begin and you go on.....' The pupil hears one part of an utterance from the teacher (e. g. ' Can you I think you, I hope it is, If you come, will you') and this is the stimulus which evokes the linguistic form of the other part of the utterance.

What is the methodological importance of the categories of Skinner's verbal behaviour? No doubt, that the principle of the selection of the material is the principle of frequency. The following works were written on the basis of the vocabulary frequency:

A General Service List Of English Words by M. West

A Teacher's Word Book of the 20000 Words Found Most Frequently
and Widely in General Reading for Young Children and Young
People by E. L. Thorndike

English Word Lists by C. C. Fries, A. A. Traver

The most important and frequent structures were collected by A. S. Hornby in his A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English and by E. L. Thorndike et al. in Inventory of English Constructions. It was S. P. Corder, however, who was the first to ask the question: Which categories of verbal behaviour are the most frequent in English? To answer this question Corder used the first five categories of Skinner's verbal behaviour and analysed a play by Galsworthy, the title of which is The Skin Game. The analysis of the play gave the following frequency values:

Mandas	33 %
Tacts	9 %
Intraverbal	50 %
Echoic	2,5 %
Textual	0,5 %

To confirm these results, however, several other plays, or films should be analysed, but it is not likely that there would be significant differences. Referring these results to language teaching we could come to the conclusion that more emphasis should be placed on the categories of mands and tacts.

On the basis of Skinner's categories of verbal behaviour and their

frequency Corder worked out the specific phases of contextualization. Corder regards language teaching as the cooperation of the three systems i. e. phonology, lexis and grammar under the primacy of a situation i. e. the context and the context of situation should be graded according to the situational difficulties and the situations should be taken from real life. No wonder that Corder emphasized the importance of television in language teaching. The forms of contextualization are as follows:

1. Actual contextualization

In Corder's view this is the ideal form of teaching when a real situation evokes speech. Actual contextualization may take place in the classroom, where it is typified by language used for ordinary classroom purposes; instructions, discipline, permissions. Or it may take place outside it, in which case it is simply the ordinary verbal behaviour of everyday life. Needless to say, actual contextualization is the most desirable type from a teaching point of view, since normal verbal behaviour is what we are trying to teach. It is, at the same time, the most difficult to produce, particularly where the language is not the language of the country in which we are teaching.

Such contextualization occurs when the learner observes native speakers using their language for ordinary everyday purposes, or when the learner uses it himself for the same reason (Corder 1960: 50).

2. Simulated contextualization

This is the second best form of teaching according to Corder where the dialogue, however, is simulated. This is the presentation of language material in a situational context which has been simulated to a greater or less extent in the classroom. Examples of this are play-reading, listening to radio plays, watching TV plays or the cinema. The name 'simulated' is used because the verbal behaviour of this type of context is not susceptible of normal stimulus and reinforcement, it is not free and purposeful; it cannot be used to influence the context itself (Corder 1960 : 50).

3. Intraverbal contextualization

Skinner's intraverbal behaviour can be practised here. Examples of such contextualization are passages read in a textbook, dialogues read by one or more learners, stories told by the teacher.

4. Systematic contextualization

Systematic contextualization is largely done by the teacher's giving examples.... The learner is by this means learning about the language as a series of systems: he is not beginning to learn 'linguistic habits' or 'verbal behaviour' (Corder 1960: 47). That is why Corder regards this type of contextualization to be the lowest level of teaching.

Corder is aware of the fact that there is a conflict between verbal behaviour on the one side and good linguistic habits on the other and is convinced that this conflict can be solved by contextualization by the means of television. The contexts, however, should be graded from the simpler to more difficult situations. According to Corder linguistically speaking, there is little or no control over the language a child receives while learning his mother tongue, on the other hand there definitely is control and gradation in the contexts in which he learns his verbal behaviour. A child learns correct verbal behaviour because the correct verbal responses are socially reinforced and the incorrect socially punished. Everybody he meets is his teacher (Corder 1960: 57). Thus as the pupil will learn the language as a process of communication in the case of the contextual method he will be able to cope with the linguistic difficulties as well. It offers us the opportunity of presenting all language material as fully contextualized verbal behaviour and at the same time of controlling these contexts in a way that cannot occur when a learner goes to a foreign country, and of presenting them in a more strictly controlled way than that in which the child learns his mother tongue (Corder 1960: 60).

No doubt that Corder's contextual method is just the antipode of the linguistic approach as Corder regards language as a verbal behaviour. A great advantage of his method is that it has a strong motivating effect on the learner because he feels that he can use effectively and in real situations what he has learned.

Michael West's basic concepts expounded in Learning English as Behaviour are very similar to those of Corder. West regards language as a form of behaviour: it is a reaction of the organism as a whole to a social environment. Words are only part of that reaction, which includes also posture, facial expression, gesture, and in the linguistic part

there are pauses, intonation, exclamatory noises. (West 1960: 160) I think it is a justified requirement i. e. besides words we should teach these non-verbal elements of the language as well.

West calls his method the realistic method and he says that it should be introduced as early as possible. Foreign language learners in the early stages are learning merely a language without a behaviour pattern; hence their language work is to some extent unreal and uninteresting. The earlier we can introduce behaviour into language teaching, the more successful the final outcome will be in respect of realism and naturalism in the end product (West 1960: 161).

Corder's contextual method and West's realistic method both of which regard language as a verbal behaviour served as a basis for the audio-visual method.

V. THE AUDIO-VISUAL METHOD

The common feature of the contextual method and the audio-visual method is that the context of situation is in the foreground in both of them. There are, however, also some differences between Corder's and West's method and the audio-visual method:

The audio-visual method uses picture-strips or slides to present a situation, thus television is not an integral part of this method. Here it is a series of pictures that make up a situation. Its advantage is that the presentation phase is controlled by the teacher. The picture strips are always at hand, in the books and the slides can easily be handled. Its disadvantage is that the pupil does not consider the pictures to represent total verbal behaviour and is not able to identify with the characters in the story. He is not able to put himself in the place of the characters in the same way as in the case of the television. On the one hand this can hinder motivation and on the other static pictures cannot semantize and contextualize all that a film on TV can.

The methodological principles of the audio-visual method such as monolingual semantizing, the oral approach, the exclusion of linguistic analysis, exclusively Stimulus-Response learning are rather dogmatic,

hard and fast and leave little freedom for the teacher. The audio-visual method attributes an extremely great importance to pictures and the representatives of this method are convinced that the combination of picture and sound will make it possible for the pupils to understand the context completely.

The importance of audio-visual aids in language teaching is beyond question. The significance of the audio-visual techniques in teaching foreign languages has been analysed by several methodologists in several works such as:

Audio-visual Techniques in Teaching Foreign Languages
by Theodore Huebener

The Visual Element in Language Teaching by. S. P. Corder

The use of pictures in language teaching, however, goes back to as early as 1658, to Comenius's 'Orbis Sensualis Pictus'. The use of audio-visual aids has proved to be very effective in every method and in all types of school, especially in the primary school as these aids:

1. make the teaching process more effective, durable and interesting;
2. have a character of experience, which can be very stimulating;
3. contribute to arousing the pupils' interest so they have a motivating power;
4. as 'learning by all the senses' they can extend the pupils' knowledge and intensify what they have learnt;
5. make it possible for the pupils to learn and get more information about the country the language of which they are studying.

The audio-visual method, however, is not equivalent with audio-visual aids but it should be looked at as an integral system. The origins of the audio-visual method in this sense go back to 1945 and is the result of the team work of three methodologists, i. e. Paul Rivenc, Jean Guenot, Petar Guberina supported by the Ministry of Education in France.

The basic principles of the audio-visual method were summarized among others by Petar Guberina, the member of the team from Yugoslavia in his The Audio-Visual, Global and Structural Method.

One of the basic concepts of this method is that the four secondary skills should be taught in the following order: Hearing - Speaking Reading and - Writing so that there should be a time lag between the

spoken and written form and thus interferences can be avoided. The quickest way to learn reading and writing is through the spoken language. Language is therefore taught primarily as spoken language, and later on as spoken and written language: written language uses the elements of spoken language. At an advanced stage, the spoken language is fixed and enriched through composition writing and reading of varied texts (Guberina 1964: 2). We can agree with Guberina when he states that the oral skills should precede the visual ones but if the time lag is too long between teaching the spoken and the written form of the language, it can involve the danger of the pupils forming their own variation of the written form under the influence of the mother tongue as some children may also need visual support.

Besides emphasizing the primacy of the oral approach Guberina goes as far as stating that there is no such thing as written language. There exists only language, which can be spoken or written. Literature is an artistic form of the spoken language (Guberina 1964: 3). This statement cannot be accepted. One only has to consider the vocabulary and style of literary English to realize that written language is something that very much exists.

Another of Guberina's claims is that written work, before the acoustic ensemble of language has been mastered, and translation before the meaning has been learned from picture and sound, necessarily destroy the essence of language (Guberina 1964: 3). This may be true in some ways. When teaching beginners the written form should always be preceded by the spoken one but if this order is followed later on too, at an advanced level, the impulse to read, in the sense of reading for information will be destroyed in the pupils which is great fun especially if it is accompanied by a comprehension test.

Guberina calls his method audio-visual, global and structural. He considers that the terms 'global' and 'structural' can define the theory of teaching foreign languages, which is based on a permanent connection between a situation-context-picture and a group of words and meaning, 'globally' organised and functioning in a 'structural' manner. As the method uses audio-visual devices, it is described as 'Audio-visual, global and structural'. (Guberina 1964: 3).

The most important role is played by pictures and picture strips in the method. It is pictures which should convey the meaning, the context to the pupils and help them to memorize all these. Too great an importance is, however, attributed to pictures. Guberina is convinced that the problem of semanticizing can be solved completely by pictures or picture strips combined with the tape-recorder. The problem of understanding is very important, because it is one of the stimuli for a quick brain reaction and memorization. This problem is solved by means of pictures. Each phonetic or sense-group has a corresponding picture, which is accompanied by the text on a tape or on a record (Guberina 1964: 4). It is certain that there are cases when the meaning can be easily conveyed by the combination of pictures and sound, but I wonder whether it is a successful way of semanticizing in the case of concepts. Besides these there are cases where the association between picture and sound gives way to several interpretations.

By the exclusion of translation the audio-visual method surely aims at developing thinking in the foreign language but it is questionable whether thinking in the mother tongue can be avoided by picture stories when semanticizing. As the ambiguity of some pictures can give way to different interpretations beginners will discuss them in the mother tongue in lack of sufficient vocabulary. Besides this there is another point that should not be left out of consideration that is by merely visual semanticizing only the denotative meaning and not the connotative meanings can be presented.

The new material is presented like this as the audio-visual method does:

First a dialogue is presented as a kind of warming-up. Then comes the presentation of the new context by 15-30 pictures accompanied by the text on the tape. It has the following steps:

1. 'Look'

The pupil looks at the pictures without listening to the tape.

2. 'Look and listen'

He looks at the pictures while listening to the tape.

3. 'Understand'

If a projector is used to present the pictures, certain details in

the pictures can be underlined by a light arrow to help semanticizing.

4. 'Look, listen, speak'

The text is repeated in a 4-phase drill on the tape accompanied by the pictures while the pupil repeats them too.

5. 'Listen and repeat'

The pictures are taken away and the pupil repeats the text in a 4-phase drill.

6. 'Speak the text and act the text'

There is a free conversation between the teacher and the pupil on the text without the support of pictures and tape and they act out the situation.

No doubt this kind of presentation and practice must have some advantages, but I think that semanticizing can be more effective if we use its other ways too besides the visual ones, such as objects, definitions and occasionally the mother tongue. My other criticism would be against introducing new vocabulary parallel with new grammatical structures as the audio-visual does it. In spite of its advantages Guberina's method seems to be a bit too dogmatic, one sided and can be boring in the long run for language teaching in the primary school.

VI THE BILINGUAL METHOD

C. J. Dodson

The bilingual method supported by empiric experiment was expounded by C. J. Dodson in his Language Teaching and the Bilingual Method. The bilingual method is actually a further developed variant of the audio-visual method in so far as pictures play an important role in the phase of presentation and reinforcement here too.

One of the essential questions Dodson examined carrying out empiric experiments with comparative groups was the following: Which is the safest way to clear, unambiguous and lasting semanticizing? To answer

this question the following three possibilities were used by Dodson to teach the language content of three presented sentences:

1. Audio-visual semanticizing of the three FL (Foreign Language) sentences where the teacher also uses actions, objects and qualities to reinforce clarity of meaning.
2. The teacher gives the pupils first the MT (Mother Tongue) equivalent then shows them the corresponding pictures.
3. Here the FL sentences are associated with the MT equivalents without being supported by pictures.

The results may well be of great importance for us as the experiment involved primary and secondary school pupils as well. The pictures as a means of semanticizing did not play a satisfactory role. They caused difficulties especially for the primary school pupils as 20 % of them misinterpreted the pictures in spite of being given help by the teacher. The test showed that meaning does not develop very greatly for those children who were not capable of immediate recognition and that many of these children will never hit upon the right meaning no matter how often the picture is shown or what the teacher does to clarify the procedure (Dodson 1967: 9/10).

Another phenomenon well known by a lot of teachers was also confirmed by the experiments i. e. though some pupils were able to imitate the sentence well the meaning, however, was not quite clear to them. For most children there was a correlation between mastering the form and content. The pupils who grasped the content were better at acquiring the form too. Which experiment group has mastered both form and content the best? It was the group which was taught according to the second variant i. e. using the MT equivalent and pictures as mental support. This group proved to have the longest retention.

The second question Dodson examined was: Which is the best combination of stimuli to get the best results in imitation exercises? Four different combination of stimuli were used:

1. Combination: FL spoken word, picture and FL written form
2. Combination: FL spoken word, picture
3. Combination: FL spoken word, semanticizing in the mother tongue, picture, FL written form

4. Combination: FL spoken word, semanticizing in the mother tongue, picture

The third combination gave the best results and proved to be the most effective one. It is clear that the mother tongue when used as a meaning conveyer before the imitation exercise commences does not have a detrimental effect on the pupil's subsequent imitation responses. On the contrary, it not only gives the pupil a greater degree of security than visual aids alone can supply (so improving his imitation performance) but also makes available a great amount of time, which the teacher can utilize to improve the pupil's pronunciation even further (Dodson 1967: 15).

The role of the printed word supported by a series of experiment was also examined by Dodson. It is important to point out at this stage that the printed word was not used in the traditional way. On all occasions the children were made to rely on the spoken stimulus given by the teacher. For the first three or four stimuli the teacher stood away from the board so that the children's heads were turned away from the printed word. After these initial stimuli and responses the children were allowed to glance the board if they felt that this would help them (Dodson 1967: 17). With the relevant series of experiments Dodson examined among others whether more sentences could be consolidated within a certain time when the written form is given, whether the written form could also help concept learning and whether the sentences taught using the printed word would be more securely consolidated. Every series of experiment showed the positive role of the printed word.

Another series of Dodson's experiment aimed at examining when the printed word should appear in the teaching process and whether interferences could be eliminated. These experiments showed that interferences could be avoided by observing the following steps:

1. The learner hears the spoken FL stimulus 3-4 times without looking at the printed word.
2. When the teacher or another pupil repeats the spoken FL stimulus now, the learner looks at the written form.
3. While the learner imitates the sentence himself, he ignores the written form.

4. Should he make a mistake when repeating it, he could look at the written form.

Before expounding his biligual method supported by empiric experiments Dodson points out the essence of the two contrasting methods i. e. the indirect-grammatical and the direct-oral method in a historic restrospection. He states that all the other methods in between can be regarded only as eclectic. Dodson rejects the indirect-grammatical method as it requires too much of the pupils intellectually, but also objects to the direct-oral method as it neglects the differences between the mother tongue and the foreign language. No wonder he disapproves of the monolingual semanticizing regarding it only as a waste of time as it can cause misunderstanding. He is convinced that beginners can recognize and systemize concepts only in the system of the mother tongue. The only parallel Dodson discovers between learning a foreign language and the mother tongue and which is wise to imitate in foreign language teaching is that the young child learns his mother tongue through constant contact with people around him who speak this language; primarily he learns through his own active speaking responses. In this process he will listen to hundreds different sentences in a day, yet he will select only a few for imitation purposes while casting aside all the others as being of little use at a given time. He will select normally those sentences which are in habitual use, with which he can cope from the point of view of pattern complexity, and which he needs to express his desires and aversions. (Dodson 1967: 48/49).

Therefore Dodson approves of such a method which puts the main emphasis on frequent contacts while no time is wasted on the monolingual way of conveying the meaning. He is convinced that the more time is wasted on the direct-method procedure of meaning conveyance, the less time will be available to establish a level of direct association which is dependent on the number of active and meaningful contacts the learner is given with the foreign language sentences (Dodson 1967: 52).

Dodson's requirements of the bilingual method are as follows:

1. The new method should enable the average as well as the less
- than - average teacher to teach the language well
2. There should be a balance between the spoken and the written

from of a word

3. It should aim at both accuracy and fluency
4. It should increase the effectiveness of teaching in the classroom
5. It should enable the teacher to control the pupil's oral responses, i. e. it should develop a very slow progression of speaking from imitating-speech through semi-creative speaking to creative speaking
6. It should make use of the positive transfer of the mother tongue
7. The use of the language laboratory and the audio-visual aids should be natural in the phase of presentation
8. The new method should guarantee that more language contacts in the foreign language will be practised by the individual pupil than before

Presentation and practice have the following steps in Dodson's method:

First a short story in pictures is presented consisting of everyday, simple situations. The pictures serve as a support of the context.

Then comes the first step of elaboration which he calls the phase of imitation. Here the teacher tells the story pointing to the corresponding pictures while the pupils look and listen. Then the teacher gives the meaning of the sentences in the mother tongue. As semanticizing takes a relatively short time in this way, there will be more time for the pupils to repeat the sentences first in chorus, then individually. The pupils are allowed to look at the text in the book or on the blackboard except when they themselves imitate the sentences. The phase of imitation should be relatively short, it should not take more than ten minutes.

Then second phase is called the phase of interpretation. Here the form learnt in the first phase should be associated with the context. The teacher points to the pictures and gives the meaning again in the mother tongue. Then he repeats the process with the sentences in the foreign language while a pupil points to the corresponding pictures. Finally individual pupils say the sentences in the foreign language and another pupil points to the corresponding pictures. Dodson regards interpretation

as an oral activity and distinguishes it from translation which is a written activity requiring totally different skills and training. This interpretation exercise is, of course, not part of either the direct or indirect method. The direct method includes translation exercises, not interpretation work where both the teacher's stimulus and the pupil's responses are oral. The direct method rejects interpretation exercises because they involve the use of the mother tongue (Dodson 1967: 83). In a bilingual method interpretation exercise the mother tongue is used only as a cue for concept causation. When the teacher gives a mother tongue stimulus, a concept is conjured up in the learner's mind. It is this concept, not the mother tongue words, which the pupils express in foreign language terms (Dodson 1967: 91). According to Dodson, at a beginner level such concepts should be taught where there is a one-one relationship. He is convinced that to differentiate the concepts of the mother tongue from those of the foreign language ($C_1:C_2$) is only possible by thinking in the mother tongue, otherwise the pupil doesn't become aware of any differences between C_1 and C_2 . It is, in fact, this awareness of the deviations from C_1 which constitutes C_2 . As a result the pupil will get a C_3 ($C_3=C_1+C_2$) which is valid for both languages. He will then have reached the type of thinking which occurs in a bilingual-method interpretation exercise and it is only now that he can call himself a bilingual speaker (Dodson 1967: 93). Though the use of the mother tongue in the first phase of elaboration can be approved of as it may save time and makes semanticizing clearer and more unambiguous, to use it so often in the second phase can be harmful because it can be an obstacle to thinking in the foreign language.

The third phase is the phase of Substitution and Extension. It should enable the pupils to reach the level of semi-creative speaking by the modification and transformation of the first imitated FL responses. The end result of this phase is that the learner now begins to get an insight into the simple fact that language mainly consists of the stringing together of clauses, in the same manner as he was made to realize in a substitution exercise that sentences are made up of various elements which are interchangeable. Without such an insight pupils find it difficult to overcome a great fear of venturing into unknown language

situations (Dodson 1967: 110). This form of exercise suggested by Dodson was introduced by Palmer and Lado.

The fourth phase of practice is called Independent Speaking of Sentences. The pictures serve as stimuli here and the pupils say the original or modified sentences of the story which come to their mind. It is beyond doubt that the pupils will be able to produce a great number of sentences after having practised it thoroughly but while correct and creative linguistic habits are formed the context may become lost. The next step to follow here is that the pupils act out the situation. From a strictly psychological point of view, 'acting the situation' is essential if the sentences which the pupil has learnt to speak are to be properly consolidated and imprinted. It is certainly true that those who merely listen, perceive; that those who listen and speak, learn; but those who listen, speak and do, know (Dodson 1967: 115).

The next phase is called Consolidation of Question Patterns. Here the pupils learn the potential question patterns for a given context in the form of a question box. At the very beginning this question box serves as a visual support on the blackboard and by the end of the fifth phase the pupils will have learnt to form them without looking at the written form on the blackboard.

The phase of Questions and Answers is the six one where it is the pupils' turn to ask questions.

The last phase is called Normal Foreign Language Conversation. While the conversation in the sixth phase was more or less context bound, here the pupils should be able to carry a free conversation possibly in new situations. If we consider the realities of language teaching, this requirement seems a little over-optimistic.

VII. THE CONSCIOUS-PRACTICAL METHOD

The conscious-practical method is linked with the name of Beljaev who expounded the main characteristics of his method in his *The Psychology of Teaching Foreign Languages* published in 1963. Beljaev determines three

main phases of foreign language teaching:

1. Presentation
2. Assimilation
3. Transfer

It is just the third phase which is often neglected in foreign language teaching. If the teaching process is finished after the second phase the pupils will be deprived of the opportunity to carry out independent speculation. Consequently their reasoning powers do not develop as a result of which they do not acquire the habit of handling material in an active and creative fashion (Beljaev 1963: 13). Thus the primary aim of language teaching should not be to instill knowledge about the language but action and thinking in the foreign language.

Beljaev objects to both the grammar-translation and the direct method. He rejects the former one because it teaches us about the language and not the language itself and thus it will never lead to thinking in the language. He turns against the direct method because it cannot have lasting results as the pupils will forget what they have learnt very quickly as soon as the intensive practice is over. That is why Beljaev suggests a third method which subordinates the study of theory i. e. conscious learning to practical linguistic tasks.

This is how he determines his conscious-practical method:

"The most rational and only correct method of teaching must obviously be one which differs from the grammar-translation method by throwing more weight on the side of linguistic practice, and from the direct method by encouraging the theoretical understanding of this practice. Such a method of teaching foreign languages might be called the conscious-practical method (Beljaev 1963: 213).

What kind of a stand does Beljaev take in teaching lexis?

In principle he rejects translation as a means of semanticizing as the knowledge of a foreign language presupposes the formation of temporary nervous links and a dynamic stereotype on the level of the second signal system, and when translation is used, new temporary links are formed only in the primary signal system, which makes the practical command of a language impossible (Beljaev 1963: 38). Thus translation should be used

only when the conveying of meaning is not possible through context and it is not quite clear.

One of the key questions of Beljaev's method here is how the semantic content could be acquired. Beljaev pointed out that the concepts of L_1 are completely different from the concepts of L_2 in most cases. Beljaev is one of the few methodologists who tried to prove systematically the necessity of concept teaching. To form a new concept in L_2 it is not enough just to acquire the denotative meaning called meaning by Beljaev but its connotative meaning called sense by Beljaev shouldn't be neglected either. Only in this way could concepts be formed for L_2 in the second signal system, which will enable the pupils to think in the foreign language.

How can the formation of concepts be realized according to Beljaev?

As every concept is the generalization of single pictures Beljaev rejects visual sematisizing if only one single object or picture is used to convey meaning because in this way only meaning and not sense will be taught. Consequently if visual semantisizing is used every single variant of the object should be presented so that the concept expressed by the word can be imprinted. Thus the most rational method of bringing home the true sense or basic meaning of a foreign word is the extended interpretation or full explanation of the concept expressed by the word (Beljaev 1963: 161), i. e. definition. From this point of view it would be more effective if students used not two-language dictionaries but explanatory dictionaries in which the meaning of foreign words was revealed through words of the native language (Beljaev 1963: 162).

The aim of using definition as a means of semantisizing is to avoid formation of a direct link between a word of L_2 and the object. A word must be directly linked not with an object but with a concept thus the right correlation is:

a word of L_2 - concept - object

One must make sure that a foreign word directly expresses the associated concept, and is not only associated with a word in the native language. In the same way a foreign word must not be directly linked with the object denoted by it. The link between word and object must not be direct but indirect, through the intermediary of the concept corresponding to

the word and not of translation into the native language (Beljaev 1963: 111).

What kind of a relation can there be between the concepts of the mother tongue (C_1) and those of the target language (C_2)?

- 1/ $C_1 : C_2$ the relation of subordination
- 2/ $C_1 : C_2$ the relation of total correspondence
- 3/ $C_1 : C_2$ the relation of partial correspondence
- 4/ $C_1 : C_2$ the relation of mutual exclusion

The phases of concept teaching by practising and developing the four basic skills (Listening-Speaking-Reading-Writing) are as follows in Beljaev's method:

1. phase: receptive use of language
 (Listening, Reading)
2. phase: reproductive use of language
 (Speaking and Writing of habits)
3. phase: productive use of language
 (Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing of skills)

Here Beljaev cautions the teachers against using translation into the mother tongue during these three phases. True use of a language, productive as well as receptive and reproductive, is achieved without the intermediary of the native language (i. e. without translation) and is accomplished on the basis of a direct link between foreign words and the concepts which are expressed exclusively by these foreign words, and not at all by forming a link with concepts expressed in words of the native language (Beljaev 1963: 193). When the semantics of foreign words are conveyed by translation, the necessary second-signal complexes of nervous links are not formed, as a result of which a pupil cannot learn to think in a foreign language and to use foreign words correctly. The basic function of the second signal system is said to be its generalizing activity. For this reason it is considered to be the psychological basis of thinking in concepts and opinions. And since this thinking takes shape only through words and is expressed in words, i. e. is always connected with words. But before a word is linked with a concept it excites only the first signal system. The result is that the linguistic dynamic stereotype is characterized by inter-signal and the first signal links,

as well as by second signal links (Beljaev 1963: 198).

Beljaev describes the function correlation between the first and the second signal system as the process of encoding or decoding behaviour. When the hearing of a word evokes an image of a corresponding object, nervous stimulation moves from the first signal verbal complex, first to the second signal complex (as we understand the word) and then to the first signal complex associated with an object (as we imagine an object after understanding the word). And, conversely, on naming an apprehended object we include it within the range of a corresponding concept, i. e. nervous excitement goes in the opposite direction, once more passing through the second signal system (Beljaev 1963: 200).

Beljaev, however, admits that not all pupils will have the same results with his method. There will be some who will be better at the receptive use of language, while others will be better as far as productive skills are concerned. There will be a third group of pupils who will be much more interested in the study of theory and a fourth group who will have acquired the practical habits and skills better.

As far as teaching lexis is concerned Beljaev's conscious-practical method is partly acceptable, partly too much of a requirement. While I can just about agree with Beljaev when he emphasizes that besides the denotative meaning the connotative meanings of a foreign word should also be taught with the one precondition that the principle of gradation should be observed, but it does not seem to me acceptable to over-estimate the importance of definition as a means of semantizing to such an extent and to neglect visual and direct association especially at a beginner's level. Mono-lingual semantizing, however, may well be of great importance to teach the pupils to think in the foreign language but it should be used only if it is not time consuming and occasionally the mother tongue could be perhaps more reasonable.

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RIBA, DALMA

USING VIDEO IN THE CLASSROOM

The article is intended to introduce the idea of using video as an effective aid in language teaching to the students of our Teachers' Training College and an attempt is made to clarify and illustrate the principles of this new field in ELT.

Without claiming to be all-inclusive, this paper tries to offer an outline of how to make use of video in the course of college English studies and thus enable trainee teachers at our college to adapt the new medium so that they should be able to adapt what they see to suit their circumstances and needs of their own students later in their teaching careers.

As more and more schools in Hungary possess videos and the necessary software is also available, it is important that trainee teachers become competent with the machinery, preparation and special techniques the medium requires. I think video exploitation techniques should be introduced as part of the methodology classes. It is not only mere description and theory but demonstration and practice that would make video-based lessons more productive. In other words, relevant video materials and the availability of the hardware are essential in getting students used to video. The introduction of video in any institution of education depends on the following three factors¹:

the availability of

- (i) materials
- (ii) necessary equipment
- (iii) suitable planning carried out by well prepared and purposeful teachers

It is generally understood that video requires a particular set of hardware, which consists of a VCR, a monitor or TV, and a camera might additionally belong to it.

The materials are represented by three main sources, which are the following:

- (i) ELI specific
- (ii) of one's own
- (iii) off-air recordings

ELI specific materials are designed with the purpose to become an integrated part of language teaching and meet the requirements of language classes. They concentrate attention on items within carefully selected language areas and, as it is done in the case of other teaching materials, they are based on sophisticated methodological concepts. Initially these language programmes have been launched as TV programmes, broadcast parts of a series, and that presented teachers and students with the obvious problems of a relatively short viewing time and, above all, broadcast times differing from those of classes. This problem has successfully been solved at once with the appearance of audiovisual tapes.²

ELI video materials often come out as multi-media courses, consisting of videotapes, textbooks or activity books, teacher's guide and in some cases audio cassettes.³

It is desirable that teachers become familiar with this kind of material design and be able to use other materials, such as films, plays, documentaries or even cartoons. There are specially adopted sample versions of literary masterpieces or the classics of storytellers that are designed to make language come alive in a pleasant way in the classroom. Although these materials are likely to capture the attention and stimulate the interest of learners, still their application should be carefully planned with a variety of different viewing tasks and follow up activities. These techniques are going to be discussed later.

Although copying or off-air recording seems to provide teachers with an unlimited flow of material, one has to select and make plans so as to promote active viewing; and devise suitable practice. For off-air recording one thing should be kept in mind and that is unauthorized copying, which is obviously illegal.

Some teachers might want to produce their own materials which would require certain technical skills. Certainly it could be a thrilling

experience but only production of supplementary material is advisable. Another important aspect of utilizing video facilities in the classroom is observing the process of teaching, the work both of teachers and students. However, teachers are not very likely to be encountered with this experience, at least not initially when dealing with video. I think presenting some basic information on how the video cassette player itself can successfully be brought into the classroom will be of more use for trainee teachers. This paper is just an outline of ideas on this increasingly important resource, therefore calls attention only to major areas, like that of exploiting the visual element.

It is to be emphasized that the choice of materials has to meet the following three assumptions and expectations about video:⁴

- (i) it will be worth looking at
- (ii) it will provide elements not found in other media
- (iii) learners will benefit from it

The first two criteria is, almost by definition, inherent in the audiovisual in the sense that it is a combination of sound and vision, hence conveys the atmosphere of the target language culture; language in fact comes alive realistically by the characters of the programme. In J. Lonergan's description:

"The outstanding feature of video films is their ability to present complete communicative situations. The combination of sound and vision is dynamic, immediate, and accessible. This means that communication can be perceived easily by viewers -- and language learners."⁵

I believe the most beneficent way of getting students acquainted with the advantages and disadvantages of video is by means of using it in college conversation classes as well. In this ideal case video could be exploited twofold; primarily students' fluency would be improved by using some advanced level material with them, and secondly, parallel with language practice in almost native situations ways of using video would be presented to them. Thus indirectly and still in a passive way they become familiar with the medium.

After having had at least a few classes using video students would be interviewed on their opinion and asked to discuss pros and contras. In order not to get lost in details the appropriate terminology is to be

introduced. The accompanying diagram is designed to provide a guide to enable students to focus on key expressions in connection with video. Using an overhead projector the relevant parts could be revealed as the discussion advances.

Though most authors claim that there are no actual rules to be followed by teachers, there still exists a unanimous agreement on two areas in connection with video exploitation, which are:

(1) avoiding students' passivity

(2) exploiting the non-verbal elements -- as well as the verbal. Inevitably watching video programmes immediately connects with an experience everyone has been exposed to, and that is watching TV.

Students should realize that watching video does not equal with sitting back passively during class. Teachers, on the other hand, must know the material well and be competent both with choice of segments and techniques of exploitation, because their role "... is central ... the teacher has to relate the materials to the language learner's needs."⁶ The fact that, though attractive and motivating, video is no more than an extra aid for language teaching should never be overlooked.

Secondly, all the experts warn teachers not to focus exclusively on the verbal; in other words, use video differently from audio.

There is no doubt about the unique wealth of information of sound and vision. This has two aspects to it, (1) it presents language in realistic situations and (2) it is set in a cultural context. According to Margaret Allan, "... video is a literal medium demanding believable characters in believable situations."⁷ Situation or action appears in its entirety, with all the extra- and paralinguistic aspects of communication. Language itself with its specific features is in the focus; language carries the cognitive load but visual clues are to be considered as potential clues to culture-bound elements of the message. Furthermore, the visual supplies teachers with extra discussion topics or can be exploited for improving writing skills as well.

A most useful summary of the exploitation of the visual is given by M. Allan, in which she not only enumerates systematically the non-verbal elements of language but also gives some advice on how to assess them. Her conclusion is that if the language to be studied is not officially

spoken in the country it is absolutely necessary to pay attention to the visual.

For a better understanding of it teachers should get acquainted with Ray Birdwhistell's⁸ division of non-verbal signs.

The visual signals comprise of gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, posture, proximity, appearance and setting in Allan's classification. From her analysis of these categories it is clear that all of them convey information about different cultural and social attitudes, either with or without being part of the interaction. Thus appearance and setting are not part of it, being the so-called extralinguistic elements of communication. On the other hand, social norms and disposition varying from culture to culture (proximity), "body language" and behaviour that indicates inclinations (posture), conscious or unaware facial expressions or gestures usually appear as part of the interaction. In Birdwhistell's classification there are

- (i) idiosyncratic signals, which are characteristic of the individual, so these are the most unlikely to be taught in a language class;
- (ii) learned gestures, which are culture-specific and thus cultural differences could be pointed out;
- (iii) continuous movement, which in fact is an indication of intentions in interactions and could be of importance for ESP

At this point students could be asked to collect examples of the various visually important elements. At the same time, as becoming primary school teachers, they should emphatically be reminded that the visual clues mean virtually new information for young learners, hence interest and motivation can be generated among pupils.

In the case of video the question of "how" to use it successfully emerges for all teachers, especially when first confronted with it. One should not be surprized by the answer supplied by video specialists pointing out that there are basic techniques to be mastered by teachers and that these offer an almost endless variety of possibilities with the different materials. Each of the experts on video identifies a particular set of exploitation techniques, notably nine or ten basic methods are

enumerated. These strategies can be employed with virtually any video, in any class. In outline, they are:

- (1) viewing straight through -- with short sections
- (2) viewing in sections -- with longer sections or arranging material for an information gap exercise
- (3) silent viewing ("sound off") -- showing a scene with the sound turned off and asking for interpretation
- (4) starting with sound only -- with cartoons or other established series
- (5) prediction -- stopping the video or freezing a frame and considering what will happen next
- (6) freeze frame -- stopping the video by pushing the "pause" button; asking all kinds of questions on the frame, focussing both on the verbal and the visual element
- (7) description -- asking students to describe what they have been watching (both sound and vision)
- (8) reading their minds -- speculating on the speakers' thoughts (after viewing conversations)
- (9) understanding their feelings -- exploring the emotions of the characters
- (10) topics (themes) -- interpreting a scene, with re-enacting
- (11) role play -- presenting a non-exact "repetition" of a scene within the framework of acquired language ("acting it out")
- (12) reviewing -- watching the whole section through for closing and expressing opinions about it in speech or writing

As application of these methods varies with the material presented, only a few practical examples can be discussed here.

In fact, the different techniques are combined with different activities. Activities when using video in the classroom divide into the following categories:

- (i) previewing
- (ii) viewing
- (iii) follow-up

Before making use of any materials in the classroom teachers must make sure that either the tapescript is available for them or they are able to produce one on their own. Silent viewing is advisable as well, to

analyse the programme from the point of view of possible interpretations that might come up in class or details that might need further clarification. J. Lonergan's instruction is well worth taking into consideration:

"When introducing video ... for the first time, any tasks associated with viewing should be deliberately simple."

Teachers should also show confidence in handling the machine, i.e. be able to use appropriately the various facilities (the "pause", "stop", "start", etc. buttons); and preferably be prepared to carry out all the necessary adjustments during class with noting down counter positions in advance.

In any kind of classes using video the actual viewing is preceded by tuning in activities. In the case of viewing a section straight through the vocabulary and topic are to be introduced first, and a set of questions are given to the learners. These questions concentrate on global understanding; later, for the second viewing they focus on details. Note that it is not a good idea to ask students to make notes or complete a worksheet while they view as they will miss some of the information (especially in lower levels). A first viewing straight through can be checked with simple true or false questions. All active viewing guides should primarily support comprehension, but can be developed into practice or reinforcing exercises.

Longer units are to be divided up into shorter segments, and presented in a sequence interrupted by the same simple activities as above. On the other hand, the order of the segments can be rearranged and the class divided into groups watch the sections separately with the aim of trying to reconstruct the whole by an information gap exercise. This technique is suitable for documentary materials and, as it requires a certain amount of language for exchanging information, can be applied in accordance with the level of the learners.

Silent viewing offers lots to do. Previewing questions for dialogues could be:

Who are the people you see?

Why are they there?

What are they doing?

and for documentaries:

Where is the palace?

What objects are shown?

Why is it interesting?

Language could also be focussed on: students try to predict what people are saying. When silent viewing, students might do such exercises as to match sentences with speakers (which obviously they did not hear).

Freezing a frame is in some ways similar to silent viewing; it works well during the second or third watching. As it has been pointed out earlier, freeze frame is a treasury of information. The clothes, age, behaviour, etc. of characters can all be involved in questions or filling in tables; and this technique makes it possible to elaborate on culture-specific features that appear (anything from the emerald of the lawn to a sticky Brighton rock).

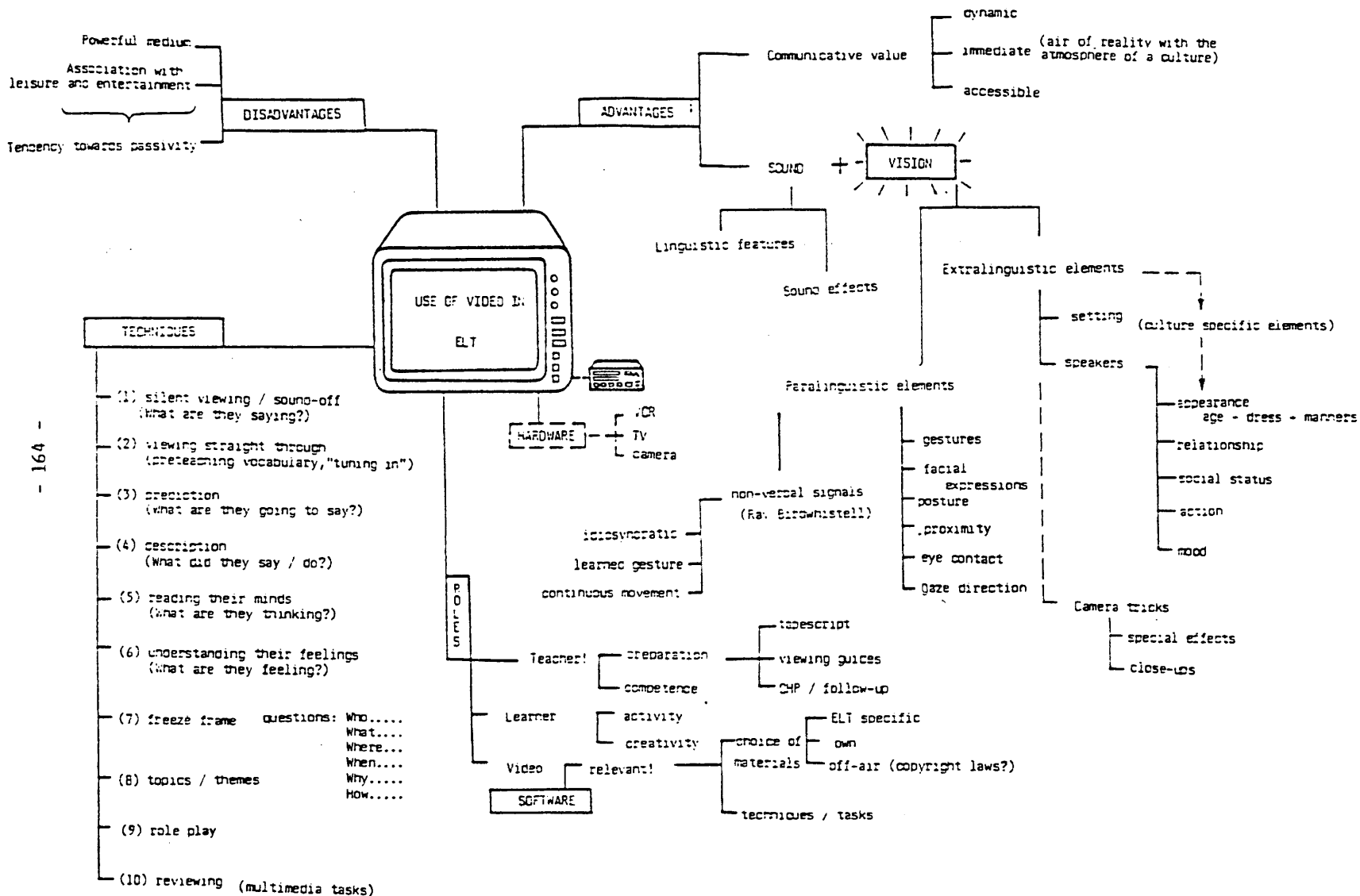
Speech might become easier for a great number of students as facial expressions help them to get at the correct pronunciation, placement of stress and appropriate intonation. Verb tenses can also be practised efficiently either by students commenting the section (with the sound off, audio-dubbing) or by mere description of what they have seen.

All the conventional methods can conveniently be applied with video (completion exercises, filling in sentences or tables, even reading is possible with presenting students the tapescript or a concise version of it). Written exercises are used as follow-up.

Video ultimately should be a stimulus for language production. From the stage of reception this process with some simplification could be described as follows: reception — comprehension — practice reproduction/reinforcement — production.

I think for trainee teachers it would be rewarding to focus on beginner/elementary and intermediate levels. The amount and the complexity of language presented to primary school learners must carefully be controlled. There are ELT materials (eg. A Weekend Away in Streamline English, OUP) that are designed to satisfy the needs of a

complete course. As it has already been started in grammar schools, some primary schools might introduce video experimentally. If the hardware is available, it only requires some ingenuity and a bit of planning from teachers. Video can provide unique kinds of teaching. It can extend learners' access to English and its uses by presenting a greater variety of speakers in a wider range of contexts that can be convincingly treated in a textbook or classroom. It can show language at work within whole systems of interaction, including non-verbal communication, and it can help supply the social and cultural background necessary for the language to be understood fully. It can also make the meaning of difficult language immediately clear; all these advantages will make learners want to watch and learn. Teachers are always encouraged to select and adapt materials to fit in with their own timetables, syllabuses and groups.



Notes and references

1. cf. Karen Price, "The use of technology: varying the medium in language teaching," in Interactive Language Teaching (NY:CUP, 1987),
2. Jack Lonergan, Video Applications in English Language Teaching (NY:Pergamon Press, 1983)
3. for further information see Idegennyelvek Tanítása, 1987/6
4. on the basis of Robert Maidment's "Video in ELT", a lecture delivered by the author in Budapest, 22 Jan. 1988. He has designed videos for OUP and shared his ideas with and called attention to important aspects of Hungarian teachers.
5. J. Lonergan, op. cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Margaret Allan, "Making full use of your video," Teaching English with Video (Essex, England: Longman, 1985)
8. cf. M. Allan op. cit. Ray Birdwhistell is an American anthropologist, his book Kinesis vs Context (London: CUP, 1970) contains the ideas brought into methodology.

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