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Contents

Editorial

This is the 10th issue, no. 1 of *Styles of Communication*, the international journal which is published annually by the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies (University of Bucharest, Romania) in cooperation with the Committee for Philology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław Branch, Poland. From 2009 to 2014, *Styles of Communication* was published by the "Danubius" University of Galați, Romania.

The main purpose of *Styles of Communication* is to show the unity existing within global diversity. As communication implies, besides the transfer of information to others and the decoding of the others' messages, the production of meaning within (non)verbal texts/objects is closely connected to interculturality, creativity and innovation and it needs a refining of styles in order to avoid misunderstandings.

This journal is a plea for interdisciplinarity as its aim is to include different perspectives on cultural studies, coming from different fields, such as linguistics, semiotics, literature, political studies, communication, public relations, anthropology, translation studies, cultural studies and so on.

Styles of Communication is indexed by Index Copernicus, DOAJ, Genamics Journal Seek, EBSCOhost databases, and it is recommended by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

This issue is focused on various approaches to metaphors, advertising texts and leadership.

We would like to see this journal as an ongoing project in which future issues may contribute to the exchange of research ideas representing broad communication - oriented approaches.

Camelia M. Cmeciu
Piotr P. Chruszczewski

De l'emploi des métaphores dans la communication numérique.
S'interroger au delà des apparences immédiates

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Résumé: Sous l'impulsion des technologies contemporaines, la réalité change et cette « réalité en mutation » ne peut plus être représentée avec les outils traditionnels. Paradoxalement, malgré cette incapacité à appréhender la réalité à partir d'outils traditionnels se développe une appétence pour l'emploi d'emprunts au passé, métaphores destinées à décrire et parfois même à penser les dispositifs numériques. Face à la complexité croissante introduite par le développement de la communication numérique mais aussi par volonté de marquer une coupure avec le passé dont la terminologie peine à représenter les mécanismes et figures émergents, s'est ainsi progressivement installée dans la littérature scientifique une terminologie métaphorique. À penser la communication numérique contemporaine à travers des images empruntées aux mondes et dispositifs antérieurs au numérique ne s'enferme-t-on pas dans une perspective de transfert de l'existant alors qu'il faudrait construire de nouveaux cadres et les mettre à l'épreuve de nos questionnements ? Nous proposons d'engager ici une réflexion afin de libérer le rapport que nous entretenons avec les métaphores immédiates et souvent trompeuses utilisées pour qualifier les dispositifs numériques contemporains sans jamais vraiment en critiquer la portée et les limites, afin de pouvoir en vérifier la valeur, en contexte. Il s'agit d'aller au delà (ou en deçà) des évidences qui président à l'adoption d'emprunts conceptuels ou de métaphores lesquelles gagnent à devenir bien plus que des figures illustratives ou des modèles explicatifs. L'étude de la communication numérique gagne à mobiliser des outils scientifiques importés moins pour illustrer le propos ou ajouter en valeur scientifique que pour affuter notre regard et ouvrir des espaces et des directions nouvelles aux questionnements.

Mots clés: TIC, communication numérique, Web 2.0, appareil, courbe géométrique, métaphore.

1. Introduction

Au cœur de la transition que connaissent les sociétés contemporaines se niche la généralisation du numérique dans la vie sociale et professionnelle. Cette transition concerne principalement la mise en place de dispositifs d'accompagnement des entreprises, dispositifs dont les contours s'inscrivent en continuité avec des dispositifs plus anciens visant l'acculturation au numérique *via* le développement des réseaux et qui avaient tracé la voie :

- 1995 : mise en place des autoroutes de l'information ;
- 1997 : entrée de la France dans la société de l'information ;
- 2002 : conception d'un plan pour l'émergence d'une République numérique ;

- 2007 : mise en place du plan RE/SO (pour une REpublique numérique dans la SOciété de l'information) ;
- et plus récemment, en octobre 2016, promulgation d'une loi pour une République numérique portée par Axelle Lemaire (secrétaire d'état chargée du numérique et de l'innovation) et qui « prépare le pays aux enjeux de la transition numérique » afin de permettre « de développer l'économie de demain ».

Remarquons d'emblée que la transition dont il s'agit ici ne relève pas uniquement d'une question de migration de savoirs faire et de systèmes d'organisation car s'engager dans le numérique n'est en effet pas toujours chose aisée. Dans la livraison n° 18 de la revue *Questions de communication* nous avons à ce propos codirigé un dossier consacré aux non-usagers des TIC (Kellner, Massou & Morelli, 2010), ensemble d'articles qui invite à penser le non-usage comme une question en soi et non pas comme une anomalie dans la montée en puissance de l'usage des technologies numériques. Plus précisément nous avons analysé la question de la limitation des usages chez des professionnels de l'éducation et du conseil dans le social, étude qui montre combien il peut être difficile pour certains de se projeter dans l'adoption des technologies numériques.

2. De l'intérêt à s'interroger au-delà des apparences immédiates

Notre propos, dans ce chapitre, est d'inviter à se libérer des expressions simplificatrices qui prennent souvent la forme de réductions métaphoriques afin d'aller au delà (ou en deçà) des apparences immédiates. Outre les points aveugles que la vision métaphorique ne manque pas de générer, on peut se demander si, à penser à travers des images empruntées aux mondes et dispositifs antérieurs au numérique on ne s'enferme pas dans une perspective de transfert de l'existant alors qu'il faudrait construire de nouveaux cadres (Judith Schlanger, 1983) et les mettre à l'épreuve de nos questionnements. Qu'elles soient filées ou rompues, les métaphores gagnent ainsi à ne pas être uniquement considérées comme figures illustratives donc à être réinterrogées de manière, et c'est une expression que certains attribuent à Emil Cioran, à casser les évidences qu'elles véhiculent.

Certes, la culture de l'usage des TIC s'est grandement développée, l'école et l'université intègrent progressivement tant au niveau organisationnel que pédagogique le numérique. Depuis le web 2.0, donc avec l'avènement d'un web de la communication dans lequel se multiplient les partages et les échanges, se développent des formes conversationnelles qui témoignent d'une certaine banalisation des interfaces au profit de la vivacité des échanges. Le linguiste Jean-Maxence Granier (2001) y décèle l'émergence d'un contrat de conversation. Derrière l'apparente facilité d'usage des outils numériques contemporains subsistent toutefois plusieurs incertitudes concernant la portée des actions que nous menons en ligne et la réalité qui se cache parfois derrière les dispositifs et plus précisément les enjeux sociaux et sociétaux donc les aboutissants de la transition numérique.

Si le numérique bouscule les lignes, générant des formes qui échappent aux

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modèles traditionnels, les mots sont rarement neutres. En effet, saisis par le numérique, l'économie et le commerce connaissent actuellement de véritables bouleversements que les schémas traditionnels peinent à modéliser ce qui explique en partie l'inflation de néologismes qu'on peut observer dans plusieurs domaines.

Prenons l'exemple de « marketing », une pratique née de la volonté d'entrepreneurs anglais, dès la fin 18° siècle de développer activement leurs marchés (Volle, 2011, p. 16) et que l'histoire officielle situe aux USA, comme fruit d'une volonté de prendre en compte « des attentes de la clientèle » (*ibid.*, p. 3). Utilisant la puissance de calcul et la souplesse relationnelle du numérique, avec le développement du e-commerce, le marketing affecte d'optimiser les attentes et les pratiques des consommateurs, donc de mieux les connaître, ce qui amène à créer des dispositifs adaptés faisant chacun l'objet d'une dénomination propre. A la suite de l'explosion du web 2.0 sont progressivement apparus le « marketing viral », le « marketing social » et plus récemment le « wom marketing » (*word of mouth* : bouche à oreille).voire le « *picture marketing* » ainsi que le « *mobile marketing* » puisque, de nos jours, une majorité d'internautes se connecte à partir d'interfaces mobiles. L'idée même de marketing s'est par ailleurs exportée dans d'autres cadres sociaux que celui de la vente et de la consommation, ce qui rajoute à l'inflation syntaxique. On est ainsi venu à parler de « marketing personnel », de « marketing territorial », de marketing collaboratif, expérientiel, conversationnel…

Comment cette surenchère lexicale peut-elle s'expliquer ? S'agit-il d'une volonté, d'un un besoin impérieux d'exprimer une vision « moderne » ou « contemporaine » ? Cèderait-on à la pression des consultants en communication qui usent et abusent volontiers de cette inflation terminologique pour renforcer leur image professionnelle ? Aurions-nous véritablement affaire à des nouveautés que le vocabulaire « traditionnel » ne permettrait pas de prendre en compte ? Nous en doutons fort car cette propension à user et à abuser de « mots étiquettes » employés le plus souvent comme « mots pavillons » s'accompagne d'un besoin professionnel et parfois scientifique d'imager les situations, d'en simplifier la compréhension immédiate par la puissance évocatrice de l'emploi métaphorique de notions préexistantes donc d'en faciliter la circulation à travers les réseaux. Il s'agit ici de termes le plus souvent repris de l'anglais, langue universellement utilisée dans les domaines scientifiques et technologiques voire de néologismes produits par volonté professionnelle de segmenter les approches marketing.

Remarquons, par ailleurs que les évolutions récentes de l'économie, désormais saisie par des principes aussi radicaux que la disruption numérique et l'ubérisation semblent donner corps, à près d'un siècle de distance, à la théorie de la destruction créatrice proposée par l'économiste Joseph Aloïs Schumpeter, ce qui n'est pas sans créer des tensions et donc compliquer la mise en place de ce que beaucoup appellent la « transition numérique ».

Pour comprendre et modéliser la communication numérique, revisiter les constructions métaphoriques d'un point de vue épistémologique s'impose car toute modalité de représentation comporte en effet des limites qu'il convient d'interroger et qui constituent le siège de questionnements potentiellement nouveaux. Rappelons-nous et réapproprions-nous la remarque formulée que Gaston Bachelard (1934, p. 13) concernant l'insuffisance de la géométrisation de la représentation formulait en ces termes:

« Tôt ou tard, dans la plupart des domaines, on est forcé de constater que cette première représentation géométrique, fondée sur un *réalisme naïf des propriétés spatiales*, implique des convenances plus cachées, des lois topologiques moins nettement solidaires des relations métriques immédiatement apparentes, bref des liens essentiels plus profonds que les liens de la représentation géométrique familière ».

Interrogeons donc les mots et les situations choisis afin de qualifier ou de modéliser les technologies numériques. Dans les années 90 il était question de « révolution multimédia », la révolution signifie soit un changement radical et violent de régime, ce qui ne s'est pas véritablement avéré mais signifie aussi, ne l'oublions pas un retour à la position initiale. Révolution sidérale et révolution synodique renvoient la terre dans une même position après un certain laps de temps. On voit bien ici la limite de cet emprunt!

Néologisme beaucoup discuté en ce moment à travers les réseaux sociaux la « disruption numérique » constitue, quant à elle, une approche stratégique de la communication publicitaire fondée sur la rupture avec tous types de lourdeurs, avec les conventions, voire, au dire de certains, avec les biais culturels qui enferment la créativité dans des approches standards réputées, être peu génératrices d'impact. Il s'agit ici de prendre les grandes méthodes de création à contre-pied et ce, à travers l'adoption d'idées non-conventionnelles et fortement créatives. Plus slogan que concept heuristique la « disruption » correspond à une réalité professionnelle qui gagne pourtant à être étudiée moins dans sa visée perlocutoire qu'à partir de la vision fluide et malléable qu'offre la modernité liquide théorisée par Zygmunt Bauman (2005). Dans une société liquide, précise ce dernier (*Ibid.*, p. 7), « les conditions dans lesquelles ses membres agissent changent en moins de temps qu'il n'en faut aux modes d'action pour se figer en habitudes et en routines ». Difficile d'effectuer de prédire manière fiable les tendances futures : difficulté voire impossibilité d'extrapoler l'avenir à partir du passé : « La vie liquide est précaire, vécue dans des conditions d'incertitude (... elle est) une succession de nouveaux départs constante » (*Ibid.*, p. 8). Les écrits de Baumann apportent alors à la disruption une dimension critique essentielle car ils réintroduisent l'usager et ses difficultés à se projeter dans l'avenir, ses craintes, ses doutes. Ce retour de l'usager intervient alors dans un contexte de complexification croissante que la dimension simplificatrice inhérente à tout emprunt métaphorique peine à restituer.

3. Les technologies à l'épreuve de la complexité contemporaine

Les discours d'accompagnement de la transition numérique ont également tendance à emprunter des raccourcis, selon des visées, principalement perlocutoires, au risque d'être trompeurs et ce afin de qualifier les dispositifs numériques contemporains sans jamais vraiment en critiquer la portée et les limites. Car pour douce qu'elle puisse parfois paraître, la transition numérique s'inscrit bien dans une logique de rupture d'avec le passé, rupture qui plus est radicale. La société contemporaine serait, aux dires de Nicole Aubert (2010), hypermoderne. La rupture entre société moderne et postmoderne, précise cette dernière, est

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non seulement consommée, avec l'hypermodernité elle s'est radicalisée, et, remarquons-le, le principe fondateur du numérique (1/0) n'y est sans doute pas étranger.

Comment représenter la complexité contemporaine sans céder à la facilité des slogans simplistes qui à l'usage peuvent s'avérer trompeurs ?

Les effets produits par les appareillages[1] technologiques permettent la reconfiguration de la vision du monde actuel, ce que Jean-Louis Weissberg (1989, p. 53) résume d'une phrase : « Les technologies qui prothèsent le regard en reformulent les conditions d'exercice ». Fait remarquable, en retour les technologies affectent également notre aptitude à interroger leur essence et l'avenir qu'elles pré-construisent. Rajoutons à cela que sous l'impulsion des technologies contemporaines, la réalité change, et, pour Paul Virilio (1988, p. 14), cette « réalité en mutation » ne peut plus être représentée avec les outils traditionnels. Ainsi :

« ...le monde ne pourra [-t-il] plus se représenter désormais à travers une sculpture, ou l'image fixe du tableau, il ne pourra trouver sa juste "représentation" que dans la vitesse du mouvement, la juxtaposition des sources d'informations, l'hétérogénéité simultanée de ses supports physiques et électroniques ».

Il faut donc construire de nouveaux outils et adopter de nouveaux schémas de pensée, adopter une nouvelle terminologie ce qui n'est pas chose aisée car de surcroit la communication numérique à l'œuvre génère un niveau de complexité tel que les figures explicatives traditionnelles peinent à représenter. Des références au passé subsistent pourtant, « frontière(s) », « navigation », « réseau social », « humanités », « marketing » et bien d'autres termes retrouvent une certaine actualité. Ces emprunts sont alors repris et déclinés aux couleurs des dispositifs numériques émergents, donnant vie à des mots–valises construits sur la présupposée impossibilité des termes préexistants à caractériser les nouveautés contemporaines. De tels emprunts témoignent surtout d'un besoin urgent, partagé par les acteurs sociaux, de sérier les dispositifs communicationnels émergents, de reconfigurer les typologies et de compléter celles existantes tout en prenant soin de préserver, en l'affichant parfois avec insistance, le caractère « innovant » introduit par le numérique. L'impossibilité de prévoir dans la société liquide facilement l'avenir à partir du présent ne peut que nous interroger sur le bien fondé du recours à des terminologies préexistantes. N'y aurait-il pas ici un risque d'inertie ?

Décontextualisés, les emprunts au passé font donc souvent office de boites noires (Flichy, 1995), ce qui en instrumentalise l'emploi et focalise l'attention sur les questions de mise en application au détriment des « pourquoi » et de toute question concernant les enjeux de telles démarches. On est ici dans un souci d'efficacité immédiate qui privilégie le registre de la description à celui de l'interrogation et qui par simplification peut également conduire à utiliser, en les sous-interprétant, certaines figures mathématiques (schémas, graphiques, courbes mathématiques…).

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[1] Nous référons ici à la notion d'appareil proposée par Jean-Louis Déotte (2004), permettant de configurer la sensibilité commune.

4. Dépasser la dimension purement illustrative des figures géométriques

Outre la connotation scientifique qu'apporte la présence de figures géométriques dans les modélisations de la communication numérique nous nous intéresserons aux potentialités explicatives des outils mathématiques afin d'orienter et d'affiner le questionnement.

L'étude de la communication numérique aime en effet à mobiliser des outils scientifiques à des fins figuratives ou pour ajouter en valeur scientifique sans pour autant chercher à ouvrir des espaces et des directions nouvelles au questionnement. L'emprunt semble souvent se suffire à lui-même. C'est notamment le cas, de graphiques et de toutes autres figures géométriques utilisées afin d'illustrer le propos et de renforcer les démonstrations.

Ayant travaillé à la question de l'appropriation des jeux d'ordinateur et des téléphones portables, Théo Von Pape enseignant chercheur à l'université de Hohenheim et Katharina-Maria Behr, chercheuse à la Hamburg Media School exposaient à l'occasion d'un séminaire de recherche qui s'est tenu dans les locaux du Crem à Metz en octobre 2008, une courbe détaillant entre 1990 et 2006 l'évolution du nombre d'usagers de la téléphonie mobile en Allemagne (*cf.* Figure 1).
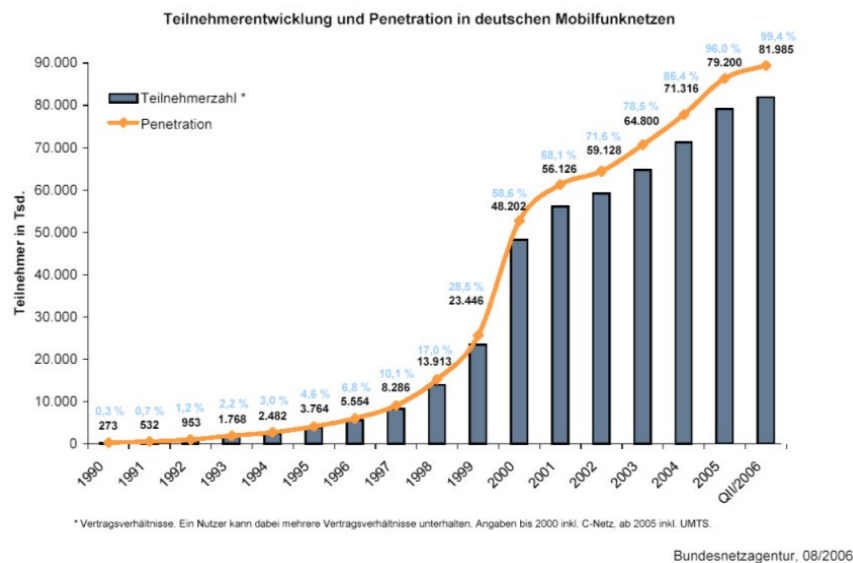
Figure 1. Théo Von Pape, Katharina-Maria Behr :
évolution du nombre d'usagers du téléphone portable en Allemagne

Sans surprise on assiste à une montée en puissance, d'abord lente jusqu'en 1995 puis qui s'accélère entre 1995 et 1999 de manière exponentielle, ce qui graphiquement se traduit par une courbe caractéristique dont la croissance s'accentue très vite. L'augmentation de ce taux est maximale entre 1999 et 2000. Entre 2000 et 2006, le taux de croissance semble toutefois quelque peu commencer à diminuer.

Comment expliquer ces variations de croissance? Rappelons qu'entre 1990 et 1995, le réseau de téléphonie mobile supportait deux types de messages : les appels téléphoniques et les SMS (*cf*. Figure 2). Souvenons-nous également qu'à partir de 1999 commençait à se développer l'internet mobile, d'abord à travers la consultation d'informations en ligne puis l'échange de photographies et enfin la télévision mobile en 2006.
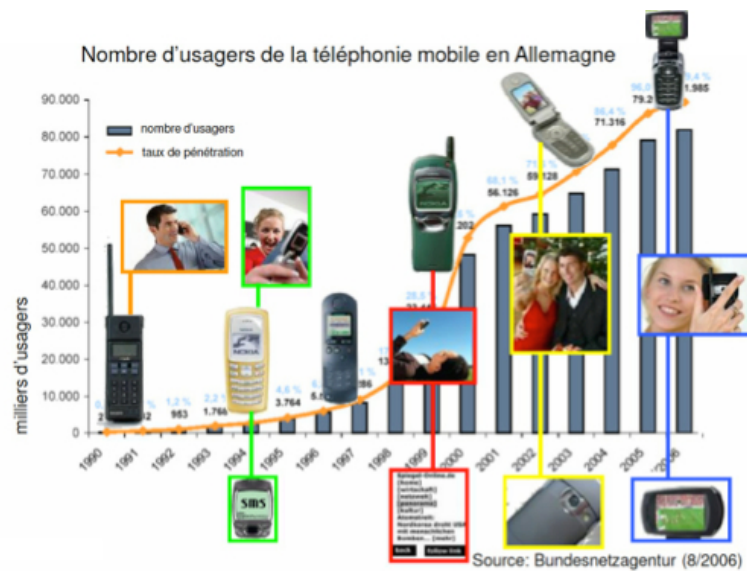
Figure 2. Théo Von Pape, Katharina-Maria Behr :
Nombre d'usagers de la téléphonie mobile en Allemagne.

Toutes ces potentialités technologiques contribuèrent bien entendu à l'intérêt croissant pour le téléphone mobile. Les mathématiques nous enseignent que pour quantifier le taux de croissance il faut calculer la fonction dérivée: si la dérivée est positive il y a croissance, si elle est négative on assiste à une décroissance, si sa valeur diminue, le taux de croissance baisse. Ici, tout au long de la courbe on reste sur une croissance positive qui s'accélère au début et ralentit à la fin. Ce type d'interprétation ne fut toutefois pas mobilisé par ces deux chercheurs tout comme une autre propriété des fonctions mathématiques : la dérivée seconde. Observons plus attentivement la courbe et affinons l'analyse. Nous remarquons qu'aux alentours de l'an 2000, la concavité s'inverse. De concave (courbe en creux), la courbe devient convexe (courbe en bosse) et l'endroit précis de la courbe où s'inverse la concavité s'appelle point d'inflexion (*cf*. Figure 1). D'un point de vue strictement mathématique la dérivée seconde s'annule ici avant de changer de signe. La courbe nous dit donc quelque chose. Son analyse permet d'identifier ce point remarquable donc guide le regard de l'analyste et l'amène à s'interroger sur les raisons de cette inversion de concavité. Très probablement cela pourrait correspondre à un glissement de l'usage de la

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téléphonie mobile vers celui de l'internet mobile, d'abord hésitant puis clairement assumé. L'intérêt dépasse ici le seul cas de la téléphonie mobile car ce point peut, à l'occasion d'une autre recherche, inviter à s'intéresser à l'étude des migrations entre le web et l'internet mobile. Se prêtant au jeu de l'interprétation, la figure géométrique guide donc le regard et ouvre alors plusieurs champs d'analyse.

On retrouve un exemple analogue à travers le cas du tableau périodique des éléments, souvent appelé table de Mendeleïev (*cf.* figure 3) et qui propose une classification des éléments chimiques. Le génie de Mendeleïev n'est pas tant dans le fait d'organiser selon une matrice tabulaire le classement des éléments chimiques qui composent tout objet sur terre. Rappelons en effet que les éléments sont rangés par nombre de masse croissant à l'intérieur d'un tableau de 18 colonnes, correspondant au nombre d'électrons sur les couches externes des éléments, chaque colonne regroupant alors des éléments ayant des propriétés chimiques identiques. Fait remarquable, non seulement le tableau s'appuie sur la périodicité des propriétés chimiques des éléments chimiques, sa construction à partir des éléments connus en 1869 ouvrit un espace de questionnements scientifiques. En effet, elle fit apparaître des cases vides, des espaces occupés par aucun élément chimique. Ces manques interrogèrent les scientifiques. La table devint alors une grille de focalisation permettant de prédire certaines propriétés d'éléments chimiques alors inconnus. Elle permis de guider le regard des chercheurs afin d'identifier les éléments qui restaient à découvrir.

Figure 3. Table périodique des éléments connus en 1869[2].

Autre exemple, plus personnel cette fois ci, lors de notre recherche doctorale portant sur la contribution de l'art et des artistes à l'élaboration d'une écriture multimédia (Morelli, 2000). Cherchant à produire une taxonomie du virtuel, nous fûmes très vite confrontés, lors de l'établissement de notre état de l'art à des représentations imagées.
D'emblée le modèle I[3] (*cf.* Figure 4) proposée par Grigore Burdea (1993) nous a-t-il semblé intéressant car il présentait trois dimensions intéressantes pour nos recherches (l'immersion, l'interactivité et l'imagination).

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[2] Source https://www.societechimiquedefrance.fr/dmitrij-ivanovich-mendeleev-1834-1907.html.

Immersion

Interaction   **Imagination**

Immersion :	L'opérateur est plongé dans le monde virtuel (ou en éprouve la sensation). Il se déplace, perçoit des messages sonores, visuels. Il explore l'univers qui l'entoure.
Interaction :	Pouvoir par rapport au monde virtuel.
Imagination :	Liberté pour le concepteur de modéliser le monde virtuel (les lois qui régissent l'univers virtuel).

Figure 4. Grigore Burdea et al. (1993) : modèle I³

Résolument illustrative, cette figure interdit cependant toute tentative de graduation des niveaux de présence de chacune de ces caractéristiques prises à part ou combinées entre-elles. Elle se prête en effet très mal au jeu de l'interprétation. Face à cette modélisation impropre à classer les différentes applications de réalité virtuelle existantes, un autre modèle retint notre attention afin de modéliser le virtuel : un cube.

Le recours à la figure géométrique du cube va intéresser plusieurs chercheurs à commencer par Philippe Quéau (1993). Identifiant trois médiations existant entre l'homme et le monde virtuel, ce dernier entreprend de les placer au sein d'un cube (*cf.* Figure 5), figure susceptible d'améliorer la compréhension de sa démonstration.
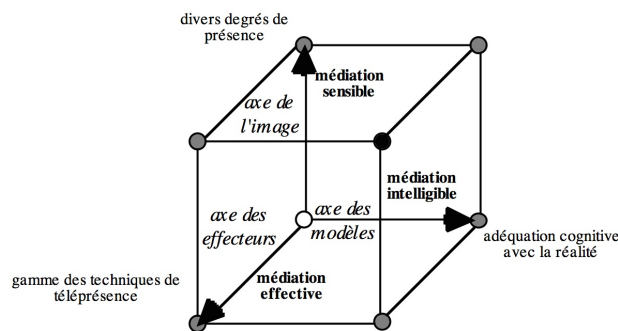
Figure 5. Modèle construit par Philippe Quéau (1993)

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Cette modélisation nous parut toutefois décevante car seuls trois segments et la moitié des sommets composant le cube étaient exploités.

Un chercheur américain (David Zeltzer, 1992) va développer un usage bien plus poussé de la figure du cube, retenant alors toute notre attention. Identifiant trois composantes majeures dans la définition de la réalité virtuelle (l'autonomie, l'interaction et la présence) David Zeltzer trace un cube dont il va interpréter tous les huit sommets (*cf.* Figure 6). Ici chacune des trois composantes de base a, soit une valeur nulle, soit une valeur maximale. Au point de convergence d'un maximum d'autonomie, d'interaction et de présence se trouve alors la réalité virtuelle. Les autres sommets lui permettent de positionner des combinaisons intermédiaires (d'un ou bien deux des trois vecteurs directeurs du cube ayant une valeur nulle) donc d'identifier des positions remarquables (théâtre en relief, environnements virtuels, simulation graphique, logiciels interactifs).
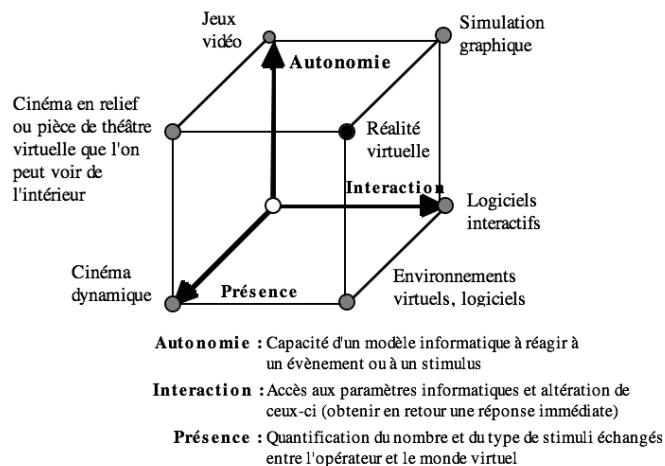
Figure 6. Modèle AIP par David Zeltzer (1992).

Nous avons affaire ici à la fois à une représentation vectorielle et à un espace orthonormé. « Autonomie », « interactivité » et « présence » représentent trois entités indépendantes l'une de l'autre. David Zeltzer ne se contente pas d'afficher la figure, il l'utilise : chaque sommet représente une situation particulière articulant de façon graduée les trois composantes de base donc une ouverture heuristique.

Nous avons entrepris de construire nous aussi un cube afin d'étudier l'écriture multimédia à travers l'examen des rapport possibles entre virtuel, réel et imaginaire (*cf.* Figure 7).
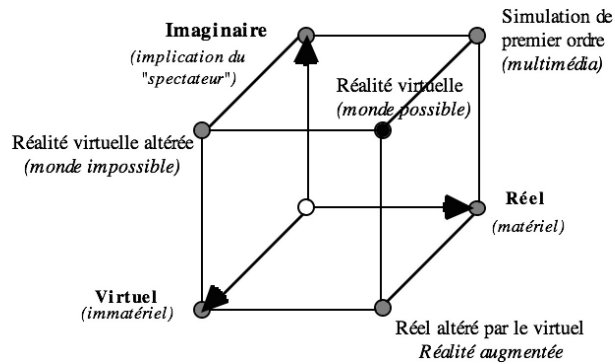
Figure 7. Cube tracé pour notre recherche doctorale (Morelli, 2000).

Dans un autre contexte, le même outil méthodologique nous a permis de proposer une typologie des blogs à travers trois caractéristiques disjointes : la spécialisation thématique, l'engagement personnel et la dimension collaborative (*cf.* Figure 8). Pour chacun de ces axes, ne sont pris en compte que les points extrêmes (Blog thématique / blog généraliste ; engagement personnel / blog impersonnel ; blog individuel / blog collaboratif), ce qui permet de situer différents types de blog, les uns par rapport aux autres.
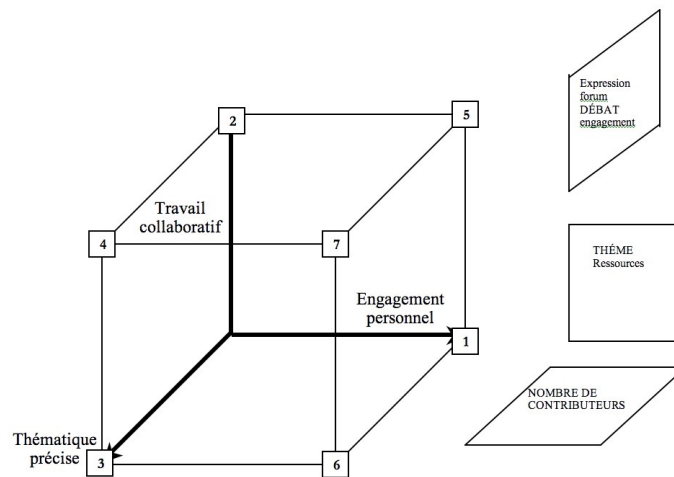
Figure 8. Cube permettant de classer les blogs (Morelli, 2008).

Ce modèle a également été utilisé par un étudiant de master, entreprenant une étude portant sur les relations entre autochtones chinois et membres de leur diaspora en

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France et aux USA, le cube permettant de vérifier que les blogs du corpus d'étude étaient suffisamment distants, les uns des autres, donc à discuter de la représentativité du corpus à défaut d'être exhaustif. Ce type d'outil aide donc à penser et à focaliser le questionnement.

5. Oublier & contester l'évidence métaphorique

Choisir une métaphore n'est jamais un acte neutre, car l'idée empruntée est elle-même porteuse de références et de sens sous-jacents, secondaires. Prenons l'exemple des « frontières numériques ». Peut-on se limiter à la notion de frontière sans s'intéresser aux idées connexes : le *no man's land*, les garde-frontières et toute autre instances de contrôle et de régulation de leur traversées (les passeurs et contrebandiers) ? Peut-on se passer d'interroger les enjeux territoriaux, les rapports de force, les conflits que les proximités et les porosités nourrissent ? S'agissant de l'emploi de technologies numériques, qu'est-ce qu'une frontière dans un monde dématérialisé et par nature a-géographique ? Avec le numérique, d'emblée la dimension spatiale est reconfigurée. La question de la proximité n'est plus uniquement géographique, elle dépend de la nature des liens que l'on peut tisser entre les acteurs sociaux. Si historiquement et par étymologie « frontière » connote une séparation territoriale (front d'une armée), par extension « frontière » caractérise dès la fin du XIV° siècle la relation de proximité immédiate donc la contiguïté existant entre deux territoires limitrophes.

Dans *Les Frontières numériques* (Saleh, Bouhaï, Hachour, 2014)*,* ouvrage qui regroupe un ensemble choisi de communications présentées dans une conférence éponyme à Fès en 2012 et à Paris en 2013 dans le cadre d'H2PTM'13, sont principalement visées les relations entre frontières et rapports humains. Cela concerne les frontières entre individus et entre individus et environnement dans leurs modalités de mise en œuvre et parfois d'hybridation, ainsi que les effets du numérique sur les représentations amenant à repenser les approches conventionnelles de la notion de frontière « des espaces, de l'art, de l'identité, de la connaissance… » (Saleh, Bouhaï, Hachour, 2014, p. 8).

Frontière est ici avant tout destiné à signifier une séparation (ce qui délimite) et à marquer les relations de proximité (ce qui rapproche) et de contingences allant même jusqu'à l'établissement de formes hybrides entre réel et virtuel, ce qui est source de potentialités qui fondent l'interactivité aux dires d'Evelyne Lombardo et de Serge Agostinelli (2014, p. 24).

Toutefois, connotant une certaine tension nourrie par la proximité et les rapports de forces bilatéraux, qu'elle soit parfaitement étanche et régulée ou encline à être contournée, voire traversée par la ruse, remarquons que l'idée de frontière sous entend également un principe d'action. Parler de frontière numérique signifie pour Evelyne Lombardo et Serge Agostinelli (2014 : 24) avant tout « mettre l'accent sur le rapport entre les actions observables et les décisions prises par les individus » au risque de cantonner finalement la réflexion à un niveau principalement descriptif, ce qui revient à éloigner la focalisation

des mécanismes de rencontre et de traversée de ces frontières. Pareil choix ne peut qu'appauvrir la portée heuristique de l'emprunt métaphorique.

Or la frontière est bien plus qu'une ligne politique, abstraite ou concrète et qui caractérise la « partie d'un pays limitrophe d'un autre », la limite commence et prend une épaisseur bien avant l'autre territoire. La frontière est donc tout, sauf un non-lieu, au sens de Marc Augé (1992). C'est une frange de territoire où se différencient mais aussi se confrontent, se rapprochent et s'articulent différentes parties concomitantes. On peut ainsi observer que l'autre territoire est, à un titre ou à un autre déjà présent dans l'autre partie frontalière. La frontière est-elle finalement une métaphore vraiment judicieuse pour la communication numérique ?

S'intéressant au champ de la littérature, Richard Pedot (2010) préfère à la notion de « frontière », celle de « seuil » laquelle construit, dans sa fonction d'accueil, les conditions de communication entre les entités situées de part et d'autre du seuil donc de la frontière. C'est notamment sur le seuil, précise-t-il, que communiquent le « dedans » avec son « dehors » et que se produit non pas une déterritorialisation mais une reterritorialisation. La visée est ici avant tout constructiviste car si le seuil sépare, il rapproche deux espaces et, allons nous voir, pris comme frontière entre le dehors et le dedans, il anticipe les relations réciproques entre les espaces qu'il délimite.

S'intéressant à la relation qu'entretiennent littérature et philosophie, entités revendiquant chacune une existence propre et qui passe notamment par une différenciation réciproque, Richard Pedot préfère, pour la problématisation, une approche d'ordre temporel aux considérations spatio-topologiques. S'intéressant à la question des limites entre littérature et philosophie, il identifie alors des moments de philosophie qui se nichent dans la littérature et réciproquement. Convoquer la question du temps éloigne la focalisation d'une problématique de l'espace et de la contiguïté pour mieux y revenir, cette fois ci en y intégrant intimement l'idée d'anticipation. Le seuil devient une zone tampon où chaque partie anticipe l'autre et ajuste les conditions de coexistence et d'action réciproque.

Préférer « seuil » à « frontière » permet ici de recentrer la réflexion sur la tension produite par la proximité des entités qui font frontière et d'anticiper, de modéliser les besoins et les désirs d'échanges et de traversée. Le seuil rajoute Richard Pedot peut en effet être vu comme manière d'illustrer les moments de transition et d'indécision que créent les proximités.

6. Conclusion

Comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, si l'usage de métaphores dans les discours relatifs à la communication numérique s'accommode mal de la complexité contemporaine qui fragilise le choix même de l'emprunt métaphorique, plaquer, sans en interroger la portée, une métaphore sur les dispositifs numériques peut en retour rejouer, dans d'autres contextes, la partition du principe d'incertitude énoncé par Werner Heisenberg. Relisons

les propos rapportés de ce physicien pour qui la description des phénomènes mécaniques ne résisterait pas au passage à l'échelle atomique par Jesus Navaro Fauss (2012, p. 101) :

« Dans la formulation de la loi de causalité "Si nous connaissons le présent, nous pouvons précisément prédire l'avenir", ce qui est faux n'est pas la conclusion, mais les prémisses. Nous ne pouvons pas connaître le présent en détail, même pas en principe » ; « Plus on détermine précisément la position (d'une particule élémentaire), plus imprécise est la détermination du moment (de cette particule) à cet instant et vice versa » (*ibid* : 97), et « les idées classiques (appliquées à la représentation de la trajectoire d'une particule élémentaire) échouent quand il s'agit de mesurer simultanément leur position et leur moment » (*ibid*., p. 96).

N'y aurait-il pas en effet, au delà de l'immédiate apparence de la métaphore, une dimension cachée qu'inéluctablement la frontalité métaphorique occulterait et qu'il serait toutefois intéressant d'interroger? L'incertitude pourrait alors naitre des métaphores en elles-mêmes, du sens qu'elles portent, au delà de l'affichage immédiat et du contexte dans lequel elles sont mobilisées, générant voire consolidant des points aveugles, ce qui limiterait la portée de l'analyse et de l'expertise. Certaines métaphores présentent toutefois un intérêt heuristique à condition qu'elles soient fonctionnelles donc qu'elles permettent de modéliser la situation et ne pas se contenter de l'illustrer.

Admettre la radicalisation inscrite dans les principes fondateurs du numérique (1-0 ; noir ou blanc ; pas de situation intermédiaire) qui saisit également la rupture critique des dimensions canoniques de la modernité (progrès, raison, et bonheur) introduite par la postmodernité que Nicole Aubert (2010) prête à l'hypermodernité ne suffit pas. On gagne compléter cette vision par l'idée de société liquide caractérisée selon joint-Lambert (2015, p. 71) par le primat des relations, de la communication, de la logique de réseau source de différence d'avec les sociétés solides qui privilégient les institutions et la stabilité sociogéographique. Contre le néologisme impétueux et agressif de la disruption numérique qui radicalise les points de vue donc oriente le débat, adopter le modèle de la société liquide peut ouvrir à la réflexion des espaces d'interprétation allant bien au-delà de la métaphore en elle même afin d'engager la réflexion au delà du modèle en lui-même ou de le mettre à l'épreuve du réel. Ainsi, mobiliser les modèles de la liquéfaction et en retour celui de la solidification offre un cadre d'analyse heuristique pour l'étude des dynamiques de libération des liens ou au contraire de leurs ralentissements sous le poids des contraintes tout comme l'emprunt du modèle chimique des équilibres en solution (chimie organique) permet d'expérimenter les échanges et les transferts qui s'opèrent *via* le modèle de l'éco-système au sein duquel toute action déclenche en retour une réaction susceptible à terme de déplacer le point d'équilibre, l'équilibre devenant par nature instable.

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***Boxer Pants*, *G-String*, *Stockings* and You Know What *Gear*:**
Towards Lexical Fields Aided Vocabulary Instruction

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Abstract: The major objective set to this paper is to investigate the problem of how lexical fields may be applied in vocabulary teaching at various proficiency levels of formal education, namely the primary and secondary school. The analysis of several lexical fields, such as **ANIMALS**, **SPORTS**, **TRANSPORT**, and **HOSPITAL** indicates that word groupings may be delimited by the age of the students, proficiency level as well as cognitive skills. Rather unsurprisingly, teaching materials are more complex for older students but, at the same time, children may also be provided with lexical affinities, be it synonyms, antonyms or basic collocations. The experiments conducted among two different English philology groups were aimed at viewing **CLOTHES** and **UNDERWEAR** as multidimensional and thought-provoking fields which may successfully stimulate students to identify relationships between particular lexical items. The experiment proved to be beneficial for the didactic process owing to the fact that grouping has long been recognised as one of the most effective ways of introducing lexical items. The participants exemplified a variety of subcategories, and although some of them seem fairly obvious, it must be concluded that lexical fields as such encouraged the language learners to think critically and carefully since particular elements may be perceived as politically incorrect and inappropriate in actual teaching practice.
Keywords: lexical fields, specialised language, vocabulary teaching, synonyms, antonyms, collocations.

1. Introduction

Beyond any shadow of doubt, vocabulary has long been universally perceived as an absolutely crucial element of each language system, and its importance has been emphasized both in the theory and practice of linguistic research on foreign language acquisition and foreign language teaching. Harmer (1991, p. 153) merely echoes the opinion of many when he says that the role of words in foreign language teaching can hardly be overrated, and – although grammatical structures are believed to be *the skeleton* – it is vocabulary and nothing else that *provides the vital organs and the flesh.* One cannot agree more as this apt comment clearly shows that each element that forms parts of a

language at any moment of its existence acquires both its force and its function from its relationship to all other elements in the system which are of the same or similar type. *To what extent does the vocabulary of a language constitute such a structure or system?* is a question that engaged the attention of a number of philologists in the first part of the 20th century, and – in particular – in the 1930s and 1940s, especially in the German-speaking countries as well as France and Denmark.

From a methodological point of view, lexical items are of great value since they foster the processes of teaching and learning the target language. The significance of vocabulary is made prominent, in particular, in what has become known as *the lexical approach* which was strongly promoted by Michael Lewis in the early 1990s (see Lewis, 1993). As the author stresses, the basic principle of the approach is that *Language is grammaticalized lexis, not lexicalized grammar* (Lewis, 1993, p.iv). Thus, teaching vocabulary ought to be the most essential component of each foreign language curriculum, particularly when the target language is considered to be a means of communication. As such, teachers take their students' production into account, which is claimed to be correlated with the output theory (see Swain, 2000),[1] but also learners' ability to use vocabulary in an effective way.

In order to foster language production, lexical items should be associated and combined with each other, and only then introduced in the classroom environment as vocabulary chunks, rather than isolated individual units. Such an approach to vocabulary teaching is related to the notion of lexical (semantic) field which is one of the central categories in the study of the lexicon in present-day lexical semantics and lexicology (see, among others, Burkhanov, 1998, p.123). More generally, the notion of a lexical field is a cornerstone of any attempt at identifying both the overall paradigmatic structures of the lexicon, and the semantic affinities between individual lexical items.

One may say that the fundamental aim of employing the notion of lexical fields, as well as lexical syllabi, amounts to grouping vocabulary in such a manner that some comprehensible input[2] based on word relationships is provided. Note that the structure of lexical syllabi depends not only on the proficiency level of the targeted students, but also to a considerable degree it depends on their age. By and large, lexical items can be divided according to varying lexical associations, and – to name but a few – one may mention: subjects (*family, food*), word formation (*injure, injury, injured*), synonyms (*main, major*), antonyms (*introvert, extrovert*), hyponyms (*rainy, foggy, cloudy*), collocations (*make a phone call*), connotations (*talkative, gossipy*). In what follows we shall attempt to show that the introduction of vocabulary on the basis of certain relations facilitates learning processes, and – on the other hand – it shows learners how the entirety of a foreign language system works.

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[1] The output theory developed by Swain (2000) is based on the assumption that in order to communicate effectively, learners have to restrict their conscious language knowledge and they have to be given opportunities to use the target language in a number of contexts.
[2] For the notion of *The Input Hypothesis* see Krashen (2009, pp. 20-22).

2. Lexical Fields and Primary School Instruction

In actual teaching practice, it has been observed that variously understood lexical fields play a considerable role in the organizational structuring of primary school teaching materials. The lexical field **ANIMALS** which at the lowest level is taxonomically split into such subcategories as PETS, FARM ANIMALS and WILD ANIMALS is the most common. To start with, the group labelled as PETS seems to be the most prominent at the primary school level, since it is the closest to the youngest students' cognition and hearts. The category PETS comprises such lexical elements as *dog, cat, hamster, parrot,* etc. The next set has been labelled FARM ANIMALS and the set includes as its constitutive elements such lexical items as *horse, pig, cow, chicken, goat, hen,* etc. In turn, the category WILD ANIMALS, to which such lexical items as *zebra, lion, tiger, monkey, cheetah,* etc. are linked, seems to be the one which children – for a variety of reasons – find rather troublesome to master. Therefore, such lexical subfields are normally introduced and presented at the higher stages of language mastery. Rather unsurprisingly, to a certain extent the shape of the lexical fields taught is determined by the limited language knowledge of those students who are subject to instruction. Obviously, such fields as **ANIMALS** are gradually expanded at the next level of language proficiency; the animal names are coupled and introduced with vocabulary related to their natural habitat, for example, in the case of WILD ANIMALS, *panda (forest), cheetah (grassland), whale (sea)*, and the same applies to animal-related ADJECTIVES that form pairs of antonyms: *big (elephant) – small (mouse), light (hamster) – heavy (panda), fast (dog) – slow (pig).*[3] By way of further illustration, let us point to the lexical field **SPORTS** which seems to be relatively more voluminous, as it is linked to many different subjects, and may be introduced and made use of in the context of many different topics. Firstly, sport-related lexical items, such as *tennis, golf, badminton, soccer, hockey,* etc., are introduced as individual words. The next stage is to introduce sport-related verbs which collocate with the modal verb *can,* for instance *ski, cycle, skate, run,* etc.. Likewise, the lexical items linked to the field may be grouped on the basis of various syntagmatic collocations, such as, for example *play – football, hockey, golf; go – swimming, sailing, jogging; do – martial arts, karate,* etc.

All in all, it is fairly evident that the concept of lexical fields may be interpreted and didactically adopted in many possible ways. Given specific purposes, however, lexical fields most frequently tend to be simplified depending on topic, students' age and language level. Yet, the relationships between lexical items seem to be the most relevant and fundamental aspects of the design of course books in present-day *FLT*, and one gets the impression that the authors busy in the field are well-aware of the fact that the proper structuring and arrangement of the instructed vocabulary do contribute to successful teaching, as well as learning processes.

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[3] See, among others, *Welcome Friends 2* authored by Jenny Dooley and Virginia Evans.

3. The Application of Lexical Fields at the Secondary School Level

In fact, the usefulness of the concept of lexical fields has been particularly appreciated in teaching materials for more mature students, namely teenagers and university students, who represent the higher level of language comprehension and mastery. Here, the notion of *field* is regarded more thoroughly, as it is not merely associated with phrases or collocations, as is the case with young learners, but rather the notion frequently involves more complex vocabulary elements and lexical affinities. The field **ANIMALS** discussed in the foregoing has been split into a series of sets labelled as PETS, FARM ANIMALS and WILD ANIMALS, but one may also distinguish other subcategories, such as INSECTS, BIRDS and MAMMALS with those individual lexical items that are relevant to them (e.g. MAMMALS – *dolphin*; *fins, beak, flippers, tail*). It is worth pointing out, however, that the lexical field **ANIMALS** proves to be less attractive and didactically less promising at the secondary school level, since teenagers thoughts and interests tend to be absorbed much more in other conceptual (and lexical) spheres, such as, for example, **SPORTS**. Like any other, this lexical field may be expanded and split into a series of groups of related lexical items, and our teaching practice shows that it appears to be one of the most captivating language instruction fields.[4] To be more specific, the didactic account of the field most frequently involves:

1. equipment: *baseball – bat, cap, gloves,*
2. places: *motorcycling – circuit,*
3. verbs: *beat, win, injure,*
4. people: *football – captain, fan, coach, referee,*
5. synonyms: *go running, go jogging,*
6. word formation – *cycle, cycling, cyclist,*

One of the most valid observations to be drawn from the analysis of the didactic potential of the lexical field **SPORTS** is that it correlates with so-called schema, defined in the literature of the subject as prior knowledge of the world (Cook 1989:68-74). Note that teaching young learners such lexical items as *bat* may prove altogether pointless, as there is a high likelihood that very young Polish learners do not even know how the game of *baseball* is played, and what equipment it takes to play a game that is rather alien to teenage Slavonic sportsmen. By contrast, those teenagers who are inspired by and familiar with American culture/American English are more likely to understand the significance of the element *bat* within the schema of playing *baseball*. All this amounts to saying that one should stick to the rule that vocabulary ought to be introduced according to parameter of 'learnability' (see, for example, Harmer 2001:296). Also, as stressed by one of the authorities in the field, language teachers have to bear in mind that lexical items should be introduced gradually from less to more difficult ones in order to supply *comprehensible input* which needs to be slightly higher than the current language

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[4] See, among others, *English File Intermediate*, authored by Christina Latham-Koenig and Clive Oxenden.

competence (see Krashen 2009:20-22). It goes without saying that it is crucial that such an approach keeps students motivated, and – equally importantly – they are constantly challenged by teaching materials and, needless to say, the element of challenge helps them to acquire their second language knowledge efficiently.

As brought up earlier, both lexical fields and lexical syllabi are based on numerous relationships between words, so-called *associative relations*, illustrated by such associative chains as, for example*, swim <> swimmer <> swimming or injure <> injury <>injured* which are linked together through the presence of the common root-element and likewise, such sets as, *injury <>surgeon <>ward <> hospital* which form a parallel set where the association is one of relatedness of meaning. The concept of the *associative field* surrounding each word in the language, was elaborated a long time ago by, among others, Bally (1940, p.196), who says:

> *We may think of a single word like* <u>horse</u> *as the centre of a series of circles of associated words. The most immediate circle would contain words like* <u>mare, foal, mane, neigh, bridle, saddle</u>*, [...]. In the next circle, a little farther from the centre, would come associations like* <u>cavalry, ride, cart, graze</u> *[...] and finally those rather abstract associations which are stored up chiefly in proverbs, aphorisms, and so on*: <u>a dark horse, a horse of a different colour, cart before the horse, a dead horse, a gift horse, one's high horse, a willing horse, the Wooden Horse, horse sense</u>*, etc.*[5]

Notice that because each of these associated words is the centre of a similar group of circles, the connections extend throughout the entire vocabulary. However, it is Trier (1931) who is considered to be the founder of what has come to be known as *field theory*. The gist of the theory is that the vocabulary of a language forms a complete semantic structure in the manner of a mosaic which covers an underlying conceptual field without gaps and without overlapping. In each language, every word gets its significance from its position in relation to the words which are adjacent to it and hence, from the pattern of the whole structure. As frequently pointed out in the literature of the subject, the concept of a lexical field is of unquestionable importance for the design and compilation of *ideographic/thematic dictionaries*, which may be defined as those reference works in which *lemmata* are arranged according to their semantic affinities. Thematic dictionaries are usually compiled to satisfy the needs of foreign language learners. Thus, for example, the thematic group (field) **TRANSPORT** incorporates:

1) Lexical items denoting various kinds of vehicles: *aeroplane, car, bus, coach, tram, ship, bike,* etc.,
2) Prepositional phrases: *by air, by car, by bus, by coach, by tram, by sea,* etc.,
3) Verbal phrases: *change trains, board a plane, book a ticket, mount a bike, ride a bike,* etc.[6]

From the point of view of language instruction, a thematic group may be viewed as a field of lexical items and expressions required for the production of oral or written

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[5] This quotation has been adopted from Kleparski (2002, p.45).
[6] See Burkhanov (1998, pp. 242-243).

texts on a particular subject or theme. In this context, let us point to the fact that the thematic approach to lexical structures is used by many foreign language teachers and it seems serviceable at all stages of foreign language teaching/learning. Let us concentrate on the lexical field **HOSPITAL** and its potential thematic constitutive elements:

> 1) Lexical items related to medical professionals: *physician, obstetrician, dermatologist, anaesthesiologist, cytologist,*
> 2) Phrases expressing different kinds of wards: *maternity unit, geriatric ward, ophthalmic ward, oncological ward,*
> 3) Adjective phrases: *chronically ill, fatally wounded, badly damaged,*
> 4) Verbal phrases: *admit to hospital, examine a patient, measure blood pressure, have a CT-scan, carry out an operation.*

The structure of this particular field indicates that thematic groups are undeniably practical both for teaching and learning purposes as the categorisation at any level greatly improves the general memory capacity of those who are subject to instruction. Apart from that, thematic groups may help teachers to design their teaching materials in a more understandable way so as to boost the process of vocabulary acquisition. As a matter of fact, the role of language instructors is crucial, as their teaching stimuli are required to contribute indirectly to effective and meaningful communication outside the classroom. However, it should be kept in mind that it is also due to an impeccable choice of lexical fields that students are provided with data that may be subconsciously used in the process of learning.

4. The Experiment

During the course of the academic years 2001/2002 and 2016/2017 two independent, yet similarly shaped and targeted experiments at two institutions of foreign language instruction were carried out. There were meant to be simple, self-designed teaching experiments intended to provide evidence to the validity of field-based vocabulary instruction. The first experiment was conducted on the 3rd year college students of English in the *English Section* of the *Teacher Training College* (Chełm, Poland), while the second one was carried out among the 1st year students of the *English Philology* in *The Podhale State Higher Vocational School* (Nowy Targ, Poland), who were – or at least could be assumed to be – at an advanced level of English language mastery. The experiments were assigned as vocabulary instruction tasks which were aimed at two lexical fields of varying scope, that is the lexical field **CLOTHES** and one of its subcategories labelled as **UNDERWEAR**.

In general, the students involved in both experiments proved to be resourceful, and they appreciated the opportunity to show their individual approach towards the tasks they were faced with. The most commonly consulted dictionaries were *Longman Lexicon*

of Contemporary English (1981), *Random House Word Menu* (1997), and a variety of on-line dictionaries (collinsdictionary.com, oxforddictionaries.com and macmillandictionary.com). Let us now focus on the two lexical fields separately and the results obtained.

CLOTHES
To start with, the students employed two basic ways of introducing the relevant vocabulary. Most of them proceeded from more general terms to more specific ones, listing them on the blackboard; while others employed the method of flash cards. For example, one of the students who was assigned the task of preparing and presenting the field **CLOTHES** categorised the most general items associated with the relevant field in the following manner:

1. GENERAL WORDS MEANING 'CLOTHES'
clothes: the things that you wear, such as trousers, shirts and dresses,
clothing: what people wear, used especially when you are talking about clothes in general and not about a particular piece of clothing,
garment: a word used especially by people who make or sell clothes, meaning a single piece of clothing,
wardrobe: a word used especially by people who write about fashion, meaning all the clothes that you own,
apparel (women's/men/ladies'): an American word used in the clothing business, meaning the clothes sold in a particular department of a large store.

2. TERMS DENOTING 'CLOTHES WORN TOGETHER AS A SET'
outfit: clothes that are worn together as a set, especially when the colours have been carefully chosen so that they match,
uniform: the set of clothes worn at work by the members of certain organisations or groups and by some schoolchildren,
kit: a set of clothes that someone wears for sport or other activity,
gear: (informal) the set of clothes that are worn for a sport or some other activity,
duds: (slang) 'clothes', for example, *cowboy duds.*

3. TERMS DENOTING 'CLOTHES INHERITED FROM SOMEONE'
cast-offs/castoffs: clothes that you no longer wear and have given to someone else who cannot afford to buy new clothes,
hand-me-downs: clothes that are given to a younger child in the family when their older brother or sister has grown too big for them or stopped wearing them.

Further, the presentation of the denotatively most general terms linked to the lexical field **CLOTHES** was followed by providing a list of specific terms associated with the lexical field in question such as, for example, *T-shirt, blouse, shirt, sweater, jumper, vest, cardigan, V-neck sweater, polo-neck, round neck, skirt, dress, jeans, trousers, shorts, jacket, tie, suit, bra, pants, boxer shorts, slip underpants, tights,*

stockings, nylons, mackintosh, sheep's skin, hat, beret, boots, heels, sandals, slippers, overshoes, etc., many of which were, understandably, familiar to the students, but such an over-all presentation was helpful in accounting for various minute denotative and register differences.

In a number of cases, the section pertaining to nouns was followed by the presentation of prepositional phrases and verbal phrases associated with a given field. For example, one of the students introduced a number of relevant phrases such as, to *be wearing sth, to have got sth on, to be dressed in sth, to get dressed/undressed, to dress/undress, to put sth on, to take sth off, to get changed, to change into sth, to try sth on, to dress well/badly/smartly, to be well-dressed/elegant/scruffy, to dress up,* etc., many of which the students were already familiar with.

UNDERWEAR

Obviously, the lexical field labelled as **UNDERWEAR** is justifiably perceived as a subcategory of the macrocategory **CLOTHES**, yet – somewhat significantly – it may prove to be didactically controversial due to entirely extralinguistic causes. Although somewhat hesitant to be active at the beginning, as the lesson progressed the students became fully involved and came up with diverse ideas which appeared to be didactically attractive and attention captivating. As in the case of **CLOTHES**, the students showed a general tendency to analyse the category **UNDERWEAR** from more general to more specific lexical items, starting from the very definition of the field in question:

1. THE DEFINITION AND THE SYNONYMS OF 'UNDERWEAR':

underwear: clothing worn under other clothes, typically next to the skin,
underclothes (underclothing): the clothes worn next to the skin, under dresses, suits and trousers,
undies: (informal) – underclothes, especially for women,
lingerie: underwear worn by women,
smalls: a British, (euphemistic, informal, old-fashioned) word for underwear.

2. THE 'UNDERWEAR' GROUPS DISTINGUISHED ON THE BASIS OF:

a) SEX
Here two categories were distinguished, that is to say: MEN'S UNDERWEAR with such lexical elements as, *briefs, boxer shorts, underpants, undershirt, thongs, midway briefs, strings, trunks,* etc., and WOMEN'S UNDERWEAR: *bra, brassiere, briefs, tights, body, panties, knickers, boy shorts, corset, stockings, thongs, slip, petticoat, shirt, half-slip, corselette*, etc.

b) UPPER AND LOWER BODY
Here, the upper and lower body groups can be divided into men's and women's underwear as well. The students, however, had a tendency to split it into: UPPER BODY: *bra, sleeveless shirt, corset*, brassiere, etc., and LOWER BODY: *briefs, boxer shorts, tights, panties, knickers, half-slip, stockings*, etc.

c) CUTS AND SHAPES
Here, one may speak of two main groups, namely BRAS and PANTS which may be treated as synonymous to UPPER and LOWER BODY sets, but when we consider women's underwear. The BRAS category includes such relevant lexical items as *push-up, classic, nursing, invisible, brassiere, triangle, balconette, sports, strapless*, etc. The PANTS group embraces such constitutive lexical elements as *briefs, high-cut briefs, control briefs, hipsters, boy shorts, bikinis, tangas, G-string, thongs,* etc.

d) COMFORTABLE AND UNCOMFORTABLE
Whimsical as it may sound, the division gains some tangible grounds when one takes modern underwear fashion trends into consideration. Given this and one's own experience, it takes little thought to arrive at the conclusion that the distinction is nothing else but meaningful. The experimental group of students aged 20-23, found it essential to introduce the dichotomy discussed here, and it was evidently clear to them that there are people who choose underwear for the pleasure of feeling good, while others base their choice on the individual need to show off how trendy they are, and still others are guided by some barely definable 'have it and keep it in the closet' accumulation streak of mind. It turns out that the underwear items that may be counted into the: COMFORTABLE UNDERWEAR category are *boxer shorts, sports bra, hipsters, classic bra, sleeveless shirt* and the UNCOMFORTABLE UNDERWEAR microcategory attracts the referents of such lexical items as *G-string, thongs, control briefs, strapless bra, corset, strappy lace bra* and others.

e) DAY AND NIGHT
The two categories discussed here were postulated by a minority of the students involved in the experiment, since underwear, and night underwear in particular, still appears to be a much hush-hush tabooed subject that is not to be mentioned, less so talked about aloud in broad daylight. Yet, its existence could not and was not in any way denied, though it may have been the more open-minded students who were more likely to make an unveiled mention of the category NIGHT UNDERWEAR. While the category DAY UNDERWEAR was most frequently related to such lexical items as *bras, pants, briefs, tights, sleeveless shirt,* etc., the list of lexical items organized within the canvas of NIGHT UNDERWEAR starts with the names of what are considered relatively 'decent' elements, such as *pyjamas*, *sleeping gown*, *boxer shorts*, *shirt, slip, nightie* and continues with those that may be said to be erotically-charged 'naughty' items, such as *G-string, suspender belt, chemise, basque, garter*, etc.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, our experiment confirms that the category **UNDERWEAR** as a lexical field is – didactically speaking – thought-provoking, including for those young adults who are strongly influenced by their family background, social environment and

locally accepted hierarchy of values and taboo-guided *do's and don'ts*. Adult as they were, some students felt rather confused and embarrassed by the very prospect of analysing the ins and outs of the concept of **UNDERWEAR**, even though they were informed at the outset that the most fundamental thing was to assume their individual understanding of the concept. To be more precise, those on the shy side found it hard to approach the topic from any possible angle, yet – after some time – one could see the effects of the gradual 'ice-breaking' and – in some cases – there was a total and unqualified engagement in the experiment. From the psychological point of view the students' involvement in the production of the subgroupings itemized above may be regarded as more or less natural, but it should be stressed that the divisions that were proposed were oftentimes rethought, reformulated and renamed several times as the topic itself seemed somewhat provocative, challenging, and – for some of the students – somewhat irritatingly troublesome.

Most generally, it is true that the majority of the students were familiar with at least half of the lexical items grouped under the general heading **CLOTHES**, yet only a few of them were able to discern the minute differences of denotative meaning between such lexical pairs and lexical sets as *tights/stockings/nylons, pants/boxer pants,* etc. Note that the field method prompted us to set side by side such semantically related lexical items as, *tights/ stockings/ nylons, slip/ petticoat, trousers/ pants, garment/apparel/gear/duds*. The words grouped in such sets are denotatively more or less synonymous, yet they exhibit slight differences in meaning and/or belong to different varieties of English. Among other factors, introducing words in fields helps one to account for the temporal dimension (see Lipka, 1990, p.15). While introducing such sets of quasi-synonyms it is the role of the teacher to point to the fact that the lexical item *nylons* covers the denotative spectrum of both *tights* and *stockings,* yet it is an archaic term both in British and American English.

Moreover, what the British call *garments* and *trousers* are termed *apparel* and *pants* in American English. Obviously, on such occasions it should be mentioned that a number of words that bear a British English regional label are perfectly acceptable in many areas in America. Similarly, numerous Americanisms have become familiar in Britain, due to an increase in transatlantic travel, the influence of broadcast media and the Internet. Apart from that, the method of fields helps us to bring to light the fact that such parallel sets as *garment/apparel/gear/duds* contain lexical items that belongs to different stylistic registers. Thus, both British English *garment* and American English *apparel,* belong to a formal register, the originally British English term *gear* must be qualified as informal while the lexical item *duds* is evidently a slang word. It is our strong belief that such distinctions can be made and introduced systematically in the process of teaching with the aid of the method of lexical fields. And, therefore, old masters such as Trier (1931) and Bally (1940) were – in spite of all the criticism directed against them – not altogether wrong, and the concept of lexical/semantic field that they developed may successfully be applied in vocabulary teaching; apparently it stands in sharp contrast to many modern methods of vocabulary instruction that are utterly unsystematic.

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The Metaphor of Struggle
in Communication of the Evolutionary Theory

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Abstract: The objective of the paper is a Conceptual Metaphor Theory analysis of the metaphor of struggle in Darwin's theory. The study begins with a short survey of uses of the concept of "struggle for existence" predating Darwin's book followed by a systematic analysis of linguistic manifestation of this metaphor in *The Origin of Species*. It is argued that the rich elaboration of the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE STRUGGLES in Darwin's theory (e.g. as war, battle, conquest, competition, race) results from multiple functions it plays in framing of the theory, that is the theory-constitutive, exegetical, catachretic, and rhetorical function.
Keywords: metaphor function, scientific discourse, Darwin

1. Introduction

The idea of struggle for existence has become the hallmark of the evolutionary theory and has permeated the language of evolution propagation and reception. This paper attempts to investigate the beginnings of the metaphor of struggle in the theory of evolution and considers its implications for the communication of this theory. Using the methodological framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), we present an analysis of the conflictive scenario in Darwin's famous book *On the Origin of Species* (1859) as a first publication in which the concept of struggle for existence becomes fully integrated with the evolutionary perspective. In the analysis, special attention is paid to the rich elaboration of the struggle metaphor and its function in Darwin's argument. The functions of Darwin's struggle metaphor are discussed vis-à-vis functions that metaphors can perform in scientific discourse, especially theory-constitutive, exegetical, catachretic and rhetorical function. We want to argue that the extensive (and excessive) elaboration of the struggle scenario in Darwin's book and the fact that it goes beyond the immediate needs of theory explanation and coherence, as well as its career in evolutionary discourse, stem from a synergic effect of all these functions.

The paper is structured as follows: First, the research on metaphor in science and metaphor in Darwin's theory is briefly presented followed by an outline of main theoretical framework and key terminology. Then the concept of "struggle for existence" in texts preceding Darwin's *Origin* is discussed. In the largest, analytical part of the paper we investigate Darwin's use of the metaphor of struggle, its structure and elaborations. Finally, we discuss the nexus of functions that the metaphor of struggle performs in Darwin's theory.

2. Metaphor in Science and Metaphor in Darwin's Theory

The research on metaphor in science is diverse and extensive and has been conducted from the different perspectives of philosophers and historians of science, literary critics, and linguists. Metaphor is frequently discussed in relation to analogy and model. The significance of metaphor in constructing and expressing scientific theories is fully recognized in such works as Black (1962), Kuhn (1962), Hesse (1970), and Soskice and Harré (1996). Functions of metaphor that are listed in the literature on the subject are numerous, and sometimes overlapping. An exhaustive discussion is provided by Zawisławska (2011). For the purpose of this paper we limit our attention to four functions: theory-constitutive, catachretic, exegetical, and rhetorical.

The theory-constitutive function of metaphor discussed by Boyd (1993) corresponds to the heuristic function mentioned by Perelman (1969) and, more generally, with the role of metaphor in model construction (cf. Zawisławska, 2011, pp.115-117, Brown, 2003, p.12). Most importantly, metaphors in this role "encourage discovery of new features of the primary and secondary subjects, and new understanding of theoretically relevant respects of similarity, or analogy, between them" (Boyd, 1993, p. 489). Consequently, such metaphors "constitute, at least for a time, an irreplaceable part of the linguistic machinery of a scientific theory" (Boyd, 1993, p. 486). They become an inherent part of a theory and cannot be replaced by non-metaphorical descriptions without affecting this theory. Boyd further remarks that theory-constitutive metaphors can also play a catachretic role because "they provide a way to introduce terminology for features of the world whose existence seems probable, but many of whose fundamental properties have yet to be discovered" (1993, p. 490). Soskice and Harré (1996, p. 304) even argue that metaphor in the catachretic function is more useful in the formation of scientific theory than it is in constructing scientific models. The third function, which Boyd calls exegetical or pedagogical, highlights the potential of metaphor for "the teaching or explication of theories which already admit of entirely adequate non-metaphorical (or, at any rate, less metaphorical) formulations" (Boyd, 1993, pp. 485–486). In other words, metaphors are used to explain scientific theories in a more accessible way, even though a non-metaphorical description is available. The fourth and last function of metaphor in science discussed here is the rhetorical or aesthetical function. The tradition of rhetoric going back to the Antiquity emphasizes the capacity of metaphor to attract the receiver's attention by aesthetically pleasing effects. Metaphor in scientific discourse can also be used to achieve persuasive effects, and the struggle metaphor in Darwin's theory is a case in point. What is more, the analysis of the struggle metaphor in *The Origin* reveals that one metaphor can have several functions in one theory that are in operation at the same time. Thus, in this study we focus on the function of the struggle metaphor as a tool for reasoning (theory-constitutive function), a tool for communication (catachretic function), a tool for explanation (exegetical function) and a tool for persuasion (rhetorical function). The majority of research on metaphors in evolutionism emphasizes cultural and historical context of *The Origin*. Darwin's anthropomorphic metaphors, especially personification of nature and natural selection, have earned the greatest interest. They were noticed, and

often criticized, by his contemporaries, such as Alfred Wallace, the co-creator of the theory of evolution, as evidenced by letters he wrote to Darwin (cf. Young, 1983, p.100). Darwin's exploitation of personification has been explained as his theoretical deficiency to identify a cause for the transmutations of species (Young, 1983) or as stemming from his struggle with with the English language, which is anthropocentric in nature (Beer 2009). In Beer's words, Darwin "was telling a new story, against the grain of the language available to tell it in" (2009, p.3), and that made him resort to metaphors. The claim that the whole concept of natural selection is a metaphor can be found in Thompson (2000), who focuses on the implications that this metaphor has for Darwin's theory.

A wider range of metaphors used by evolutionists for over a century was investigated by Ruse (1999). He discusses the metaphors of the tree of life, natural selection, adaptive landscape, progress, dynamic equilibrium, division of labour, struggle for existence, and arms race. He also emphasizes the impact of the social and cultural background of researchers on their views of the role of struggle for existence in the theory of evolution (Ruse, 1999, pp. 246-8). Thus, Darwin, who was heavily influenced by 18th and 19th century political economy and the industrial reality of Victorian England, found struggle and competition to be an indispensable and positive mechanism operating in nature, whereas German or Russian evolutionists either diminished the role of struggle in evolution or rejected it completely.

Research has also been conducted on Darwin's metaphors that applies the theoretical assumptions and methodology of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and the Blending Theory (BT). For example, Al-Zachrani (2008) identifies a number of conceptual metaphors: NATURE IS A MOTHER, NATURE IS A BREEDER, LIFE IS WAR, LIFE IS A RACE and EVOLUTION IS PROGRESS, and discusses their implications for Darwin's argument. A CMT analysis of the personification of nature and natural selection can be also found in Drogosz (2008, 2011, 2012a), a discussion of Darwin's use of the metaphor of family, tree, and struggle in Drogosz (2009), an overview of Darwin's use of metaphors of motion in his conceptualization of evolutionary change in Drogosz (2010, 2012b, 2013), and commentary on the overall impact of this network of metaphors on Darwin's theory and its coherence and logic in Drogosz (2012c, 2015, 2016).

We believe that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is especially promising for researching the use of metaphor in science because from the CMT's conception, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have emphasized the role of metaphor in reasoning, and because its methodology provides tools for a detailed and systematic analysis of metaphor structure. The basic assumptions and terminology of the CMT are presented in the next section.

3. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Basic Terms and Relevance for the Study

At the core of the CMT approach to language is the claim that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action", that the whole "conceptual system, in terms of which we think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in

nature" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.3). As CMT theorists emphasize, "metaphor allows us to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least a more highly structured subject matter" (Lakoff, 1993, p.245). The CMT defines metaphor very broadly and uses the term "conceptual metaphor" to distinguish it from other approaches to metaphor. A conceptual metaphor is taken to be an "understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain", with the conceptual domain being defined as "any coherent organization of experience" (Kövecses, 2002, p. 4). In other words, a conceptual metaphor involves mappings (or projections) from a source domain, which is typically more concrete, familiar and experientially grounded, to a target domain, which is typically less familiar and more abstract. The CMT methodology enables a principled analysis of systematic correspondences between the domains and an identification of inferences and entailments that result from these correspondences. Consequently, in this study, the metaphor of struggle in *The Origin of Species* is analysed as a set of mappings from the source domain of social relationships (struggle), onto the target domain of relationships among organisms, that is as the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE STRUGGLES. The CMT analysis of Darwin's use of the domain of struggle allows us to show the systematicity and complexity of these mappings and provides a starting point for a discussion on its functions in the theory.

4. Malthus and Lyell: Pre-Darwinian Struggle for Existence

Charles Darwin was not the first to use the phrase "struggle for existence" nor was he the first to describe relationships among organisms in antagonistic terms. That is why this analysis of the struggle metaphor in *The Origin of Species* begins with a short overview of Darwin's predecessors, which will also reveal the growing popularity of the metaphor. It also puts Darwin's use of the metaphor in historical context. It should be remembered that Darwin was not drawing from some abstract domain of social dynamics but from his own experience of 19th century English society's understanding of which was framed by the political philosophy of Thomas Malthus (cf. Ruse, 1999, p.246).

The term "struggle for existence" was used by Thomas Malthus and Charles Lyell whose works significantly influenced Darwin.[1] In his book *An Essay on the*

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[1] In *The* Origin, Darwin explicitly admits the inspiration coming from reading Malthus' work: "In the next chapter the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from their high geometrical powers of increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms. As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be NATURALLY SELECTED. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form" (1859, p.5). And further: "Hence, as more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms;..." (1859, p.63).

Principle of Population, Thomas Malthus used this term only in relation to human society and this use is relatively limited. The word "struggle" appears only twice in the 1st edition (1798) (e.g. 1) and six times in the 6th edition (1826). Other words of conflict are also limited: "war" – 6 times, "contest" 2, "competition" 4 (competition in the market), "conquest" 2.

1.   The peaceful inhabitants of the countries on which they rushed, could not long withstand the energy of men acting under such powerful motives of exertion. And when they fell in with any tribe like their own, **the contest was a struggle for existence**; and they fought with a desperate courage, inspired by the reflection that death was the punishment for defeat, and life the prize of victory. (1798, p. 14)

Charles Lyell used the word "struggle" only four times in his three-volume work *Principles of geology* (1830-1833), three of which refer to the world of nature and are quoted below.[2] Although he extended the antagonistic conceptualization to the organic world, he did so through an explicit analogy to human society. The word "conquer" is only used in reference to people and the idea of competition does not appear at all.

2.   Unhealthy plants are the first which are cut off by causes prejudicial to the species, being usually stifled by more vigorous individuals of their own kind. If, therefore, the relative fecundity or hardiness of hybrids be in the least degree inferior, they cannot maintain their footing for many generations, even if they were ever produced beyond one generation in a wild state. In the **universal struggle for existence**, the right of the strongest eventually prevails; and the strength and durability of a race depends mainly on its prolificness, in which hybrids are acknowledged to be deficient. (1832, pp. 55-56)

3.   We have only to reflect, that in thus obtaining possession of the earth by conquest, and defending our acquisitions by force, we exercise no exclusive prerogative. Every species which has spread itself from a small point over a wide area, must, in like manner, have marked its progress by the diminution, or the entire extirpation, of some other, and must maintain its ground by a **successful struggle** against the encroachments of other plants and animals. (1832, p. 156)

4.   A faint image of the certain doom of a species less fitted to **struggle** with some new condition in a region which it previously inhabited, and where it has to contend with a more vigorous species, is presented by the extirpation of savage tribes of men by the advancing colony of some civilized nation. (1832, p. 175)

As we can see, the idea of struggle for existence was used before Darwin either to describe social relationships or to describe relationships in nature in analogy to human society. It was Darwin's role, however, to extend this concept to the world of nature and make it the cornerstone of the theory of organic change.

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[2] Although Lyell used the concept of struggle to describe the world of nature and although Darwin acknowledged his fascination with *Principles of geology*, Lyell himself was not in favour of the idea of changing species and did not embrace Darwin's views until late in life (cf. Ruse, 1999, p.75).

5. "Struggle for Existence" in *The Origin of Species*[3]

Charles Darwin consistently used the language of conflict to describe the world of nature: the relationships between organisms and their relation to the physical environment. Unlike Malthus, Darwin uses the term of struggle to describe nature, not human behaviour. Unlike Lyell, he describes antagonisms in nature without explicit analogy to the human society. Struggle for existence is an inherent part of his argument which can be summarized as follows: Because resources are limited, organisms have to struggle to survive, and because more are born than can possibly survive, such struggle is inevitable. Organisms which develop any advantage over others are more likely to survive and pass that advantage to next generation. In Darwin's theory, struggle for existence, coupled with natural selection, leads to evolutionary changes and the origin of new species without divine intervention. Thus, in *The Origin*, struggle is not an analogy, but a domain through which organic life is understood and described, that is the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE STRUGGLE.

The importance of the antagonistic construal in Darwin's theory is reflected in the frequency with which he uses struggle-related vocabulary in comparison to his predecessors: "struggle" appears in the text 95 times, "compete/competition" – 54 times, "conquer/conqueror" – 6 times, "weapon" – 5 times, "war" – 4 times. The frequency of vocabulary corresponds to the richness of the expressions from the domain of STRUGGLE which, in turn, stems from extensive elaboration of the metaphor throughout the text of *The Origin*.

Structuring the domain of relationships in nature in terms of human antagonistic behaviour means that the roles of antagonists are ascribed to elements of nature. Darwin's theory identifies three lines of conflict: between organisms and natural environment, as in (5), between organisms of the same time and in the same area for natural resources, as in (6), and between earlier and later forms of species, as in (7).

5. But a plant on the edge of a desert is said to **struggle for life against the drought** ... (1859, p.62)
6. The **struggle** will generally be more **severe between species of the same genus**, when they come into competition with each other (1859:76)
7. Hence the **improved and modified descendants of a species** will generally cause the **extermination** of the **parent-species**; (1859, p.321)

Describing struggle at a schematic level would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of logic and coherence of Darwin's theory. However, in the text we find astonishingly rich elaborations of this domain. Thus, relationships in nature are not just a struggle, but more specifically a war (battle, invasion, conquest, victory, defeat) and competition: RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A WAR

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[3] The analysis of Darwin's language in this study is based on the first edition of his book *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* published in 1859. Page numbers given with the quotations come from the first edition published by John Murray, London, available at the website Darwin Online http://darwin-online.org.uk/content/frameset?itemID=F373&viewtype=side&pageseq=1.

8. Thus, **from the war of nature**, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. (1859, p.490)

RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A BATTLE

9. If two great regions had been for a long period favourably circumstanced in an equal degree, whenever their inhabitants met, the **battle** would be prolonged and severe; and some from one birthplace and some from the other might be **victorious**. (1859, p.326)

RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A CONQUEST

10. One large group will slowly **conquer** another large group, reduce its numbers, and thus lessens the chance for further variation and improvement. (1859, p.125)

RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE AN INVASION

11. … bearing in mind that the tropical productions were in a suffering state and could not have **presented a firm front against intruders**, that a certain number of the more vigorous and **dominant** temperate forms might have **penetrated the native ranks** and have reached or even crossed the equator. The **invasion** would, of course, have been greatly favoured by high land, and perhaps by a dry climate... (1859, p.377)

RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A COMPETITION

12. The **competition** will generally be most severe, as formerly explained and illustrated by examples, between the forms which are most like each other in all respects. (1859, p. 320)

RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A RACE

13. Hence, rare species (...) will consequently be beaten in the **race for life** by the modified descendants of the commoner species. (1859, p.110)

14. Hence, the more common forms, in the **race for life**, will tend to beat and supplant the less common forms for these will be more slowly modified and improved. (1859, p.177)

On the basis of these examples and the whole text of *The Origin*, we can see that there three levels of relationships in nature construed as a struggle and two main elaborations of this struggle (war and competition) used by Darwin to describe them. The level of struggle that is described with the greatest detail and which recruits the greatest number of mappings is the level of relationships among organisms at a given moment of time, which is conceptualized and described as WAR. The mappings are summarized in Table 1.

SOURCE DOMAIN WAR	TARGET DOMAIN RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ORGANISMS AT A GIVEN MOMENT OF TIME
enemies	species individual organisms
winners	surviving species/individuals
losers	species/organisms that disappeared from an area

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victory	survival
defeat	disappearance of organisms from an area they used to inhabit
battlefield	an area inhabited by organisms, natural environment
invasion/conquest	appearance of organisms in a new area
natives/inhabitants of a country	organisms inhabiting an area
foreigners/intruders/ foreign troops	organisms migrating to an area
weapons	traits, adaptations, behaviour, etc.
possession of a land	living in an area
beating	replacing indigenous organisms

Table 1.
The metaphorical mappings between the domain of RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ORGANISMS
AT A GIVEN MOMENT OF TIME and the domain of WAR

Projections from the domain of WAR onto the domain of relationships between earlier and later forms of organisms are less numerous. The participants in that conflict are earlier (parent) forms of an organism, which correspond to the defeated army, and later (descendant) forms, which correspond to the winners. The theory predicts only one outcome of this conflict, namely victory over or extermination of parent forms by later, better adapted, descendants (cf. 7). The domain of COMPETITION is less elaborated than the domain of WAR, neither it is applied to structure the relationships between organisms and the environment. The constraint stems from the empirical knowledge of the target domain: while organisms can be seen as competing for resources, the physical environment cannot participate in competition.

The choice to use the antagonistic construal to structure the domain of relationships in nature was a logical consequence of Darwin's assumption that environmental resources are insufficient for the number of organisms that come to existence with every generation, an assumption inspired by reading *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Consider:

15. A struggle for existence **inevitably follows** from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. (…) It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage. (1859:63)

16. As more individuals are produced than can possibly survive, **there must in every case be a struggle for existence**, either one individual with another of the same species or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. (1859:63)

The metaphor of struggle not only structures Darwin's descriptions of relationships in nature but also, more importantly, his reasoning. For example, because related forms of

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organisms need the same resources, the theory predicts that the competition between related forms should be more severe than between unrelated organisms, as is illustrated in (17) and (18):

17.   As species of the same genus have usually, though by no means invariably, some similarity in habits and constitution, and always in structure, **the struggle will generally be more severe between species of the same genus**, when they come into competition with each other, than between species of distinct genera. (1859:76)

18.   As the individuals of the same species come in all respects into **the closest competition with each other, the struggle will generally be most severe between them**; it will be almost equally severe between the varieties of the same species, and next in severity between the species of the same genus. (1859:467)

Furthermore, the source domain of struggle involves not only the participants in the conflict, but also the idea that the winner must be somehow better than the defeated. That inference is transferred to the theory of evolution, at least in its initial formulation by Darwin, who repeatedly states that the later forms of organisms must be superior to their predecessors:

19.   If under a nearly similar climate, the eocene inhabitants of one quarter of the world were **put into competition** with the existing inhabitants of the same or some other quarter, the eocene fauna or flora would certainly be beaten and exterminated; (1859:337)

20.   I do not doubt that this process of improvement has affected in a marked and sensible manner the organisation of the more recent and **victorious** forms of life, in comparison with the **ancient and beaten forms**; but I can see no way of testing this sort of progress (1859:337)

21.   The inhabitants of each successive period in the world's history **have beaten their predecessors in the race for life**, and are, in so far, **higher** in the scale of nature; (1859:345)

22.   …sub-groups (…) will constantly tend to **supplant and destroy** the earlier and less improved sub-groups (1859:126)

23.   for in all cases **the new and improved forms** of life will tend **to supplant the old and unimproved forms**. (1859:281)

What is more, this inference is in fact the foundation on which Darwin's mechanism of evolutionary change rests: those organisms that happen to be victorious in the struggle for life survive because they must have some advantageous trait that made it possible. They survive as individuals, but they also pass that winning trait on to the next generation, which, when the process is repeated over countless generations, results in accumulation of modification and, ultimately, the emergence of a new species (24, 25). The belief in the positive results of all that struggle is claimed to outweigh the terrors of the war (26, 27):

24.   **New species** are formed by new varieties arising, which **have some advantage** over older forms… (1859:325)

25.   … for each **new species** is formed by having had **some advantage in the struggle for life** over other and preceding forms. (1859:337)

26.   When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief, that the **war of nature** is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, **the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply**... (1859:79)

27.   Thus, **from the war of nature**, from famine and death, the most **exalted** object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, **the production of the higher animals**, directly follows. (1859:490)

Summing up this section we can state that relationships in nature are conceptualized and described in *The Origin* via the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A STRUGGLE. The metaphor is richly elaborated and the text abounds in images of conflict between organisms. As we have mentioned, the elaboration and detailed description exceeds the needs of the argument. The question then arises, what motivated Darwin to push this metaphor that far. We want to argue that the answer can be found in the multiple functions that this metaphor plays in Darwin's theory.

6. The Functions of the Struggle Metaphor in Darwin's Theory

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory emphasizes the significance of metaphor in abstract reasoning and the comprehension of abstract concepts. In Darwin's theory, the domain of struggle structures reasoning about organisms and plays a key role in Darwin's explanation of the origin of species without the involvement of supernatural powers. As it was demonstrated above, Darwin reasoned that limited resources must lead to competition, that competition must be the greatest among closely related organisms, that individuals that happen to have any advantage will pass that advantage on to the next generation. Advantageous modifications, accumulated over long expanses of time, will result in the emergence of new species, which must be superior to the earlier species. The antagonistic construal of nature, then, becomes an inherent part of Darwin's argument and a foundation of his theory. In other words, it is, as Boyd (1993) called it, a theory-constitutive metaphor. It could not be replaced by a non-metaphorical description or by a different metaphor, because it would affect the theory itself. In fact, attempts to extend evolutionism's explanatory potential by introducing the concept of cooperation among organisms (e.g. by Kropotkin, 1902) were not welcome.

The metaphor of struggle plays a catachretic role as well in that it provides vocabulary to express the theory in language. When Darwin set forth to write his book, he needed a vocabulary that would best reflect his thoughts. Thus, the conceptualization of relationships in nature as struggle provided metaphorical expressions to precipitate Darwin's ideas into language. It should be emphasized that Darwin was aware that he was using a metaphor (28), however what was a metaphor for him, has become in time the conventional language of evolutionism, as attested, for example, by (29), an excerpt from a popular text describing plant life

28. I should premise that I use the term Struggle for Existence in a large and **metaphorical sense**, including dependence of one being on another, and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual, but success in leaving progeny. (1859, p.62)

29. **Competition** isn't just a phenomenon in the animal world; plants **compete** with each other too. They need adequate sunlight, soil nutrients, and fresh water to survive. Though they are stationary, they still have ways of **combating** each other. Over time plants have evolved ingenious ways of procuring sunlight, attracting pollinators, and obtaining fresh water. They may take an **offensive** approach, responding to the **competition** head-on, or a **defensive** approach, making modifications to increase their chances of survival and reproduction. For example, when sunlight is the limiting factor, some forest trees grow rapidly to tower over their **competitors** and absorb the most sunlight, others channel their energy into producing many seeds and attempting to spread them so that they increase the chances of their offspring landing in a well-lit area. Plants have developed all kinds of **competitive** strategies from storing nutrients to becoming parasites to developing disease resistance.http://www.untamedscience.com/biology/ecology/interactions-among-organisms/competition/ Accessed 15.02.2017

Presenting his theory to the public, Darwin also faced the problem of explaining his ideas to the general readership. As it was common in 19th century science, his explanation had to be expressed in a way that would be understandable not only to fellow specialists, but to the general readership as well (cf. Beer 2009:41, 49). Describing relationships in nature as if they were engaged in war or competition ideally served this purpose, as it appealed to concepts familiar to his readers. Consequently, the metaphor of struggle was used with what Boyd (1993) calls the exegetical or pedagogical function.

Finally, Darwin hoped to make a convincing case. *On the Origin of Species*, inevitably, became part of the debate on presence of divine intervention in the order of nature and the book itself is structured as "one long argument", as Darwin himself admits (1859, p.459). The genre of debate exerts pressures on discourse; interesting the reader is one such pressure. The antagonistic construal is again a natural choice. In the first place, it turns the static state of organisms existing in an area or time period into a dynamic narrative of struggle. Such narrative appeals to emotions and triggers the imagination, simply, it makes an interesting read. That is why we argue that the metaphor of struggle performs an aesthetic or rhetorical function as well, and that this function is responsible for Darwin's excessive elaboration of this metaphor manifested in his vivid, almost epic, pictures of combat in nature. We also believe that rhetorical potential of the struggle metaphor has contributed to its continuing career in the theory of evolution.

7. Conclusions

This paper presented an analysis of the metaphor of struggle that permeates Darwin's famous book *On the Origin of Species*. Using the methodology of the

Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it analysed this metaphor in its historical and cultural context with a view to explain its rich and excessive elaboration in Darwin's text. It is argued that the success of the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS IN NATURE ARE A STRUGGLE, both in the original formulation of the theory of evolution and it its contemporary developments, results from the four converging functions that this metaphor performs: theory-constitutive, catachretic, exegetical, and rhetorical. The analysis also has revealed that one metaphor can play multiple functions in the same discourse. What is more, these functions support each other and motivate extensive use of a variety of related metaphorical expressions.

The analysis also allows for more general observations concerning the role of metaphor in scientific discourse. In the first place, apt metaphors tend to be conventionalized in time. While initially their use may be grounded in the fundamental need to express new ideas in a comprehensible way, frequent use of metaphorical expressions turns standardizes their usage within a particular branch of science. Conventionalizing the language can also lead to fossilization of the construal that the metaphor imposes on the studied phenomenon, thereby blocking alternative construals. Secondly, the study also shows the difference that analogy and conceptual metaphor may have for the reception of a theory. Both analogy and metaphor are used to explain, convince, illustrate and facilitate reasoning; however, the act of making an analogy remains overt to the reader and leaves room for alternative analogies and explanations, perhaps better ones. Conceptual metaphor, on the other hand, is less transparent to the readers, leaves less room for alternative construals, and may create the illusion that what is being described is factual. However, further CMT research in needed to study the differences in how analogy and conceptual metaphor used in scientific discourse affect understanding and, more generally, reception of a scientific theory.

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Marketing Post-Communist Nostalgia in Romania:
A Case Study on Contemporary Anniversary Events

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Abstract: This article explores the concept of "post-communist nostalgia" in Romania within the younger, post-communist generations, focusing on specific leisure practices such as communist themed parties organized by nightclubs. The first part of the paper focuses on the theoretical framework of the study and on the more general subject of nostalgia, to question the place of post-communist nostalgia in the broader context of collective memory. The second part examines the communist themed parties related to alternative memory practices in the Eastern European countries, and views this phenomenon from a local perspective, using a case study approach combining field research, participant observation and content analysis. The results indicate the "post-communist nostalgia" theme to be more of a marketing argument, rather than the expression of youngsters' attachment to a bygone era, while also raising new questions on the emergence of this theme in the local popular culture.
Key-words: collective memory, alternative memory practices, commodification of communist nostalgia, displaced nostalgia.

1. Introduction

Post-communist nostalgia is questioned here as a form of engagement with the communist past. Around 2009, twenty years after the Romanian anti-communist movement banning Ceausescu's regime, a rather unusual mixture of visual propaganda elements and advertising tools could be seen in the growing on-line environment, taking advantage of the newly discovered marketing potential of Social Media. Our first approach of this topic goes back to 2011, during a research on the generational heritage of cultural and leisure practices before and after 1989 (Bardan, 2011). Among other practices, we focused on contemporary anniversary events regarded as occasions meant to coagulate a certain collective identity (Crozat & Fournier, 2005), especially since a series of national surveys on cultural consumption indicated that participation in local festivals was a favorite cultural activity of Romanians (CSCDC, 2005-2009). For our study, specific dates recalling anniversaries of the old regime were selected as following: January 26th, the birthdate of Nicolae Ceausescu, the 1st of May as Labor Day, May 21st, the anniversary of the Romanian Communist Party, and August 23rd, the National Day during the period of communist rule. Using online search, news and social network aggregators, a query on these dates revealed them still to

be used as occasions for various local events. Most of the results were dated between 2008 and 2011 and were retrieved from clubs that organized communist themed dance parties, through a body of advertising posters relying heavily on a specific visual rhetoric, such as the red flag of the Communist Party, the sickle and hammer, the coat of arms of Socialist Romania, illustrations of pioneers saluting, the portrait of Ceausescu alone or surrounded by other communist leaders: Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. Apart from the posters, photographs documenting the events were showing role-playing participants dressed in clothes of the communist era: overalls of workers from construction sites and adaptations of pioneer and high-school uniforms. Moreover, the photos revealed that it was more to study than the use of communist symbols: the average age of the participants appeared to point towards a generation born around, or after 1989. How, and mostly, why would youngsters voluntarily use events and symbols of an epoch radically jettisoned by their parents' generation?

The opportunity to further investigate this paradox was supported by a field research we conducted in 2015, focusing on communist themed soirées organized by local nightclubs. We further explored the development of the phenomenon, while the present article describes the partial results of this ongoing research. The literature review covered below identified several lines of discussion, calling for a broader context, where the process of coming to terms with the communist past appears as a key common reference.

2. Related Work

The first set of observations concerns the trends for post-communist nostalgia, as several national surveys that were carried out between 2007 and 2014 revealed a minor, yet steady growing propensity in favor of opinions related to nostalgia for the communist past, raising a flag by both native and foreign scholars (Dragomir, 2011; Rossen, 2011) while rejoining polls conducted in other Eastern European countries (Pew Research Center, 2009). Although data collected from local polls was to be regarded with a methodological caution, an alarmist tone was nevertheless spread by dissemination of results in the Romanian media. Mainstream press titles (Evenimentul Zilei, 2009; PRO TV, 2010; Adevărul, 2013) fueled the collective imaginary with Romanians' nostalgia for communism. At the same time, poll statistics (INSCOP Research, 2013-2014) highlighted that appreciation for the communist regime could be found not only among the elders, but among the youngsters as well (Revista 22, 2013). Corroborated with a 2010 research that questioned Romanian teenagers and reflected similar results (Soros Foundation, 2010), these trends have been associated with factors related to rural habitation, lower socioeconomic status and education, but also to the poor instruction about the communist past provided in schools, most of the teenagers relying on media products and family for information. An idealized recollection of the communist past stands as another important source for nostalgia: as historian Luminita Murgescu pointed out, "(…) opinion polls show that for a large part of the population, the Communist regime no longer signifies a trauma, and the regime is not passed on to the young generation as a traumatic experience"

(Murgescu, 2012, p. 10). Also, researcher Bogdan Cristian Iacob estimated that the polls reveal the danger of installing a "selective and personal memory" regarding communism (Iacob, 2010), while sociologist Vasile Dâncu considered that the sociopolitical context and an intense identity crisis may explain why the youngsters chose a positive valorization of the past (Dâncu, 2015). A matching observation comes from the academic literature: commenting on the process of integrating the communist past in the Eastern European countries, scholar Maria Todorova noted that late post-communist nostalgia reveals a new phenomenon: "the tentative but growing curiosity among the younger generation" (Todorova, 2010, p. 7). Last, but not least, initial observations of this study confined the communist themed clubbing events to urban areas, and participants' profile with higher socioeconomic status and education, drawing an opposite portrait of the youngsters appreciating the communist past, as identified above (Soros Foundation, 2010).

A second line of discussion is related to the media framing of nostalgia through press and advertising discourses, seen as sources that fuel nostalgia for the communist period. Other than the aforementioned alarmist framing of poll results in local media outlets, the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Romanian communist regime prompted a broad coverage of the 1989 events, as well as topics related to social and economic aspects of life in communism, within an editorial strategy extended beyond 2009. Focusing on a content analysis of *Libertatea* daily newspaper published between October and December 2010, Manuela Marin identified several editorial and marketing features underlying a nostalgic framing of the communist era: a positive image, a selective memory of the past, merchandising of popular products, all triggering a specific response of the readership, as "the nostalgic feelings of *Libertatea*'s readers are based on a clear contrast between a retroactive positive image of the communist past and a gloomy and inferior present time" (Marin, 2013b, p. 14). The advertising industry appears also to be taking advantage of remembrance processes, whether in reviving old brands, such as *Dacia*, *Pepsi-Cola* and *Rom* chocolate (Marin, 2013a), in setting a particular marketing positioning of local brands, drawing on the unique memories related to them (Moraru, 2013) or in exploiting the figure of Ceausescu for commercial purposes (Drașovean, 2008).

The third group of observations is based on the fragmented public discourse on remembering communism, including academia. Among other arguments, such as the current social insecurity and quality of life, local debates accounting the surveys underlined the institutional limits addressing the problem of dealing with the legacy of the communist past. Recalling Halbwachs' model of the "collective memory" (1950), Vasile Dâncu commented the IRES poll of 2010 with the observation that memories are fueled by a "real competition meant to promote, in many forms, the image of the communist period" (Dâncu, 2015, para. 6), thus referring to popular culture, as one can find a wide variety of products and practices, ranging from movies and books, to advertising campaigns that appeal to communist brands. These forms of recovering the past may be linked to Herman Parret's concept of "mnemonic culture" seen as mental imprints, or traces of the past that come from memories and anamnesis, and appear as an "unwritten, spontaneous and pragmatic memory that is both collective and individual" (Parret, 2004, p. 38). Caterina Preda also

identified a plurality of views on the past, as well as a competition of narratives: counter-memories created by artists were prompting an alternative view over the nostalgia expressed in polls (Preda, 2015). On the other hand, Manuela Marin put in perspective the emergence of post-communist nostalgia in Romania within a chronological framework (2016), and she placed the gradual replacement of anti-communism and its related negative themes in a wider social and political context. One of her arguments is the slow and challenging institutional process of coming to terms with the country's communist legacy, with a key moment in December 2006, when the presidential endorsement of the final report on the communist dictatorship in Romania (known as the "Tismăneanu Report") was meant to bring closure to the matter. However, as Alina Hogea pointed out, focusing on media discourse analysis, the "Tismăneanu Report" generated more public debates and political turmoil, sign that "the contorted path taken by Romania to confront its communist past is not a finished process yet" (Hogea, 2010, p. 16). Mihai Rusu's views on the matter appear as more acute, for the collective memory regarding the communist past is marked by a "latent conflict" and a "mnemonic battle" between an official narrative of communism, lately codified in the "Tismăneanu Report", and a vernacular culture of remembrance, symptom of a severe dissension in the Romanian society (Rusu, 2013; Rusu, 2015). The above controversy is seen as an unproductive exploration of post-communist nostalgia by Măriuca Morariu (2012), as she challenged mainstream views that disqualify alternative practices of remembrance and advocated for alternative paths of dealing with the past.

One last line of questioning concerns the cultural practices of the youngsters before 1989. During our PhD thesis on Romanian cultural industries of the 1970s and the 1980s, we documented past practices based on imported western entertainment (Bardan, 2010). Asked about the meaning of their cultural habits, our informants recalled also feelings of longing for the unreachable: a nostalgia for an imagined West - freedom, capitalism and lifestyle - unevenly combined, as identified also in recent scholarly works on post-socialist contexts (Berdahl, 2010; Angé & Berliner, 2014; Todorova & Gille, 2010). This phenomenon calls for Appadurai's concepts of "imagined nostalgia", as the longing for something one has never had, and "armchair nostalgia" – one without lived experience or collective historical memory (Appadurai, 1996). Thus, for the post-communist generations, the communist past is only a culturally mediated memory, by family, school as well as the popular culture inspired by a bygone era. This line of questioning invites to examine the possibility of a mirroring phenomenon: could present day youngsters be nostalgic for a communist past they never experienced, just like the generation of their parents longed, in their youth, for an imagined idealized West?

3. Problem Statement

Documentation on communist themed soirées and parties came up with a body of more than 70 advertising posters published on-line since 2008, some of which can be seen in Figure 1.
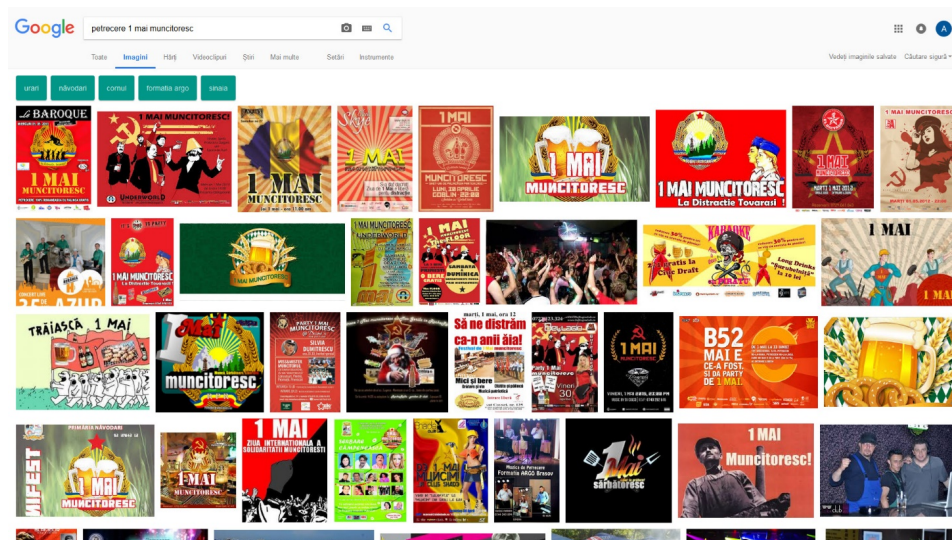
Figure 1. Screenshot on a Google images results page for a query on the topic of
"Party 1st of May Labor Day"
(Source: authors' archive, screenshots retrieved April 9th, 2018, from: https://bit.ly/2IZCIp5)

Could these images inform about a "post-communist nostalgia clubbing"? If so, Svetlana Boym 2001's typology of nostalgia would provide a relevant framework. Exploring the ways of giving shape and meaning to longing fueled by remembrances of the past, Boym set a distinction between "restorative nostalgia" and "reflective nostalgia", the first type evoking national past and future, while the latter is more about individual and cultural memory (Boym, 2001). Data on previous communist themed parties came mainly from the press, where media coverage focused on the marketing potential of the events and the positive response of the participants. Articles such as "Nostalgia is a Hit: Communism isn't Dead" (Adevărul, 2012), "Constanta: Communist Party in a Fancy Club" (Adevărul, 2010) or "Communist Party 2010: I have my Red Scarf, I am a Pioneer" (Adevărul, 2010) emphasized the growing trend for communist nostalgia among young adults, recording opinions on their motivation towards this form of entertainment. Given the fragmented and partial data on the subject, a two steps field research was set: a first phase was based on participant observation, in order to record the development of selected clubbing events. A second step would explore the meaning of these practices, drawing on a content analysis of interviews recorded during the field research. In the process of selecting our informants, Michael Patton's concepts of "purposeful sampling" and "information-rich cases" were used, meaning "those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton, 1990, p. 169). In our case, we planned to conduct interviews with nightclub owners and PR staff, as long-term observers of the public, and, if possible, with participants identified as regular clients of the clubs.

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The first exploratory phase started in April 2015. The objective for a communicational and ethnographic perspective was to document, through participant observation, communist themed parties that were going to be organized, during 2015, in Bucharest, on the 1st of May and on August 23rd - dates established as important anniversaries in the communist regime. Several topics were to be observed: the concept of the event, costumes, decorations and props, program and playlist, as well as the public's profile and its level of engagement to the event. An important component of this step was data recording: according to Bernard (2006, p. 347), in order to support the validity of the study, the researcher gathers detailed accounts and observations in field notes. In our case, recording all accounts in detail was anticipated as a difficult task, given that the specified field would feature crowded spaces with low light and loud music. As means to secure this step, as well as to avoid biases and subjective reporting, a small team, of six observers including the author, was gathered, planning to record, using an electronic device, remarks of the group during small talk. Thus, the focus group model was adapted to the field's context, by discussing topics based on a list of items prepared in advance.

For the 1st of May, five events were identified, advertised on Social Media. Three of them corresponded to our criteria, meaning evening parties organized in dance clubs ("El Dictator", "The Barrel", "The Vintage Pub"), all three taking place in the Old Town, a trendy entertainment district of Bucharest. The other two events were programmed for the afternoon: a worker's barbecue that we visited, and a Disco party with concert at "Promenada" shopping mall, which we failed to attend. The worker's barbecue marked the opening of "Lokal" garden for the outdoor season, and although the poster featured elements of communist iconography, there were no references to the past except for the traditional food served. In the evening, all three visits to the communist themed parties in the Old Town provided us, one after another, a similar experience. Except for the staff, wearing safety helmets or pioneers' red scarves, nothing whatsoever was related to the advertised theme, not even the music. As all observers agreed, the events were no different to other soirées at the scene: "It seemed like it was business as usual, in all three cases" were the words of one of the observers. On August 23rd, only one event was identified, a soirée organized by "La Un Ceai" teahouse. A similar plan of the field study was prepared, with a group of four observers. There were themed decorations, a candy bar with traditional sweets, pioneer red scarves, and a dedicated playlist. The place displayed a cozy atmosphere, propitious for chatting and occasional recollections of the past. Yet, it didn't seem to fit in the clubbing event model that we were investigating.

The findings of the first exploratory phase showed, by all evidence, that the selected communist themed parties were inconsistent with the image projected by the posters advertising the events. Although unexpected, the negative cases encountered determined two methodological adjustments: first, proceed with the planned interviews with club owners and PR staff. This time, the goal was to discover the reasons behind the inconsistency encountered during the participant observation phase. The second adjustment was to broaden the research object and include other variables related to clubbing, such as live musical performances, or other activities that could be associated with the past. Also,

the chosen period for analysis was extended to identify if patterns may occur, such as series of similar events or long-term projects.

4. Concept and Terms

Our study planned to explore whether elements of nowadays popular culture could function as triggers for cultural and leisure practices where post-communist generations would engage with the communist past. Before presenting the method and results, a brief overview of the main concepts will be provided, as a key step on refining the elaboration of our research questions.

First, from the growing body of literature on nostalgia, as well as related conceptualizations, we referred to those approaches that integrate a dynamic dimension, putting in perspective past, present and meaning. According to Fred Davis (1979, p. vii), nostalgia, seen as a deeply social emotion, is fueled by the past, but is mainly a product of the present, while Tom Panelas appends this definition considering that nostalgia "is always evoked in the context of current fears and anxieties, and looks to alleviate those fears by 'using the past in specially reconstructed ways.'" (Panelas, 1982, p. 1425). For Svetlana Boym, nostalgia is a "sense of loss and displacement" that may be also considered for "the unrealized dreams of the past and visions of the future that became obsolete" (Boym, 2001, p. XVI). Building on this conceptual framework, a special attention was given to the specific context of events we were studying: the late effects of the global economic crisis would impact more on the social insecurities of youngsters, rather than the meaning of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Romanian communist regime. Moreover, as the anthropologist Kathleen Stewart pointed out, nostalgia should be regarded as "a cultural practice, not a given content: its forms, meaning and effects shift within the context – it depends on where the speaker stands in the landscape of the present" (Stewart, 1988, p. 227). In this perspective, the question was not whether post-communist youngsters were expressing their nostalgia by attending themed parties, but rather what meaning they attached to these practices. Did it refer to a fashionable and cool nostalgia, or was it rather a spoof on socialism? Academic research accounting other Eastern European contexts provide several lines of investigation. Among these, studies on the commodification of socialist material culture are providing a relevant framework: for Jonathan Bach (2014; 2002), nostalgia functions as a form of cultural transmission (Bach, 2014; Bach, 2002), while Jeziński & Wojtkowski (2016) view the marketing of post-communist nostalgia as a social and cultural practice.

Second, relating nostalgia to the communist past can be better understood within the framework of a multidimensional process of remembrance. Such a topic puts forward the necessary complementarity between "autobiographical memory" and "collective memory" in the context of contemporary history (Halbwachs, 1950). In this respect, the fragmented public discourse on communism in Romania may be related to several narratives on communism articulating multiple forms of a remembrance culture that changes according to the communities, events or subjects concerned, recalling Halbwachs' modeling that describes the process of joining several collective memories around a

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common identity (Halbwachs, 1950, p. 48). In Halbwachs' line of conceptualization stands the "communicative" and the "cultural" memory, developed by Jan Assmann (1995; 2008) as two forms of collective memory based on different ways of remembering, which include "traditions, transmissions, and transferences" (2008, p. 110) specific to a shorter or a longer temporality.

Last, but not least, while research concerning the younger generations' nostalgia for the communist past is still rather scarce, a sound theoretical account is provided by sociological and anthropological approaches. As such, nostalgia that is not based on direct experience is labeled as "imagined nostalgia" or "armchair nostalgia" (Appadurai, 1996), the one for times which were not known firsthand translates as "displaced nostalgia" (Wilson, 2005), while anthropologists' disciplinary posture towards disappearing worlds calls for the notion "exo-nostalgia" (Berliner, 2014). With a construct conceptualization traced back to 1989 (Gineikienė, 2013), the marketing literature is also concerned with variations of nostalgia, in order to better discern effects and outcomes of nostalgia-related communication, and its applications in various marketing contexts. As such, influencing variables issued by individual and demographic factors were taken into account to differentiate between personal and direct nostalgia and its indirect forms. The latter are labelled as "historical", where the past is defined as "a time before the audience was born" (Stern, 1992), "simulated", as longing for an unknown past through mediated experiences or "collective", for the shared longing - "symbolic of a nation, culture or generation" (Baker & Kennedy, 1994). A particular case is the "vicarious nostalgia", a term inspired by a growing retro consumption trend, rooted in secondary sources and drawn by "an aesthetic consumption and a preference for objects associated with a period typically ten to fifteen years before the birth of the informant" (Goulding, 2002, para. 3). An extensive typology was advanced by Holak, Havlena, & Matvee (2006, pp. 195-196), with four categories referring to a) personal nostalgia, a direct individual experience, b) interpersonal nostalgia, an indirect individual experience, coming from other individuals, such as intergenerational communication, c) cultural nostalgia, a direct collective experience and d) virtual nostalgia, an indirect collective experience featured as fictional and coming from "books, video materials, or conversations with experts and scholars" (Holak, Havlena, & Matveev, 2006, p. 196).

5. Methodology

Accommodation of socialist material culture through social and cultural transformation has been analyzed within a wide variety of objects (Jeziński & Wojtkowski, 2016; Bach, 2014; Marin, 2013a; Czepczyńskia, 2010), ranging from products to services, from places to media practices. A key common feature underlying these processes comes from the dynamics of re-appropriation and production of new symbolic meanings. Scholar Jonathan Bach calls the concept of "secondary production" coined by Michel de Certeau (1984), when considering the way "the symbols, slogans and styles of the old regime are dislodged and recombined in ways that make them effectively contemporary" (Bach, 2014, pp. 124-125). Our ongoing research draws on a similar approach, yet the scope of the

current article is limited to the sole exploration of communist themed clubbing events, in order to map their place in the broader discussion related to the emergence of post-communist nostalgia in Romania, and is supported by the following research questions:

Q1: To what extent and why has the communist era theme been used in the advertisement of clubbing events?

Q2: Which are the main references to the communist past that are used in clubbing events?

Method

The case study method was chosen as a comprehensive research strategy, for it provides, according to Robert Yin, "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in depth and within its real-world context, (…) when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, (…) and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 2014, p. 16). Therefore, the focus of this article is to provide in-depth explanations of a contemporary social practice and to understand the context determining specific developments. A multiple-case design was adopted, while the unit of analysis was set for themed clubbing events associated with or inspired by the communist past. Enhancement of research validity was supported by data triangulation based on the use of multiple sources of evidence, in order to develop converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2014, p. 120).

For Q1, the analysis was formed by data collected from field research, with participant observation and semi-structured interviews, in the form of guided conversations with eight informants, which took place between July and September 2015. A set of complementary meetings was carried out during 2017-2018. Secondary data comes from an extensive online media review of articles and press releases, which was used to asses either occurrence, or coverage of an event corresponding the unit of analysis specified above. A new methodological adjustment was made, extending the investigation beyond the 2015-2018 initial period, back to the beginning of the 1990s. Thus, the study would encompass a historical perspective on the phenomenon, aiming also to trace its origin. Additional data on the context was retrieved mainly from the literature review of this study. Case description was chosen as analysis strategy. The coding scheme operationalized the events into a set of features, focused on the "venue", on "participants", on "activities", on the "scope", and on the "context". The technique of cross-case synthesis was used to identify similarities and differences between the cases.

For Q2, the analysis considered the negative cases documented in 2015 and therefore focused on exclusive cases where the image projected by promotional materials were consistent with the content of the event, where the public's profile matched the criteria of "post-communist generation", and where its level of engagement to the event could be assessed. Supplementary features were used in the coding scheme of the events, such as "concept", "resources", and "audience profile". Data comes mainly from interviews and participant observation, with additional data retrieved from owned electronic media of our informants (presentations, Facebook pages). Since long-term projects were considered for Q2, the interviews took place between August 2015 and July 2017, with four key

informants and consisted of guided conversations, as well as informal discussions, conducted in various public spaces, depending on the time and the availability of the interviewee. A similar method, with case description and cross-case synthesis, was used. Given the broader scope of the second research question, content analysis of the interviews was also used (Holsti, 1969).

Case description for Q1

Several observations were drawn from the negative cases studied in 2015 and were corroborated with data from informal talks and interviews with PR staff and club owners of selected venues, where communist themed parties were advertised. Snowball sampling led to other key informants who reported on previous periods, developing a timeline and a wider context for the themed parties. In this respect, it appears that similar events have been organized even in the early '90s in "Club A", the oldest student club in Romania, and an established brand of the underground cultural life since the communist period. Working there as PR manager, one of the informants recalls the first years after the 1989 revolution as extremely creative and productive, with a wide range of cultural events, in a time where clubbing venues were rather scarce. Among other costume parties, communist themes soirées were held every now and then, functioning as "a therapeutic experience mocking a semi-traumatic period" (PM, 2015). Over the years, the party was named "The Pioneers' Ball" and became a traditional event organized each year, on January 26th, the birthday of Nicolae Ceausescu. Online records of this series of events can be traced back to 2004, with a press release promoting the ball as a parody, and with a party invitation dedicated "to those who 15 years ago were proud Falcons or Pioneers" (Curierul National, 2004). However, a subsequent review put the event in a sociological perspective, noting that "past editions were more fun, livelier. Slowly, those who once were pioneers disappear from the clubbing 'circuit'. They become responsible householders, see for taxes and car loans, and raise children. Ceausescu no longer means, for today's high school students, other than a story" (Adevărul, 2008). Still, following editions got in the media spotlight: in 2005, the "The Pioneers' Ball" was co-organized with "Pro FM" radio station, and was also covered by Mediafax, Romania's leading press photography supplier. Photo records are also found for two more subsequent editions (Mediafax Foto, 2005, 2007, 2008).

After 2008, within a growing and competitive clubbing venue environment, the communist themed party model was quite widely adopted at communist anniversary dates, mostly as a marketing tool intended to attract new customers and retain the regulars, through parody and an engaging program including an oldies musical program, costume parades, adapted menus and drinks, role playing and humor contest. Decorations and props were easy to improvise, yet when it came to obtain pioneer red scarves, competition between nightclubs rendered the task a challenging job, due to the depleted stocks of this memorabilia. However, recent years showed a certain dilution of the phenomenon, as reported by our informants, trend corroborated with the decreasing number of advertised events on social media. More recent, press reviews of the 2017 anniversaries marked a significant change of the mainstream media framing: TV programs dedicated to the 1st of

May showed an editorial shift of the titles, as the term "Working-class 1st of May" was traded for a less "ideological" term, becoming "Transylvanian 1st of May" at PRO TV (PRO TV, 2017) and "Festive 1st of May" at Antena 3 (Antena 3, 2017). Visual identity and symbols were equally changed, accordingly. The August 23rd anniversary was marked, in Bucharest, by a political parade of around twenty cars decorated with flags and propaganda panels, an event organized by members of the Romanian Socialist Party, so-called followers of the Romanian Communist Party (Delcea, 2017), but the event was not covered by the mainstream media. Another revealing example is the re-positioning for an event organized on January 26th, 2018 by "Beraria H", an established beer hall in Bucharest, from a "Pioneer's Party" to a retro "Oldies Party" ("Şlagărs Party"), as advertised by one of the event's organizers (Burn the Sofa, 2017).

The generational change should be considered here as a key aspect: in this regard, creative director Alexandru Dumitrescu noted that advertising can still play on communist nostalgia for audiences over a certain age, but for youngsters it should be marketed as vintage (Dumitrescu, 2006). Corroborated with data from our informants, the correlation between the year of birth and statistics estimating at 28 years old the local mean age at first marriage (Eurostat, 2013) pointed to around 2010 to be the time span of generational change in clubbing attendance, as people born in the 1980's were entering adulthood. Further inquiry questioned whether the post-communist generation was losing interest in the communist themes parties. Yet, the radical conversion of the current's years "Pioneer's Party" of January 26th was based not on the lack of relevance of the theme for the venue's public, but due to the negative social media responses. Coming to terms with the communist past still appears to be a complex, and sometimes contradictory process.

Case description for Q2

Q2 explores clubbing events as memory practices, by identifying long-term projects where the public would be given the opportunity to express specific ways of relating to the past. As such, the present research joins the line of studies documenting the nature and the function of local grassroots alternative memory practices (Georgescu, 2010; Asavei, 2016).

The first case study is about "The Dead Ceauşescus", a side-project punk band created in 2006, tag-lined "A Tragic Comedy in One Act". Gathering performers from well-known local punk groups, the crew was brought together by the lead vocalist, Gabby Molotov, after adapting a song belonging to the Californian punk rock band "Dead Kennedys", hence an inspiration for the Romanian group's name. The repertoire draws on punk style covers after Ramones, Dead Kennedys, The Clash, as well as original songs, developing a political parody show on Communism and Ceausescu. The concept relies on a mixture and an alternation of propaganda hymns, photos and video projections with punk songs performed live by the band. Lyrics play heavily on the semiotics of anti-Communism, anti-Ceausescu and anti-establishment, as stated on the group's Facebook page: "In a country where neither the dictator died, nor the police forgot it was the Militia, The Dead Ceausescus offer exactly what you'd expect from a punk rock band: dynamism, political satire, disorder and chaos!" (The Dead Ceauşescus, 2018). The lead vocalist,

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Gabby Molotov, considers this concept in the line of political ridicule and humor developed in the communist era. The investment in costumes and props is constant and consistent with the show's concept, as illustrated by figure 2, with pioneers' red scarves, workers' overalls, safety helmets, and a specific macabre make-up. The crew members view their side-project to emerge out of passion, good music, the quality of the performance, while still having fun. The public reflects a twofold audience: people in their 40s, amongst which are friends and colleagues of the band, and youngsters in their 20s, rock fans attracted by the sound, the music genre and the playlist. In charge with the show's audiovisual effects, DJ Teo observed that propaganda footage displayed on the screen stirred the younger audience, for they found it hard to believe that it represented the reality of some decades ago. "The Dead Ceaușescus" shows are organized on a quite regularly basis, in Bucharest, especially on the anniversary days, such as Ceausescu's birthday, the 1st of May, August 23rd, Halloween and other adapted occasions. A special performance is planned for July 3rd, the current year, when the band will play in the opening of a Dead Kennedys' concert, their main source of musical and aesthetic inspiration (The Dead Ceaușescus, 2018).

Figure 2. Photo taken during a concert of the punk band "The Dead Ceausescus", Underworld, March 2015
(Photo courtesy of George Popescu, www.poqe.com)

The second case study documented is "Discotecă", foundedon December 1st, 2012 by Paul Breazu, Vlad Stoica and Cătălin Matei, a team of "sonic archeologists", as they call themselves (Discotecă, 2013). Connected by a strong interest in the sound of various forms of local popular culture, the group mainly explores Romanian music of the '70s, the '80s and the '90s, aiming to re-contextualize disco hits, as well as less known tunes, reintegrating them in the clubbing environment.

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        The concept of the events, that has also proven to be a recipe for success, is based
on a DJ party encompassing a live show performed by local pop stars from the past
decades, as illustrated in figures 2 and 3. In the first interviews carried out with the
group's members, they summarized several factors contributing to the instant success of
"Discotecă": first, the larger historical context of the '90s, where Romanian older tunes
became obsolete by association with the communist period and were no longer broadcast
on radio or television; the same music resurfaced the next decade via the Internet and
social networks, personal archives were digitalized and published on dedicated streaming
platforms, such as SoundCloud and Youtube, within a global emerging trend of retro and
vintage culture (Reynolds, 2011).

Figure 3. Screenshot of a page presenting the posters for the first concerts of Discotecă
(Image courtesy of Discotecă, www.facebook.com/discROteca/*)*

Figure 4. Photo taken during a concert of Discotecă,
featuring Stela Enache, Expirat, December 1st, 2016
(Source: author's archive)

Second, the evolution of the clubbing environment in the 2010s decade towards a rather conventional space is another specific context where "Discotecă" emerged, disrupting Bucharest's nightlife scene. Past and present are put together not only for the public, but also for guest artists, who were used to sing in bars and restaurants in front of a static audience, applauding but not usually dancing. According to Paul Breazu, the nightclub "brings a different type of energy and builds a different connection between the stage and the dance floor." The group's members also emphasized the apolitical approach of their project, stressing another important feature: there is little to no intervention on the quality of the sound, mixed mainly from vinyl records, along with digital tunes retrieved from laptops. Visual projections of images documenting past everyday life supports the music. The concept of nostalgia covers here a certain way of producing music, a specific sound, regardless of the ideological context of its creation. The public plays a key role in every show, drawing on a new type of clubbing culture of remembrance. Audience is estimated at a core group of 22-32 years old, extended to a larger cluster whose age ranges from 18 to 40 years, while the average attendance is estimated at 700 participants (Discotecă, 2013). Without exception, participant observation recorded a high level of engagement to the live concerts, with applauses, cheering and whistles. Moreover, spectators that have experienced neither the communist period, nor the products of its popular culture, knew the lyrics by heart and sang along with guest artists. Another interesting detail resorted from field research: in several occasions, as we observed the audience, we noticed some of the youngsters were attending the events with their parents. More recently, "Discotecă" tested the mainstream scene of urban music festivals, with a

live performance of singers, such as Mirabela Dauer and Corina Chiriac at the Electric Castle Music Festival, held in Cluj-Napoca, July 2017. Press reviews also noted a high participant engagement, with a vibrant atmosphere, created by about 2,000 people, amongst which "very many very young spectators knew the lyrics by heart" (Florescu, 2017).

A third case study, identified later in our research, is the punk band "Niște Băieți", founded in 2006 and inspired by the Californian group "Me First and the Gimme Gimmes". The band covers Romanian oldies, adapted on a punk-rock rhythm and sound. As noted on their bio page, "Niște Băieți" "accommodates in punk rock rhythms the immortal pieces written before, during and after the [*communist*, *Ed.*] 'golden age', to pass them on to younger generations" (Metalhead, n.d.). Data collection and field work for this case is still in an early phase, therefore it will not be considered for analysis.

6. Analysis of Results and Discussion

The case descriptions based on corroborated data from multiple sources brought some interesting points regarding the use of the theme, as well as references to the communist past in clubbing events. Not all the information was analyzed, for several methodological adjustments were made since the beginning of the study.

6.1. The Use of the Communist Era Theme in Advertisements of Clubbing Events

The first research question explored the extent to which the communist era theme was used in promoting clubbing events. This research question also investigated the arguments supporting its use. The negative case encountered in 2015 prompted a new approach of data collected through interviews with PR staff and club owners, extending the context in which this type of leisure practices emerged. Table 1 summarizes the key findings of the cross-case synthesis.

Period	Venue	Participants	Activities	Scope	Context
1990s decade	Club A	Exclusive members club, limited attendance, regular guests	No promotion, themed parties with engaging program	Having fun, mockery, parody, a remembrance healing process	Little to none competition of clubbing venues
2000s decade	Club A and other nightclubs opened after the renovation of the Old Town	General public, generational change, Millennials replace Gen X	Promotion of event, parties with engaging program, sometimes improvised	Variation of clubbing activities, marketing	Emergence of clubbing venues

2010s decade	Nightclubs in the capital's Old Town, and in other cities	General public, Millennials, tourists and expats	No consistency between promotion and party activities	Marketing, sales & optimizing club attendance	Heavy competition of clubbing venues

Table 1. Cross-case synthesis on communist themed clubbing (source: authors' archive)

For Q1, cross-case synthesis shows two main patterns regarding the use of the communist era theme in promoting clubbing events: the first one is related to the 1990s decade, in a time where clubbing venues were scarce. With a limited attendance due to the profile of "Club A" as an exclusive members club, communist theme parties were mostly casual events, organized to parody the recent past, functioning as a remembrance healing process. Events were not advertised and were confined to a cultural space with a solid underground tradition. In this case, the "post-communist nostalgia" concept draws on a parodic reframing of the past. The second pattern points to the use of the communist theme mainly within a marketing approach. However, here two secondary patterns may be identified:

(a) The 2000s decade came with the development of the local leisure environment, when communist themed clubbing proved its commercial potential. More or less formally organized events were also set in a parody framework, playing on the stereotypes of the "Worker" and of the "Pioneer". The concept of "post-communist nostalgia" is understood here as a marketing argument.

(b) Starting with the 2010s decade, clubbing advertisements preserved the visual propaganda elements, yet the communist themed events began to lose the key features of previous parties; the negative case documented in 2015 showed even the absence of an oldies playlist. For this latter secondary pattern, the "post-communist nostalgia" concept falls into a "form without substance" model.

6.1.1. *The Two Successive Waves of Communicative Memories for Post-Communist Nostalgia*

Scholars working on topics linked to Eastern European countries (Kalinina, 2014; Marin, 2016, 2013b; Berdahl, 2010; Nadkarni, 2010) identified two waves of communism-related nostalgia, each shaped by specific national contexts, and given different forms and meanings. Based on the study of communist themed parties, our results acknowledge a similar succession of two nostalgia waves for Romania, ranging from healing irony to commercial appropriations of the past. Drawing on Assmann's framework of "communicative memory" that is "socially mediated" and "relates to a group" (Assmann, 1995, p. 127), the following examples provide a brief overview on the transversal dynamics of this twofold process:

- For post-Wall Germany, Daphne Berdahl related earlier forms of nostalgia to the commodification of Socialist material culture, while current incarnations of

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nostalgia tend to be hyper-commercial and in self-parodying forms (Berdahl, 2010).

- For post-socialist Hungary, Maya Nadkarni saw earlier forms under an ironic distance from the kitsch of official state culture, while the current incarnations focus on the re-valorization of local Socialist-era styles and objects (Nadkarni, 2010).
- For contemporary Russia, Ekaterina Kalinina analyzed the 1990s as a decade featuring a critical and reflective dimension in the representations of the Soviet era, followed by a decade of commercial, then political exploitation of the past. Drawing on Svetlana Boym's framework of nostalgia, Kalinina aimed to bring "an illustration of how reflective nostalgia is being gradually supplanted by restorative nostalgia" (Kalinina, 2014, p. 3).
- For Romania, Manuela Marin identified a first phase represented by a massive public dissociation from the communist past, with a limited nostalgia specific to supporters of political factions claiming ideological continuity. The second half of the 2000s marks the emergence of a nostalgic phenomenon, based on social and economic grounds, rather than corresponding to Boym's *restorative* type (Marin, 2016, 2013b).
- For Romania, results of the present study show that earlier forms of nostalgia appear as spoofs on communism and on propaganda practices, with themed parties functioning as a "therapeutic experience". Current incarnations draw on the instrumental and commercial use of socialist material culture, reflecting a phenomenon that is currently losing popularity, as illustrated below by figure 5.
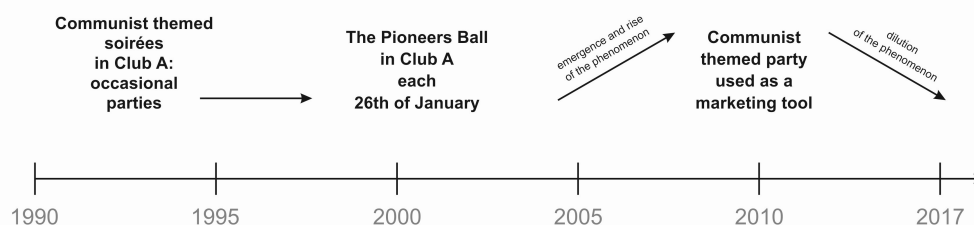
Figure 5. A timeline on the use of the "communist" theme in Romanian clubbing events
(Source: author's archive – author's illustration)

6.2. Main References to the Communist Past Used in Clubbing Events

The second research question has investigated the use of references to the communist era in clubbing events and will be discussed in three parts. The first part will evaluate the two selected cases, "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă", as a vector of

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cultural transmission, based on table 2, which resumes the key results of the cross-case synthesis. The second part will discuss these events within the broader context of themed clubbing events associated with or inspired by the communist past, while the third part will comment on the emergence of post-communist nostalgia related to the fragmented public discourse on remembering communism.

	The Dead Ceauşescus	Discotecă
Period	Starting with 2006	Starting with 2012
Venue	Underworld Club (punk and alternative rock concerts) and other underground music venues	Nightclubs, small concert halls, and spaces for alternative expression
Activities	Punk-rock concert, alternating locally adapted punk covers with propaganda footage	DJ party encompassing a live show performed by former local pop stars
Scope	Satire, quality performance, having fun	Re-contextualize the music of the past decade within the clubbing environment
Context	Broader sociopolitical context of fragmented public discourse on communism	A global emerging trend of retro and vintage culture and a local context of rather standardized clubbing events
Concept	A Tragic Comedy in One Act	A group of pop-sonic archeology, a RomPop discollective and neuro-sociological experiment
Resources	Archive audiovisual documents and propaganda artifacts	Audio archives, documentary footage of everyday life
Audience profile	A twofold audience: people with direct experience of the communist past and youngsters of post-communist generations	Mainly young adults of post-communist generations, some of which bring their parents to the show

Table 2. Cross-case synthesis on long term clubbing projects
using references to the communist past
(source: authors' archive)

For Q2, cross-case synthesis considered two different types of long term projects, both using popular music as the major support for the scope of the event. "The Dead Ceauşescus" is inspired directly by the political and ideological dimension of the communist era, while the use of punk music appears as a rather heavy and contradictory medium, contrasting strongly with the images of glorifying propaganda projected during intermezzos. The concept of "post-communist nostalgia" reflects in this case a solid critical stance towards a transgenerational disenchantment. On the other hand, "Discotecă" takes its references from a more diffuse conceptual area of leisure and entertainment, and plays more on the continuity and the flow of the music, within at least three strategies: the chronological approach of the playlist, the integration of the guest artist's performance into the musical context of the event, and the after-party DJing, by mixing old tunes and recent

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tracks into a new sound, strange yet familiar at the same time. For "Discotecă", the "post-communist nostalgia" concept comes with a twofold interpretation: the first corresponds to the producers' concept of a savvy archaeological approach and re-contextualization of popular music from past decades. The second, applied to the audience's experience, relates the most, from a semantic point of view, to the original meaning of nostalgia as "bittersweet longing". Based on participant observation, this understanding is illustrated by the strong reactions of participants, regardless of age and generation, to the tune "High School Years" from the soundtrack of a 1987 coming-of-age Romanian movie.

6.2.1. A Vector of Cultural Transmission

Besides the conceptual differences between the two projects, a series of common features emerge once considering the wider perspective of "post-communist nostalgia" as a form of engagement with the communist past. In this respect, elements from popular culture used by both "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" become "external objects as carriers of memory" and fall into Assmann's model of "communicative memory" (2008, p. 111), along with objects from other cultural media, such as books, advertising, film, and television that fuel social interactions across and within generations. Re-contextualization of specific references from the past used by the two Romanian projects is also another form of semiotic re-appropriations, specific to the commodification of memory as examined by Jonathan Bach in his work on the *Ostalgie* phenomenon, where nostalgia functions to create a "a popular-cultural form of knowledge transmission" (2014, p. 134). Aimed by different scopes, a critique of imposed establishments through satirical discourse or an archeological approach of the sound regardless the ideological baggage of the '70s and '80s decades, the concepts behind both "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" share a common ground when prompting an active narrative on the present mediated by the past.

6.2.2. Beyond the Commodification of Memory

Borrowed from Western cultural patterns, the commodification of culture and the nostalgia industry in post-communist countries play to mobilize collective memories as a marketing strategy. Moreover, according to Jeziński & Wojtkowski, digitalization and the new media contribute to "successful framing the nostalgia into a fashionable hipster cultural trend package of 'vintage', which is appealing to younger generations" (2016, p. 103). Along with other products of the local culture industries, the Romanian communist themed clubbing of the 2000s decade draws on a similar framing, yet accounts for specific shorter-term tactics, adapted to the cyclical trends of the leisure market. Unlike the communist themed parties, the ongoing projects of "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" appear to share a common ground regarding the scope, the assigned resources, and the consistency of an aesthetic program, based on a long-term strategy whose continuance is still to be proven. This distinction calls for Dominik Bartmanski's iconological alternative framework for understanding post-communist nostalgia, since a limit of the culture industry approach comes from its focus on the *commodification of memory* (2011, p. 2018). As such, market

purposes may explain the ironic play on communist culture, but it "assumes a considerable degree of detached irony and self-conscious distance on the part of both promoters and consumers of the repackaged communist icons" (Bartmanski, 2011, p. 218), and thus it fails to encompass forms of nostalgia that fall outside this explanatory grid. The next section reviews "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" as cases that grow beyond the commodification of memory.

6.2.3. Alternative Memory Practices Functioning as Mnemonic Bridges

As different as they may appear, the abovementioned cases appear as two sides of the same coin when considered under the lens of alternative memory practices. Both projects elude any longing for the communist regime, or for Communism *per se*, but draw, to a great extent, from objects and images belonging to this bygone era. Under Bartmanski's iconological approach that views post-communist nostalgia as a dynamic process of constructing meaning, "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" correspond to a "performative quoting of the past", along with other nostalgically contextualized objects that reveal the cultural dimension of the remembering process. Within this framework, the present study regards the interest of pursuing alternative memory practices as "nostalgic icons" that "are successful because they play the cultural role of mnemonic bridges *to* rather than tokens of longing *for* the failed communist past" (Bartmanski, 2011, p. 213). As such, it contributes to the line of studies that challenge the limits of normative models of remembrance, and broadens the perspective on contradictory remembering practices that fuel the fracture of the public discourse on the topic.

7. Conclusions and Future Work

The main focus of this article was to examine communist themed clubbing under the theoretical framework of "post-communist nostalgia" understood as a form of engagement with the communist past. Our conclusions are to be seen as preliminary findings within the broader context of an ongoing research. In this respect, we proceed with a necessary methodological caution in approaching post-communist nostalgia as a challenging object of study, due to its multidimensional, and rather contradictory framings (Todorova, 2010, p. 2).

Based on a case study combining field research, participant observation and content analysis we explored the reasons and the arguments behind the use of the communist epoch as an advertising theme promoting clubbing events, given the larger context of fervent local polemics on the emergence of post-communist nostalgia, as reflected by media framing and competing memory discourses. Results show that communist themed clubbing does not cover in any way elderly or younger Romanians' wishes of reviving communism, nor is it linked to nostalgic recollections of the past, but it is referenced as a way of engaging with the bygone era either by parody, by satire or by accommodating the older tunes of popular music. Subsequent observations highlighted the evolution of these leisure practices,

pointing to a raising phenomenon during the 2000s decade, reaching a peak towards 2009-2010, still persistent, but with significant lesser intensity to present days. The 20th anniversary of the fall of the Romanian communist regime concurs largely with this timeline, while also providing an overview of the two past decades reflecting two waves of post-communist nostalgia. Moreover, examples from scholar literature point to the two successive waves as a dynamic process traced across the post-socialist space, thus revealing the volatile semantics of the term. A special attention was given to the exploration of two long-term projects, "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă", encompassing references to the communist past whose meanings vary and "refer to different clusters of embodied experiences" (Bartmanski, 2011, p. 226).

In this perspective, the construction of meaning becomes a central question of our ongoing study. The analysis on the evolution of communist themed parties exposed them as cases that may not be representative of the whole post-communist nostalgia phenomenon, but instead as cases that illustrate the complex dynamic semantics at work in the society in a given period. Our previous work identified several semantic mutations of terms such as "political communication", "propaganda" and "luxury" during the communist era, analysing the tension between the normative dimension of the terms and their incarnation in the context of variable social and cultural practices (Bardan, 2015).

The discussions of the present article also add a new sociological layer of understanding regarding the emergence of post-communist nostalgia, by placing an emphasis on cultural meanings besides the causal explanation that point mainly to social and economic grounds, as consequence of the changes engendered by the transition.

The limitations of this article concern the partial data collection regarding the 1990s decade, for only oral accounts of the period were used in the analysis. An extensive document review, corroborated with research in the archives of "Club A" might shed a new light on the emergence of communist themed parties. Also, the partial documentation on long-term clubbing projects resulted in the absence of a third case study from the analysis, under-powering results of cross-case synthesis. Both limitations may be addressed in future research.

This article suggests three main directions for future research aligned with our framework: (1) a retrospective analysis, to refine the history of communist themed clubbing for an in-depth investigation on how the first years after the 1989 revolution have shaped original perceptions and recollections on the communist past; (2) a prospective study on the hypothesis of a cyclic post-communist nostalgia, given the 30th anniversary of the fall of communist regimes in the year following the publication of the present article. Linked to this direction is the emergence of a third wave of nostalgia, seen as a *restorative* type, based on Kalinina's observations to the 2012–2013 Russian context where state-controlled media appeared to "exploit nostalgia for political purposes and nurture a comeback of authoritarian ideologies" (Kalinina, 2014, p. 18). (3) A third direction is building on a particular finding from our case-study of long-term clubbing projects using references from the past. Reflecting on the twofold profile of the audience, "The Dead Ceaușescus" and "Discotecă" appear not only as mnemonic bridges between the past and the present, but

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also between generations. From this point of view, complementary reception studies should work on the question if nostalgia can facilitate the continuity of identity, considering, along with Janelle Wilson, that "individually and collectively, the past is remembered and, in this act of recall, it is often re-created" (2005, p. 8). Using Janelle Wilson's conceptual framework of "displaced nostalgia", we will explore the "post-communist nostalgia" focusing on the construction of meaning for post-communist generations.

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Exploring Advertising Texts in Nigeria
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Abstract: The thrust of the study explicates the utilization of grammatical and lexical devices in the texts of advertisements in Nigeria. This exploration aimed at demonstrating the way that advertising professionals wisely move from disjunctive organic elements to clause complexes as a convincing strategy. The advertisements of *UBA*®*, Toyota*®*, Wema*®*, etisalat*®*, Standard Chartered*® and *Stanbic IBTC*® were chosen as analyzable data to explain the behavior of the clause and its complexes in advertising. The conceptual framework is cohesion. Cohesive facilities have been applied as sub-concepts to interpret the constituents of the texts. The study demonstrates that reference, repetition, synonym, fragmented structure are deployed as inciting devices in the discursive strategy. In that sense, the study has the capacity to assist scholars to understand the nature of linguistic elements in clause complexes of advertisements. The analysis also reveals to advertising experts the cohesive resources that can help communicators to achieve intended goals of excitement. The study illuminates the extent at which advertisers take advantage of and associate with events in society to campaign their goods and services to consumers.
Keywords: grammatical ties; lexical ties; persuasion; text.

1. Introduction

No one can undermine the role of language in human social activities. Thus, language is an inescapable phenomenon that even advertising messages rely heavily on. It is because language influences human behaviors at all levels and in all spheres (Pike, 1967; Firth, 1968; Hjelmslev, 1975, De Beaugrande, 1991). This claim informs advertising professionals to adopt specific choice of text that has the potency to draw customer's attention to fulfilling advertisers' intention. The construction of text with peculiar criteria tends to serve the purpose intended. That communicative mission seems to differentiate advertising text, in a way, from so many discourse domains. Actually, the language of advertising might not really 'go off the curve' of the day-to-day application of clauses but its deployment rather adds to daily language usages (Dalamu, 2017). It is unwise to claim that text of advertising is static because experts are always in search of linguistic devices that can enhance sales of products. This quest is a motivational factor for constructing extensive but striking vocabulary that possesses syntactic emancipation. Often advertisers deploy disjunctive grammatical constituents to create a lasting impression on the memories of consumers or what Cached Similar refers to as winning a seat in consumer's memory

(Similar, n.d.). When the *memorability* of a product's name and benefits is not achieved in campaigns; such creativity amounts to subjugating advertisements (*henceforth*: ad) underneath the feet (Leech, 1966) of the target audience, who are somewhat reluctant to advertising information.

Although advertising communications cannot operate under the guise of a precise scientific enterprise of a perfect art construct; the current economic climatic downturn in Nigeria has raised the bar of advertising texts to another fascinating level. The economic condition has perhaps elevated the text from either being disjunctive or singularized clauses at all times to clause complex forms. In this clustery act, the agitation for *memorability* becomes jettisoned. Advertisers may have a feeling that consumers are already fraternized with their products. Their current concern could be how to sensitize recipients with cohesive constructs to further lubricate the relationship previously built. Perhaps, the understanding is that it is more precious to excite and retain users of a product than to woo and win new ones (Schultz & Barnes, 1995). In that regard, the researcher aims at correlating the relevance of Systemic Functional Linguistics (*henceforth*: SFL) with the nature of clause complexes in ads in Nigeria through the purview of cohesive ties. That is, an investigation of cohesive relationships and appreciations of elements that shapes the clause complex. In other words, the analysis focuses the constituents of textual metafunction in which the mood and transitivity systems operate and obtain both interpersonal and ideational meanings. Halliday (1994) recognizes that to articulate the technical terms of *text* (specimen), *around the clause* (mean), and *above the clause* (holisticity) as spheres of linguistic explifications. The study has limited the tool for analyzing the structural complexes to cohesive resources in the grammatical zone and lexical domain as a means of exploring relationships existing between advertising and SFL in terms of textual functions and applications.

2. Advertising and Its Functional Breadth

Historical linguistics reports that every lemma of lexemes in English word-stock has a source. This is because English, right from the onset, adopts words without any constriction (McLaughlin, 1970; Kastovosky, 2000). Such a linguistic behavior may be as a result of war, business interaction, invasion, conquest, colonialism, etc. (Halliday, Teubert, Yallop & Čermáková, 2004; Okoro, 2006). The intrusion of external vocabulary has made the historical origin of words to be complex. However, such forcible entry leads to the growth, development, and widespread of the language beyond the control of any institution or resistance of any country. In a way, the external factors have contributed in projecting the hegemonic function of English and as a language that plays a central role in world affairs (Akere, 1998; Jackson & Ze Amvela, 2000; Awonusi 2007). Of course, advertising does not glide away from the etymological price that English lexemes pay. Advertising is a Latinized word that is coined out of a historical relationship between English and Latin. The word, advertise, in Pope's (1998) perspective, is fabricated from *advertere* (Latin). On the one hand, this refers to the conveying of particular information to somebody concerning

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something. On the other hand, the subject points to bringing something into somebody's notice. t further stresses the drawing of someone's attention to something peculiar (Pope, 1998). The variegated of meanings coupled with the functions that advertising performs in society attract several descriptions.

Giving Harris and Seldon (1962) a priority to lead the argument, their opinion is that advertising "covers any activity designed to spread information with a view to promote the sales of marketable goods and services" (p. 40). This starting point reveals that advertising does not just spread information. The communication does that for a persuasive purpose so that certain goods and services are promoted for consumers' consumption. This means that the principal aim of any ad is to sell a product. Leech (1966, p.vii) considers that advertising is "the emotive component that has attracted most attention, whether the resulting attitude to the mass media which are its vehicle is one of mild approval… or one of strident alarm." The description of Leech emanates from a psychological plane in the sense that Leech (1966) understands advertising as a functional cognitive tool. Experts, according to Leech, adopt advertising as a powerful communicative device capable of influencing the decision of consumers to patronize goods and services. If an ad is productively created, it serves as a prominent persuasive weapon of manufacturers, which is perhaps irresistible (Schultz & Barnes, 1995). In that regard, one might suggest that an ad has taken upon itself the roles of a salesman. On that ground one might refer to advertising activities as the salesmanship in the media. This is a functional interchangeability between a salesperson and advertising in the media. The media, Harris and Seldon (1962, p. 12) expound, have been a sustainable platform of advertising and the chief source of revenue generation (*also in* Bogart, 1995, p. xvii). The press prepares a suitable domain for the sponsors to exercise the objective of conviction. This can be connected to the argument of Myers (1986, p. 12) that advertising is an "aid to the supply and demand equation, informing consumers of their choices easing the flow of distribution and pioneering the cause of new goods about to enter the market." Kathy Myer's position is purely economic. Advertising performs a monitoring role for the public. Advertising communication engages the public on the supply of a product into the market, the location that the product can be purchased and perhaps, the price entails. Advertising is also interested in getting the audience informed about new products.

Those functions, to a considerable extent, position advertising as a contributory factor of the economic growth and development. Dyer (1982) criticizes advertising as "an irrational system which appeals to our emotion and to anti - social feelings which have nothing to do with the goods on offer" (p. 3). Advertising practitioners amplify most materials in the frames more than the products meant for sales. So many people might count advertising operations as irritant. Therefore, some members of the public are of the opinion that there is no need to read the information of the communication (Cook, 1992). This is the professional's justification for equipping the frames with persuasive materials. The apparent substances of images and text canvass distractive devices in order to attract readers (Sells & Gonzalez, 2002). That means human attitudes towards advertising compel the entity to turn to a psycho-sociological event of appealing. However, irrespective of views, the ultimate goal line of advertising is to influence recipients to patronize goods and services. In the

terminology of Leymore (1975), advertising is similar to myth. She argues that "To the constant nagging dilemmas of human condition, advertising gives a simple solution… simultaneously provokes anxiety and resolves it" (p. 156). There are little doubts that every human being is in need of one thing or another. The reason that triggers individuals to work hard is to meet the demand of a particular lifestyle. Advertising is responsible, in a way, for reminding readers of what their needs are and inciting the audience to buy certain goods now. Buying goods and services, advertising claims, is a solution to individuals' problems whereas consumption of goods and services assists manufacturers to grow fat in generating profit (Thompson, 2004). In the perspective of the practitioners, advertising tends to proffer solutions to our challenges of life.

2.1 Goal of Advertising and Constructs

Advertising is a promotional tool of manufacturers as well as an informational 'mediator' to consumer (Dalamu, 2018). It performs these functions through the products. These twin drives position advertising as an essential commodity in both business domains and social systems. The author could submit that the way dramatists appreciate costumes in their artistry performances is similar to advertising in the fortress of manufacturing. The fundamental function, perhaps, encourages Bogart (1995) to argue that "advertising is inevitably a powerful economic force in any complex industrial society where production capacity exceeds effective consumer demand" (p. xiii). Advertising propels the target audience to buy more than what the individuals want because consumption is a hallmark of sales of product (Dean, 1966). Advertising communication also serves a locomotive function as in the train (Howard & Hurlbert, 1973), though it is a routine cost and future investment on businesses (Harris & Seldon, 1962; Bogart, 1995). Wanamaker takes a consultancy position by advising business executives on the looming danger of neglecting promotion. To discontinue an ad, Wanamaker argues, is taking down your signs. "If you want to do business", Wanamaker asserts, "you must let the public know it. I would as soon think of doing business without clerks as without advertising" (*cited in* Dyar, 1952, p. 187). Wanamaker's opinion signals advertising as a consistent tool of business growth. Perhaps, its importance is much higher than the clerical officers in companies because the roles of clerical officers can be duly assigned to managers and directors as joint tasks or responsibilities. Nevertheless, it is only advertising that can perform the functions due to it – no any other instrument can actually operate in the dominion of ads. This is because persuasive roles are distinctive.

Advertising is a duty for everyone. Directly or indirectly, everybody is a participant in fulfilling advertising objectives despite that there are specialists in the field. Product's identification, information communication, wooing of new customers and consumer retention through inducement are distinctions in advertising goals (Adedun, 2007). These activities assist in increasing the consumption of products, brand building as well as establishing consumers' loyalty. All these can spark semiotic innovation among professionals with variety of choices. The experts' constructions have the capacity for knowledge increment in the spheres of product and language use. Besides, advertising

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provides a room for product's quality and value augmentation because it stimulates competition of products. That suppresses the notion of oligopoly where few products tend to assume a domineering role over others. In addition to that, this seems to bring about product differentiation as a departure from product's appearance homogeneity (Harris & Seldon, 1962, p. 81-84). In the competitive field, advertising defends products as well as setting a competing price for products of like manner.

As the matter of consumption of goods and services tends complex, and consumers become sophisticated; advertisers are much concerned with the promotion of goods. In that regard, businesspersons seek various means in getting consumers' attention to purchase certain products. Given these challenges, words turn to a device of arousing the public interest to goods and services. A means of surviving in the business environment motivates advertisers to turn into men with fire in their nerves in the universe of creativity. Advertising experts perceive words as a tool of conviction. That creative behavior inspires Ogilvy (2013) to confess that "advertising is a business of words" (p. 41), and words carefully crafted jump-start emotion (Bamberg, 1997, p. 210). Advertisers do the usual, and perhaps, the unusual with words in terms of lexemic constructions, constituent formations, and syntactic clustering. Barron (1958) observes these communicative behaviors with dual insights of shaping words as other professionals do and do not. Through the creativity expertise, many unique texts are displayed. These features are "big ideas" as Schultz and Barnes (1995, p. 172) exemplifies.

In earnest, the linguistic characterization of the features of advertising text began in Leech (1966) and it is still accelerating. Some of these traits are: command, statement and *wh*-clauses (Leech, 1966); evaluative/superlative adjective and y-adjectives (Geis, 1982); compounding and ellipsis (Cook, 1992); and slogan and clichés (Myers, 1994). Also observed are: metaphor and pun (Tanaka, 1994; McQuarrie & Mick, 1996); weasel words, misspelling and neologism (Kalmane, 2012); and informal words and multilingualism (Similar, n.d.). Elsewhere, the analysis has discussed the concept of *pidginization* and the issue of phonological adaptation in ads. These vehicles of persuasion are signals to the liberties that copywriters take with language discourse. Leech (1966) perceives this mouthwatering explosion as 'poetic license' (p. 175; *also* Jaworski & Coupland, 2006). Such textual production is an *un*-constricted right that provides advertisers the freedom to construct statements as they want in order to suit the intended persuasive purposes.

3. Domain of SFL in the Advertising World

The part of advertising that the semantic "fire" of SFL "burns" so well is the text. Nonetheless, O'Toole (1994), and Kress and van Leuween (1996) have employed the systemic concepts of three metafunctions to process images of pictures, arts and colors. The text serves either an anchor or relay to the entire frame. It is an engine room of most ads. It is that domain of operation that projects SFL as a theory of text, processing verbal communicative devices. Various opinions shape the concept of text. The root of text is

termed *textus* originated from Latin. The lexeme means *something woven together* (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 6). In corollary to that *lexicogrammatical* expression, Malmkjear (2004, p. 541) describes text as a unit of structure larger than the sentence, and however, dependent on context. On the same structural platform, Sinclair (1992) comments that "text is often described as a long string of sentences, and this encourages the practice of drawing links from one bit of the text to another" (p. 11). The instances of Malmkjear (2004) and Sinclair (1992) hold that a text is not even a sentence let alone being a clause. It is rather a combination of sentences that produces meanings based on the environment of operation. In contrast McKee (2003) expresses a slightly opposing view, claiming that "text is something that we make meaning from" (p. 4). The length of text is never the concern here. McKee focuses on text as an element that makes meaning. In that case, a text can be an image, a word or anything with semiotic values. Sinclair (1994) later adds to the description of text in terms of its length and breadth. Irrespective of the measurement as Sinclair (1994) argues, "the text at any time carries with it everything that a competent reader needs in order to understand the current state of the text" (p. 18). According to Sinclair, text is a linguistic device that produces meaning to a communicator who has knowledge of the subject in terms of the socio - cultural ambiance of operation.

Systemicists have a unified approach to text despite the shades of report in that regard. However, their orientation seems to emanate from the claim of Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 2) characterizing text as a semantic unit. All the descriptions of text taken this course are "a round peg in a round hole." In relation to discourse and system, "texts are both material realization of system of signs, and also the site where change continually take place" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 6). Eggins interprets a text as "authentic product of social interaction' that produces a unit of meanings, a unit which expresses, simultaneously, ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings" (Eggins, 2004, p. 28). This is an indication, in Eggins' sight, that meanings realized in text revolve around the core of the SFL's theoretical framework regarded as the three metafunction as of the mood and modality, theme and rheme, and transitivity system. Texts are usually of different breeds. The nature of text produced in an environment is explained by Kress (1989): "Texts arise in specific social interactions and they are constructed with specific purposes by one or more speakers or writers" (p. 18). The environment, Kress asserts, determines varieties of texts in process in order to produce meaning potential. Kress adds that meaning find their expressions in text though the origins of meanings that are outside the text. It then becomes impossible to neglect the atmosphere of texts concrete situations of social exchange (ibid.; van Dijk, 1988 & 2010). Text contains meaning potential based on the socio-cultural statuses of the negotiators.

In Halliday's (1985) sense, text is recapitulated as a social exchange of meaning and functional apparatus in its own right. Thus, text is a process as well as a product. As a process, text accommodates a network of meaning potential made up of choices. As a product, it can be a recorded or a written object constructed in systemic ways. The relevance of these might excite Richards, Platt, and Weber (1985, p. 292) to describe text as "a piece of spoken or written language" which may be recognized from "its structure … or

functions." The characteristics of text make it a specimen of study in which many analysts run commentaries and quantitative interpretations as illustrated later in Table 1, Figures 2 and 3. However, texts are elucidated within the confinement of context of situation. Once again, it is in that stance that SFL is a theory of text. Butler (2003, p. 47) argues that "of the functional approaches to language, SFL is without doubt one of most – oriented" (*also in* Wodak & Meyer, 2001) There are other approaches to textual analysis in connection to functions. Among the theoretical daises are Generativism, Dik's Functional Grammar, Cognitive Grammar, and Semiotic Grammar. SFL, as Butler (2003) explains, is one of the invaluable for its uniqueness (*also in* Berry, Butler, Fawcett & Huang, 1986, p. xiv). Therefore, Halliday provides an exposure into the focus of the theory. In respect of that, Halliday (1994) says that,

> In general, … the approach leans towards the applied rather than pure, the rhetorical rather than the logic, the actual rather than the ideal, the functional rather than the formal, the text rather than the sentence. The emphasis is on text analysis as a mode of action, a theory of language as a means of getting things done (Halliday, 1994, p. xxvii).

Halliday establishes the domain of SFL basically on providing explanations to any form of text in terms of cultural processes and organic productions. The sphere of SFL operations permits the theory to have a wide scope in textual manipulations. Concepts of Transitivity, Mood, Theme, Hypotaxis, Parataxis, Tonicity, Grammatical Metaphor, Cohesion, etc. are interpretative instruments that can be referred to as textual 'shredders' or 'secateurs.' It is out these functional terminologies that the study has deployed cohesion to facilitate the analysis of the constructs in the ads of *UBA®, etisalat®, Toyota®,* etc.

3.1 Theoretical Scope

Significantly, cohesion demonstrates relationships across the textual texture of a grammatical structure *around the clause* and *above* it. The purpose of the link is to provide what Martin (2002) regards as a trajectory of meanings. The remark promotes cohesion to fit as a conceptual framework for the study. Cohesion is a prominent channel in which clauses are logically connected together to form texture (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). It is a crux in explicating discourse organs of text. This is on the ground that cohesion operates as an indicator of the intertwining possibilities of the chains of the clause and structural complexes. A reference to texture signals clause parameters that construct the status of a text. The linguistic elements involved in the connectivity are referred as cohesive relations, cohesive resources or cohesive ties (Schiffrin, 1987; Hasan, 1995; Hoey, 2001; Martin & Rose, 2003; Bloor & Bloor, 2004). The following aspects function in the domains of cohesive relations: substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, reference, and lexical cohesion. Figure 1 below shows the system network of cohesion in English.

The proximity of the system in Figure 1 below illustrates two fields. That is, grammatical zone and lexical zone. Grammatical zone realizes substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and reference while lexical zone locates lexical cohesion in the form of

synonym, collocation, etc. (Thompson, 2014). Butler (1985, p. 180) summarizes the domains of cohesion thus, "reference, substitution, and ellipsis are expressed by the grammatical resources; conjunction is seen as partly grammatical and partly lexical; lexical cohesion is realized purely through the vocabulary of language." Reference is a recoverable participant/circumstantial ties through the perspective of the *phora* ancestry. Substitution and ellipsis, in Butler's (1985) point of of view, are somehow two of a kind. Substitution is the replacement of a particular linguistic organ with novel element whereas ellipsis is substitution by zero or nothing. Ellipsis is an absolute deletion of an item from a clause.
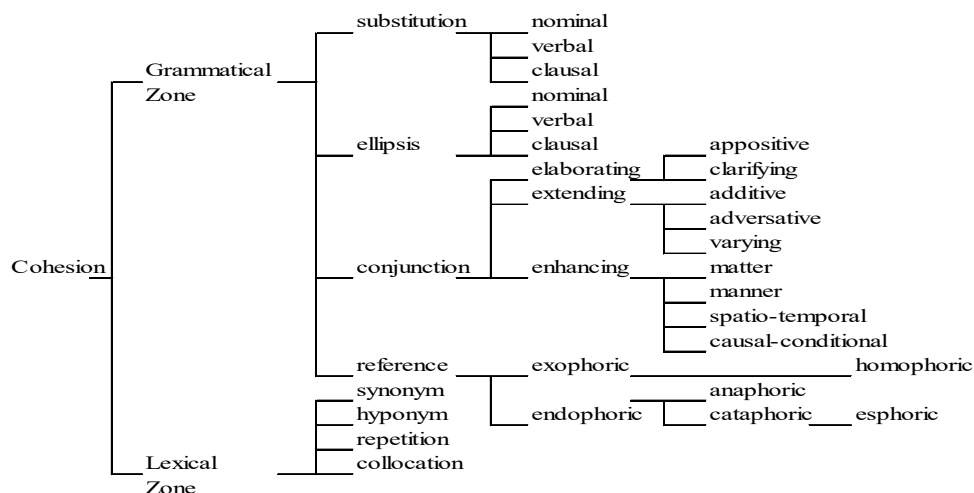
Figure 1
Holistic domains of cohesion (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)

Conjunctions are simply connectors (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The flexibility of conjunctive instruments permits them to function at the beginning, middle or at the end of a linguistic structure. The negotiator of the thematic exchange, the researcher could illuminate, determines the organic relations of the textual product. A canonical (Martin, 2000) and most-oriented study (Butler, 1985) on cohesion is associated with Halliday and Hasan (McCarthy & Carter, 1994). The study is a valuable material on cohesion in English. It seems the most influential in the field among its compeers. So, details on cohesion with its phenomenal resources are extensively elucidated in Halliday and Hasan (1976). Ideas on cohesion are further augmented in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Selection

   The author selected six ads from The Punch newspaper in Nigeria, which covers the financial institutions, telecommunications industry, and automobile manufacturer. As the concern of the study is basically the specimen, the texts were separated from their frames. Following Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the study adopts the application of nesting (// and ///) to distribute coplex clauses to simple clauses as a tradition in SFL. Cohesive ties influence the analysis of the clauses as demonstrated in Table 1. Tables and figures further provide explanations to the textual relationships in their hierarchical forms. The approach of the discussion segment takes three shapes of structural explanations, functions of the structures as well as their social implications to larger society of the consumer world. The study has adopted a combination of quantitative and qualitative procedures because Keyton (2006) expounds that the two designs supplement each other by providing alternative insights to the behaviors of the analyzed texts. As the quantitative drives the analysis producing the results, the qualitative provides explanations for the discourse elements of cohesion. As *'®'* represents a registered firm so is *'Ø'* denotes deletion.

4.2 Data Presentation

TX 1 [UBA]:
Happy Children's Day
///Children are not things to be moulded//But people to be unfolded – Jess Lair///
Secure their future with U-Care

TX 2 [Toyota]:
The future will run on their dreams
///We value your dreams//and hold your aspirations in high esteem./// ///We know //that you'll be in the driver's seat///
Happy Children's Day

TX 3 [Wema Bank]:
Where is the craftsman? ///These connections soon get extended to a point of completion,//where the flow becomes structured, replicating, toward perfection…///
… the relationship craftsman completes a stage of the work.

TX 4 [Etisalat]:
Our agency isn't available to create a proper ad. Apparently, they are also enjoying Workers' Day. After all, body no be firewood. Man must rest!
Happy children's day

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TX 5 [Standard Chartered]:
Sharing is good.
Enjoy life's precious memories with your children.
We share the joy of today with all families. We hope the love and laughter radiate on every child's face. Enjoy a fun filled day. Happy Children's Day
Here for good

TX 6 [Stanbic IBTC]:
///We appreciate every drop of sweat//that has helped shape Nigeria's progress///
Happy workers' day from one-stop financial services partner.
Stanbic IBTC Moving Forward

4.3 Data analysis

TX	Clause	Grammatical Zone				Lexical Zone			
		Substitution	Ellipsis	Conjunct-ion	Reference	Repetition	Synonym	Hyponym	Collo-cation
U B A	Happy Children's Day	Minor							
	Children are not things to be moulded						Antonym: Things - people		
	But people to be unfolded		But Ø people	But [extend: linker]		Children - children's	Antonym: moulded - foulded		
	Secure **their** future with U-Care	their future [children's future]			anaphoric				

TX	Clause	Grammatical Zone				Lexical Zone			
		Substitution	Ellipsis	Conjunction	Reference	Repetition	Synonym	Hyponym	Collocation
W E M A	Where is **the** craftman?			Where [elaborating: binder]	anaphoric	craftman - craftman			
	These connections soon get extended to a point of completion		connections Ø soon		exophoric	completion - complete	connection - work		
	Where **the** flow become structured, replicating value, toward perfection ...		perfection Ø	where [elaborating: binder]	anaphoric				
	...**the** relationship craftman completes a stage of **the** work		Ø the relationship		anaphoric anaphoric				

TX	Clause	Grammatical Zone				Lexical Zone			
		Substitution	Ellipsis	Conjunction	Reference	Repetition	Synonym	Hyponym	Collocation
E T I S A L A T	**Our** agency isn't available to create a proper ad				exophoric		agency - man		
	Apperently, **they** are also enjoying Workers' Day			Apparently [adjunct: presumption]	cataphoric	Worker's Day - workers' day	enjoying - rest		
	After all, body no be firewood			After all [enhancing: justify]					
	Man must rest!							Man	
	happy workers' day	Minor					Man - workers		

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TX	Clause	Grammatical Zone				Lexical Zone			
		Substitution	Ellipsis	Conjunction	Reference	Repetition	Synonym	Hyponym	Collocation
S T A N D A R D C H A R T E R E D	Sharing is good					good - good			
	Enjoy life's precious memories with **your** children				endophoric		precious memories - joy		
	We share **the** joy of today with all families				exophoric anaphoric	sharing - share		families	
	We hope **the** love		hope Ø the		exophoric anaphoric				
	and laughter radiate on every child's face			and [additive: linker]			love - laughter - fun		
	Enjoy all fun filled day					enjoy - enjoy			
	Happy Children's Day	Minor							
	Here for good		Ø Here						

TX	Clause	Grammatical Zone				Lexical Zone			
		Substitution	Ellipsis	Conjunction	Reference	Repetition	Synonym	Hyponym	Collocation
S T A N B I C I B T C	**We** appreciate every drop of sweat				exophoric				
	that has helped shape Nigeria's progress			that [elaborating: binder]	anaphoric				
	Happy Workers' Day from **your** one-stop financial services partner	Minor			cataphoric		financial partner – Stanbic IBTC		financial services
	Stanbic IBTC Moving Forward		IBTC Ø Moving						

Table 1: Analysis of cohesive resources in advertising texts of
UBA, Toyota, Wema Bank, etisalat, Standard Chartered, and *Stanbic IBTC*

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The analysis above is translated in the tables and graphs below to reveal their functional values within the framework of cohesive relationships.

5. Results

The illustrations in Figure 2 and 3 account for the recurring situations of the grammatical and lexical items of the texts in the ads of *UBA®, etisalat®, Toyota®,* etc.

Cohesive Resources	Grammatical Recurrence
Substitution	2
Ellipsis	8
Conjunction	9
Reference	23
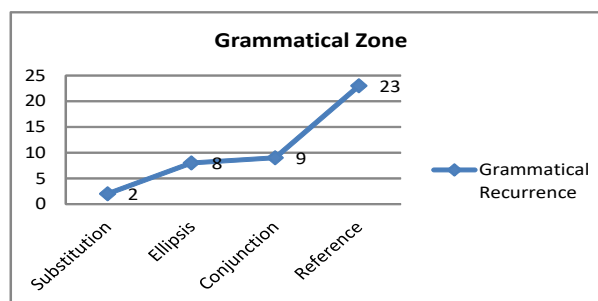
Figure 2.
Cohesive resources [grammatical zone]

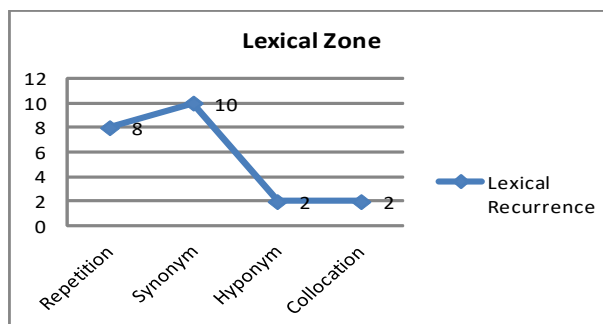| Cohesive Resources	Lexical Recurrence
Repetition	8
Synonym	10
Hyponym	2
Collocation	2

Figure 3.
Cohesive resources [lexical zone]

Figures 2 and 3 replicate the analysis of cohesive resources in Table 1 above. Figure 1 shows that *reference* with 23 points is the most deployed while *substitution* scoring only two points is the least. In Figure 2, *synonym* functioning in the frequency of 10 points is widely applied and *collocation* and *hyponym* recurring at two points each are the least. The graphs accompanying the tables further illustrate the hierarchy of cohesive ties' functions. By implication, *reference,* as the prominent constituent, assists in constructing relations while *synonym* is used more in the lexical zone. The investigation reveals that experts in the field prefer pointing consumers to entities as a form of association to achieve persuasion.

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6. Discussion

There are four cohesive resources in the *UBA*® ad's text as shown in TX 1 below. Two of the communicative organs are from the grammatical arena and the other two are from the lexical zone. From the grammatical department, the mood of the third clause is ellipted. The suggested structure is *[Children are]*. The purpose of the obliteration is to avoid repetition that can make the clause a discontented artifice (Cook, 1992). Besides, before a clause is considered for advertising it must be readers' friendly. Unnecessary wordy text may not actually meet the consumers' demand. Despite the complexity of the clause structure, aptness is still a key component. This is the psychological clime behind the deletion of *[Children are]* from the segment. Between the first clause and the second clause of the clause complex, a conjunctive marker, *But*, is introduced. *But* links the two clauses in order to form a complex structure. The linker creates an extension of meaning of the formal to the later. We observe the deployment of *Children's – Children* as repletion in both the first and second clauses. The units serve an emphatic purpose. There is a need to iterate the components because the ad is central on children. The emphasis places children at the forefront of the event.
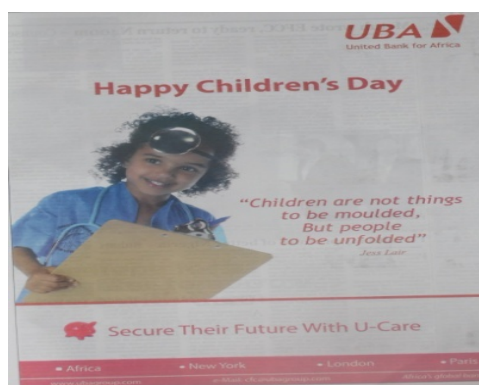
TX 1. *UBA*®
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

In addition to that, the lexical zone demonstrates two antonyms. These are *things – people*, and *moulded – unfolded*. The fascinating components are opposing items that represent different lexical relations. As *things* are opposing in function to *people* so also is *moulded* to *unfolded*. *Things* refer to non-living things whereas *people* operate in the animate kingdom. *Mould* signifies a restricted phenomenon why *unfold* indicates bringing the best out of the children. In respect of that, children should not be seen as indiscreet beings as the lexemes emphasize. They should rather be perceived as rational entities of society. So, the main responsibility of parents and guardians to children, according to Jess Lair, in the *UBA* ad, is to open up their spiritual and physical surface areas for personal

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development. *UBA* takes the importance of the *children's future* as an advantage to sell the product, *U-Care*®. *Their* substitutes *children* and at the same time points towards the betterment of their tomorrow, that is, *their future.*

TX 2 - Toyota®
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

In the lexical domain of TX 2, the deployment of *high esteem* is a collocation that portrays the respect accorded to the vision of children. The second complex uses *We* as exophoric to point outside the text and *the* as anaphoric deictic. Apart from that interactional operation, *that* is the second conjunctive resource in the text. *That* is a binder that adds some detailed information to the clause complex. The introduction of *that* accounts for clarification in order to elaborate the persuasive message. The application of *their dreams, your dreams* and *your aspirations* suggests a kind of referential resources for *children* revealed in the last clause, minor clause. The ties, right from the onset, point to *children*. Toyota perceives the children of today as the greatest resources of tomorrow. They have potential and dreams that perhaps cannot be realized now. Toyota demonstrated in TX 2 launches into *the aspirations* of children to encourage the pupils to keep their hope alive. Those qualities, Toyota claims, are held at *high esteem*. In the real sense of the message of excitement, it is impossible for elderly ones to be in the forefront of social affairs tomorrow or forever. There is no eternal champion on earth. Being a leader today is temporary. The future, apart from the alertment from the ad, belongs to the children. After all, the young shall grow – that is the position of an aphorism. Then, children deserve appreciation from Toyota for the purpose of existent sustenance.

TX 3 – *Wema Bank®*
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

Among the four clauses in the ad of *Wema Bank®* in TX 3 only one is complex. The first and the last ones are indicated in simple terms. The clauses function as interrogative and declarative respectively. The text queries the mission of *the craftsman's* compass in an anaphorical manner. To the narrator, there is a sort of confusion. The haziness of his construct gives birth to the interrogation. This leads us to the clause complex where a reference is also made to the efforts of the craftsman in relations to his craft; that is *These connections*. The exophoric deployment of *These* refers to the pictorial image in the frame which is actually out of the domain of the text. The text anchors the image. The anaphoric application of *the flow* points backwards to *the connections* under construction. There is also a homophoric device as *the relationship craftsman* which operates emphatically on a previous concept of *the craftsman* who appears as a 'left wing' artist. In the same clause, we have *the work* as an anaphoric resource. The study observes three elliptical elements in the same grammatical zone. Two of them are in the clause complex and one in the last clause as shown in the analysis in Table 1. The deleted item in the last clause is introduced through three dashes. It is only the advertising professional that can understand the obliterated item. The chopped up linguistic element from the verbal group *soon get extended* is a modality, *will*, to signal a nearest future.

Most ads publicizing disjunctive grammar do not value finite elements as well. Perhaps, that is the objective of the fragmentation (Myers, 1994). The end of the clause complex witnesses another pruning. The object proposed depends on the thought of the expert because the punctuated structure is represented with three dashes which signal that something is missing there. *Where* is a connector that joins the clauses as a complex. *Where* binds the two clauses in order to expatiate the function of *the craftsman*. Two repetitive resources of *craftsman – craftsman*, and *completion – complete* are catalysts of the meaning potential of the text. The focus is on the operation of *the craftsman* and the eagerness to

know when his expertise will come to a logical conclusion. The publicity professional utilizes individual's operational thoughts represented as *connection – work* interchangeably. The concern of the ad is to educate the public about the new logo of *Wema Bank*. *Wema Bank* does not just want to throw the new logo to the faces of the public. The hatched fabrication in the plate exhibits that the logo is still under construction. As the craftsman is drawing the new logo, the public are as well stimulated to follow *the flow* of the cursory curve. Wherever the drawing cursor leads, in the desire of the advertiser, the public should follow. The ad only sensitizes the public about the construction of the new logo of *Wema Bank* to project a new brand in the Nigerian financial industry.
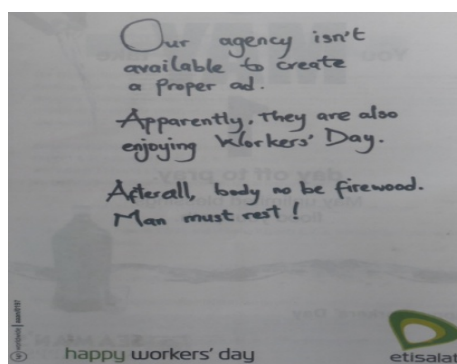
TX 4 - *etisalat*®
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

Out of the five clauses in the *etisalat*® ad illustrated in TX 4, two of the linguistic strings are constructed in Pidgin English. The idea of being constructed in Pidgin is, perhaps, as a result of the audience it addresses. The ad focuses the entire Nigerian workforce that makes up of the literate and the illiterate. In so many unofficial engagements, the Nigerian workers communicate interpersonal negotiations in Pidgin. Besides, Pidgin is the language of the masses in Nigeria (Awonusi, 1990; Mann, 2000; Igboanusi, 2008). The two referential resources locate in clauses one and two are exophoric and cataphoric respectively. *Our agency* points to a phenomenon outside the text while *they* points backwards to *Our agency*. Other resources in the grammatical arena are conjunctive markers of *Apparently* and *After all*. *Apparently* is a modal adjunct that presumes a classificatory manifestation. The constituent is a reasonable truth of a kind. *After all* enhances the statement in order to justify the situation of the Nigerian workers in that particular day. In the lexical zone, there are repetitive ties such as *Workers' Day – Workers' Day.* This emphasis justifies the purpose of the ad on the global resting day for workers in which Nigeria is part.

There are synonyms as well, which are *agency – man,* and *enjoying – rest*. The relationship of *agency* with *man* is *hyponymous* in function because *man* operates in the

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structure as a general term. The concept of *man* covers all human adults – man and woman – in social systems. In that regard, *Our agency* is under the aegis of *man* for workers in the establishment, which are a combination of man and woman. *Man* also equates *workers*. Furthermore, the structure contextualizes *enjoyment* as *rest*. Resting is a form of enjoyment for the fact that workers go to work everyday including weekends (either officially or otherwise). However, workers are officially relaxing at home on the *Workers' Day*. Nigerian workers use the day as they actually want without any business obstruction. It is a day of taking liberty from industrial functions. Significantly, the text would not have been a piece of ad except that the firm establishes its presence with the logo of *etisalat* as placed underneath. One suspects *etisalat* at this moment by stylishly wisely inspiring the audience subscribers through the 'cowry - like' symbol. Although the placement of the logo might serve as an identification purpose, it is at the same time exciting the recipients to patronize *etisalat* products even while enjoying the holiday. Celebration, in the opinion of the *etisalat* team, must neither hinder nor terminate conversations through the *etisalat* line. The clauses are declarative except the last one which is minor. The clauses pinpoint the responsibility of the agency crippled by workers as a result of the holiday by concluding that workers deserve *rest*. For all works without *rest* can make workers dull in performing their functions.

TX 5 - *Standard Chartered Bank*®
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

In TX 5 above, a pronounced lexical resource in the text of *Standard Chartered Bank*® is *good*. Both clauses one and eight elucidate the importance of *good*. Clause one shows the goodness of *sharing* and clause eight reveals that *Standard Chartered* is *Here for good*. The repetition of *good* portrays the lexeme as the crux of the text. The other concepts on repetition are *sharing – share.* The repetitive resources are beneficial remarks that demonstrate satisfaction of a high standard to recipients. We can also say that *good* and *sharing* belong to practical circumstantial judgment in the form of kindness and

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compassion. That is why we have *enjoy – enjoy* in a repetitive mode. Five *phoraic* markers play domineering roles in the text. They are *your children* (anaphoric), *We share* (exophoric), *the joy* (anaphoric), *We hope* (exophoric), and *the love* (anaphoric). The markers, *We*, refers to an entity outside the text. The referential body is the management team of the bank. The management personnel are intruders into the text for the message is only from them and not for them. The message refers in its entirety to children who are celebrants. The team take the position of a narrator outside the text.

The other markers (e.g. *your*) are endophoric by referring to the elements in the text. The communicative facilities operate as possessive determiners. Clauses four and five are complex. The connector between the simple clauses is a conjunctive marker, *and*. *And* operates as a linker that provides an opportunity for adding the second clause to the first in the complexity. Besides, there are fragmented cases in clauses four and eight. A structure is ellipted between *hope … the;* and before *Here* which is represented with dashes. In the lexical domain, *precious memories* is synonymous with *joy*, as love is to *laughter* and *fun*. The lexicality of *families* in the organic representation is overbearing. The component indicates father, mother, and children as potential customers that the bank rallies round. In all these, *Standard Chartered Bank* attracts customers which belong to *families* by focusing on three specific things; sharing, goodness and enjoyment. These facilities are entwined around the children being the images of the day. The bank does not propagate anything in the ad except the love for children. The sole mission is to associate with the children for future patronage. However, the bank establishes its presence in the banking industry through the cliché, *Here for good*. The slogan means that the bank is always on ground for varieties of financial transactions that benefit consumers.

TX 6 - *Stanbic IBTC*®
(Source: The Punch, 2016)

TX 6 operates a connector, that is, *that*, in the midst of the clause complex. *That* serves two functions. Besides, operating as a binder which elaborates the clause, the conjunctive structure is also anaphoric because it points backwards to *every drop of sweat*. Other references are, *We*, as exophoric pointing to a team of financial professionals outside the textual curve; and *your* which operates as a reference to the bank itself in the front. The function makes the marker, *your*, as cataphoric in appearance. The text contains an obliteration in the forth clause. We observe that between *Stanbic IBTC*® and the slogan, *Moving Forward [is],* a finite element, could be suggested as the deleted structure. With the introduction of *is*, the declarative will read thus; *Stanbic IBTC [is] Moving Forward*. The deployment of *financial … partner* equates *Stanbic IBTC*. And as well, *financial* collocates *services*. Significantly, the ad performs some social functions by (i) perceiving the Nigerian workers as the crop of people that builds Nigeria with their *sweat*; and (ii) constructing a kind of partnership between Nigerian workers and *Stanbic IBTC*. The bank, according to the text, deserves the commitment of Nigerian workers as the firm has been demonstrating commitments to Nigerian nation building. This desire is exhibited through *your … partner*. Of course, the ad is projected in a *Workers' Day*, the aim is beyond that day. The text incites workers to build a formidable relationship with *Stanbic IBTC* for all their financial conducts.

7. Conclusion

The text of advertisements, refers to as specimen, adopts cohesive ties to convey persuasive messages to consumers. Apart from the concept of substitution, hyponym, and collocation that are rarely deployed, all the other cohesive resources are extensively employed to achieve the intended message of persuasion. In the domain of conjunctive markers, hypotaxis – binders (e.g. *that*) and parataxis – linkers (e.g. *and*) dominate the scene for elaborating and extending clause complexes. There is no use of the continuatives at all. References rule the grammatical zone with the assistance of elliptical structures. While both synonym and repetition dominate the lexical sphere, reference (e.g. *anaphora* and *exophora*) are pointers to entities that matter in the text and outside it. These demonstrate that those texual communicative components revolve around the core of the ad frames. On the one hand, references, synonyms, and repetition operate as emphatic devices that impress the message and meanings upon the psyche of consumers. On the other hand, elliptical structures obliterate monotony. It means that advertising professionals do not just write copies of ad, they rather make choices that can easily manipulate the target audience about their goods and services. The study is an 'eye opener' to advertisers to fully understand the cohesive resources that can give them great advantage over competitors. The analysis also enlightens scholars on how cohesive ties operate in advertising specimen. As SFL has proven to be a viable processor of advertising constructs, concepts such as experiential metafunction could be applied to texts of advertising to advance content meanings of advertising communications.

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Style and Values – a Case Study of Theologian's Lectures

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Abstract: The aim of the paper is to analyse the stylistic methods Krzysztof Grzywocz uses in talking about values in his lectures published in the book *W duchu i przyjaźni* [In spirit and friendship]. It is the whole book, six hundred pages of his collected works, but in particular the one-hundred-page long chapter entitled "The Value of a Human Being", which is the focus of this paper. The multilayer and interdisciplinary approach to values could be observed in those texts. The author was a theologian, psychotherapist, exorcist and aesthetician, a man who appreciated literature, art, and beauties of everyday life. He was both a theoretician and practitioner of axiology. He answers the questions what values are, what their functions are, what their role in human life is, what their lack means, and what to do in order to appreciate the value of our own life and that of others. The individual communication style of the lecturer is analysed as well as meaning of his message.
Keywords: conference, genre, aesthetics, meaning, religious discourse.

1. Introduction

Values are a very broad subject thoroughly discussed from very different points of view by many disciplines, always coming back as a core issue without which the understanding of human behaviour, culture and meaning of human life is rather difficult. Values are the central focus of philosophy, psychology, theology, linguistic studies (Wojtak, 2014, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2016, Puzynina and Bajerowa, 2000). The field of theolinguistics is related especially to the latter two (Gadomski, 2014, Makuchowska, 2011, 2017), and it is worth noticing how values are described and illustrated in the texts where those approaches are dominating.

The multilayer and interdisciplinary approach to values could be observed in the texts of Krzysztof Grzywocz – theologian, psychotherapist, exorcist and aesthetician, a man who appreciated literature, art, and beauties of everyday life. He was both a theoretician and practitioner of axiology. As his friend writes: "He loved eliciting what is beautiful. He encouraged others to surround themselves with beauty" (2017, p. 10). The aim of the paper is to analyse the stylistic methods Krzysztof Grzywocz uses in talking about values. He answers the questions what they are, what their functions are, what their role in human life is, what their lack means, and what to do in order to appreciate the value of our own life and that of others.

2. Religious Discourse

The main approaches in the research on the language of religion are: the "code" approach (the language of religion as a system), the stylistic approach and the genealogical approach to the language of religion (Gadomski, Gadomska, 2014, p. 24). Scholars emphasize the open nature of religious discourse: "Openness of religious discourse with regard to the linguistic means it uses is a fact. What is more, contemporary religious discourse undergoes the process of individualization and personalisation" (Wojtak, 2014, p. 29). „Religious discourse seen as a collection of communicative practices arising from the particular beliefs that are organized and institutionally sanctioned is something exceptional in comparison with other discourses. What is the most important is the broadening of discourse perspective to include a transcendental dimension" (Wojtak, 2014, p. 26).

"Taking the discursive perspective allows us to deal with the problem stated by Polish linguists asking whether other registers and genres encroach upon religious language" (Grzmil-Tylutki, 2011, p. 56). The religious style should be perceived as an open category, assimilating means from different areas of language performance and internally polarized (Wojtak, 2006, p. 141). The religious discourse could be understand in a narrow or broad way. On the one hand, there are texts strictly connected with sacred rituals that could be used to teach the doctrine, and on the other those connected with the profane sphere that are used to promote the point of view of certain Catholic or rather Christian values (Makuchowska, 2011, p. 24, Makuchowska, 2017).

The analysed texts could be seen as fruits of the missionary activity of the church that have didactic, scholarly and persuasive character (Makuchowska, 2011, p. 23). The texts could be incorporated in religious discourse for several reasons: their author was a priest, the publisher is the Society of the Divine Saviour, the audience were people gathered in the Centre of Spiritual Formation of Salvatorian Fathers in Krakow. What is more, the whole volume of texts received the permission of church authorities to publish known as *imprimatur*. The texts were presented during the School of Spiritual Guidance meetings, so they can be seen as didactic ones. As they also provide the testimony of authors' beliefs, their religious mission could be recognized in them as well. As the author was a scholar, he uses also the academic discourse strategies. Altogether, the texts are very interesting from the intertextual and interdiscursive perspective.

3. The Theologian

Krzysztof Grzywocz was a 54 years old doctor of theology at the University of Opole; he lectured and preached in many places, his talks were recorded and listened to by many people for years. His life was very fruitful and there is a mystery connected with his last days of life. In July 2017, he left for Switzerland where he subsidised his fellow priest in the parish. While there he edited the recordings from the last sessions and sent

them to be published under the title: *W duchu i przyjaźni* [In spirit and friendship]. Then he went to climb his favourite Alps and he has never came back. Professionals and volunteers looked for him without any results. He is known to have said once to his brother – and the words were repeated during the farewell ceremony by the Bishop of Opole and reprinted in the introduction to the collection of his sermons – "If I had an accident in the mountains don't look for my body, look for me" (cf. Wons, 2017, p. 19). His friends and fellow priests edited and published six hundred pages of his collected works quite soon after his disappearance. It is the whole book, but in particular the one-hundred-page long chapter entitled "Wartość człowieka" [The Value of a Human Being], which is the focus of this paper.

The book consists of seven chapters – one is an introduction (Spiritual diary of a friend) written by the fellow priest, Krzysztof Wons, and six others – one new and five reprinted – are authored by Krzysztof Grzywocz. The titles of the chapters let us see the broader interests of the scholar: "In spirit and friendship", which lends the name to the whole collection, "In the darkness of depression", "Unloved feelings", "The value of a human being", "Spirituality and dreams", and "The art of listening. The meaning of listening in spiritual leadership".

This book should be interpreted as belonging to religious discourse because of the circumstances involved and the persons engaged – the status of the speaker, the listeners and the place. It is a collection of particular lectures, so called "conferences", the term meaning 'a formal meeting that typically takes place over a number of days and involves people with a shared interest, especially one held regularly by an association or organization'. The word originates in the early 16th century (in the general sense of 'conversation, talk'): from French *conférence* or Medieval Latin *conferentia*, from Latin *conferre* 'bring together' (cf. "confer").[1] In Polish *konferencja* is defined as 'the speech of a priest or lay member of the congregation during the Mass or elsewhere, on the subject of religion, ethics or similar'[2]. The texts are well edited but their primary oral characteristics is visible in the style, which is very vivid, full of colourful examples, repetitions of the main thoughts, which make the message clear and persuasive and allow the audience to maintain interest and show the sense of humour of the speaker.

4. Values and Style

The concept of values presented in the "Value of a human being" is strictly related to Krzysztof Grzywocz's attitude to dealing with the subject. The analysed chapter consists of six parts 1. The phenomenon of values 2. The sense of value deprivation 3. Psychological background of the problem 4. Theological background of the problem 5. Boosting your self-esteem, 6. Appreciating the value of others.

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[1] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/conference#Conference [Accessed on 1 March 2018].
[2] *Słownik języka polskiego,* based on *Słownik 100 tysięcy potrzebnych słów,* ed. Jerzy Bralczyk, Warszawa 2005. https://sjp.pwn.pl/o-nas [Accessed on 1 March 2018].

This titles show the author's central perspective on analysing values; he answers the questions: What are the values?, What happens if we lack them?, and What to do to develop them in oneself and in the others?. In this approach values as connected strictly with humans and are vital for their well-being.

Starting from the theoretical questions – if values are objective or subjective, Grzywocz claims that what matters is "experiencing values" that somehow precedes theorizing about them (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 292). The cognitive definition of values represented in Grzywocz writings could reconstructed it the following way:

1. Value is something we can experience.

The author gives many examples of the possibilities to experience something valuable. He names different objects, circumstances, animals or people:
Piece of art, beautiful landscape, dog, snow, sunset, or a second person (Grzywocz, 2017: 292).

He often uses adjectives to emphasise the values by naming them: *beautiful mountain trip, beautiful lake, good book, noble man* (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 295)

From these labels he passes onto details which make the listeners imagine the whole scene:

> A child seeing the beautiful sea exclaims: "Mum, have a look, the sea is so wonderful, let us take a little into a jar and take it home". (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 293)

He uses this narrative strategy for many other examples in other places of the text. He starts from the general notion: *beautiful music*, then mentions *the philharmonic*, which has a connotation with a particular type of music, i.e. classical music, and finally he is even more precise:

> 'From this beautiful symphony, from this amazing piece of Antonin Dvořak something has remained in me.' (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 295)

He names different pieces of literature to prove his point about their beauty, such as *The Magic Mountain* by Thomas Mann, or *Night train to Lisbon* by Pascal Mercier, or gives examples of works of art: "Lady with an Ermine" by Leonardo da Vinci, "Death of the Virgin" or "Madonna of the Pilgrims" by Michelangelo Caravaggio. Sometimes he gives the geographical details where to find those objects, e.g. the latter could be admired at the Church of St. Augustin in Rome.

2. Values draw our attention, awake awe and admiration.

When seeing something nice, people exclaim in enthusiasm or say that they want to continue staring at this object.

„Let us stay here and look longer" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 293)
"We are looking at valuable things" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 344)

3. Values bring silence.

Here the author makes use of his linguistic competence, saying "it is a nice expression he was "struck dumb with awe"", as values bring tranquillity, peace and need for silence.

4. Values justify being.

He uses singular forms when talking about himself:
"What is valuable says to me: "You can be here, don't go" – the value justifies my existence, adding: "Stay!", "Don't go" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 294)
He uses plural, inclusive forms, talking directly to the audience but also about them, and uses word *beautiful* repeatedly:

We are at the beautiful lake, and we say it is a pity to leave, "let us stay here", let us built our house, with a beautiful porch here"… (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 294)

5. Values bring meaning and hope.

"Where is a value there is a beginning, which doesn't leave the travellers, constantly offering them the freshness of the source". (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 295)

6. Value doesn't demand action.

"Sit in the sun. Stay here. You don't have to act. You are valuable when you do something, but you are also valuable when you don't act.
Value "teaches good, wise creative idleness, which is a source of action" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 295)

Grzywocz uses his knowledge of Latin, the language which is highly rooted in the Catholic Church tradition as part of philosophical and theological education and a trait of a religious discourse.
He uses Latin words and phrases presuming that listeners know them as well:

"We know Latin *agere* and *esse*, act and be". […]
Agere sequitur esse – action follows being (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 296)

On another page, he writes about humbleness in the same way:

Latin *humilitas* is etymologically related to humus – 'soil' claiming that our point of weight should be close to the earth, so we could stand and walk in more stable

position. Those who face reality are humble and have a great sense of value even when they realize that soil is dirty but precious and fertile.

7. Values shine.

The shining means there is a person/ someone behind it and we tend to ask who had made it so beautifully. The shining of values brings people to ask existential questions.

8. Values awake the need to share, give, take and cooperate.

"A value likes cooperation, it likes polyphony" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 313). It is like an instrument in an orchestra.

9. Values teach us to build distance.

They awake longing for bonds with others, which makes one's world more open and broader as we try to shorten the distance to others.

"It is a pity our loved ones are not with us" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 297)
"I will never be your possession, I am me, and you are you"
"beauty [good, truth] attracts but at the same time creates distance and separates".

10. Values are difficult to define.

"It is not possible to define a value – a value defines me"
"the world experiences, penetrates, defines me". It makes me feel stable – Latin *stabilitas* of values, *stabilitas loci* – glowing in the world of stability (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 300)

This type of approach is connected with the inner-directed culture point of view as opposed to outer-directed culture (Trompenaars Hampden-Turner, 1997). The first one is usually attached to non-Western cultures attitudes. It is more about living in harmony with the environment; there are forces that cannot be controlled or influenced and therefore you have to adapt to these external circumstances.

11. Values make it possible to touch eternity and make us realize our fragility.

"Beautiful moments pass quickly" so value is "fragile, passing and eternal at the same time" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 302)

12. Values initiate creativity.

They make us active and creative. Values generate and create other values.

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This is why it is important to choose surroundings (places and people) that are full of positive values (378)

13. Valuable things should be protected.

This is why borders and rules are needed. Grzywocz uses metaphors and comparisons to illustrate his point: our value is like a precious painting in a museum, an expensive car or a pearl.

> "No one is surprised to see the guards in front of "A Lady with an Ermine" in The Czartoryski Museum in Krakow. No one asks the guards "what do you do here in front of "A Lady with an Ermine". He just stands and guards the great piece of art. And that is it. In contrast, when someone sees a guard of three people standing in front of a crashed tin of Żywiec beer, one would have a right to ask: "Excuse me, but what are you doing here?" "We guard the crashed tin of Żywiec" – and this could be, gently speaking problematic. […] You do not protect the waste dump (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 311)

> "A good BMW car is valuable even when it stays in a garage" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 316)
> "The human is a value is like a precious pearl and a priceless treasure" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 334)
> "The awareness that we are precious as pearls protects us from evil" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 371)

14. Values are bonds.

> "What is the most valuable for people are their bonds with others" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 337)
> "People don't have the bonds they are the bonds" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 338)
> Christian tradition involves transmitting values and this transmission bonds us – *trader*e – transmitting values we stay bonded. (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 352)

He differentiates between the value of a human being and the feeling of self-confidence– seeing the former as stable and indestructible but the latter as something that may be weakened or strengthened. He sees this problem on three different levels: physical, psychological and spiritual.

One of the elements of those talks, showing their didactic and practical character is encouraging listeners to do some "exercises".

> E.g. if you want to, you can take out a piece of paper and write down why you are valuable. (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 343)

His talks are constructed in such a way that he uses examples from different representational systems: kinaesthetic, visual, auditory so various types of persons can find something that will make the communication suitable for their particular preferences. To be understood well, he uses examples of good music, beautiful paintings or tasty food or wine.

He appreciates the role of humour in everyday life and its importance in the value system. He talks about it a direct way.

> "Shaping the self-esteem is helped by the sense of humor. It is a feature of humble people, as word *humor* is close to *humilitas* – being humble. It is about the ability to joke about your own life including your mistakes and errors. Being mature, aware of your value has a lot of humor – as experience shows, the higher the self-esteem, the better a sense of humor" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 376).

He is also a practitioner of humorous discourse (cf. Chłopicki and Brzozowska, 2017). One can notice it in the examples he uses to prove his point, especially when he constructs short dialogical exchanges, which are often ironical. His descriptions are frequently very vivid and detailed:

> "God wants to play with us, throws us a ball, and we write an MA thesis: "The role of a ball in the concept of salvation after Vaticanum secundum". God says: "The chap went bananas. Kick the ball, don't write the thesis!" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 376).

Sometimes he creates the funny stories to illustrate his point:

> Once, over the Sunday breakfast the husband, wife, children sit around the table. Suddenly the husband says: "My boss at work, she is a witch, a psychopath, everything falls apart as she doesn't know how to manage things". But the wife says: "Why have you invited her to our table on Sunday morning?" [..] "Let us not talk about your boss when we are all together". Otherwise she is present during our Sunday breakfast and in the focus of all the family members – even dog sits and thinks: "This boss again", food doesn't taste good, even the bone is not tasty" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 375).

5. Conclusions

Grzywocz's chapter on values could be perceived in the light of the theory of master tropes as proposed by Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska (2013). Researching artistic language and imagination she defines megatropes 'as large figures that construe particular texts/discourses at a higher level of organization than just chains or clusters of overtly given macrotropes. […] Macrotropes are figures of second-order, structuring the text in a covert, tacit way that needs to be recognized" (Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, 2013: 35). The analysed text is full of interconnected microtropes that create the macrotropes. We can easily find examples illustrating each of ten master tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, simile - comparison, antithesis, catachresis, euphemia (understatement), suppression, hyperbole (exaggeration).

In the chapter we look for megatropes and ask the question: "What is this text really about?". It is definitely about humans and their ability to see (or not) how precious each of us is and how this knowledge it vital not only to appreciate but also to maintain

life. It is a text about loving oneself as a value and through the values.

Krzysztof Grzywocz's style is very vivid – as he uses numerous examples, reported speech, parts of dialogues, questions, scientific descriptions. His resources include works of art, music, literature, detailed comments on everyday life. He uses academic style, with Latin terms and sentences, names and theories of psychologists, psychiatrists and theologians. His texts abound with positive valuated adjectives. His way of writing is very inclusive, clear and convincing. He uses the figures of speech in their different functions (as named by Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, 2013, p. 133): not only "to domesticate, estrange and familiarize again the surrounding world" but also to "provide us with aesthetic pleasure […] and a possibility of emotional reaction to the world" and to express their ludic potential (2013, p. 134).

Paradoxically, this highly elaborated text is logical and simple. He seems convinced about what he argues. He writes: "the highest joy is when the true things become obvious, and obvious ones become true" (Grzywocz, 2017, p. 291) and this remark applies to his own texts as well.

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Leader-Staff Relationships in Kosovo Customs:
Leadership and its Impact on Customs Effectiveness

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Abstract: Leadership styles and leader-staff relationships have always impact on organizational effectiveness. It is important to study of this dimension in Kosovo Customs, taking into account the impact and contribution it has to the country's budget. The purpose of this research is to analyze the style of leadership that is mostly used in this organization at both management levels and to see whether that style has influenced the organization's effectiveness. In this study data were collected from various levels of Customs employees. The survey questions have been raised based on two instruments, the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire, and the Leadership Describing Questionnaire. Also, correlations of leadership styles are tested based on Pearson's theory. The paper analyzes four leadership styles used by the leaders at two managerial levels, the results of the study show that the democratic style is the dominant style of leadership in this institution. Also, the survey results show that, as top-down, also bottom-up, there is a good relationship between leaders and subordinates at both levels of management. Thus, this leader-staff relationship positively affects the effectiveness of Customs.
Keywords: customs, effectiveness, kosovo, leadership.

1. Introduction

The topic of this paper is the leader-staff relationships in an organization, and the focus of this paper is to investigate this relationship in Kosovo Customs. This article explored the style of leadership that is most used in this organization and whether that style has influenced the organization's effectiveness. The findings will indicate which of the theories on leadership may determine the effectiveness of the leader finds implementation in Customs. Which leadership style is used at both management levels, the General Director and the Directors of Directorates, and what reciprocal relationships are subordinated to their leader. The paper also focuses on subordinate behavior towards leaders, seeking answers about behavior and trust between them.

2. Methodology

The main research question is: *What style of leadership prevails in Customs and how does the leader-staff relationship affect the effectiveness of the organization?* So the

purpose of this research is to analyze the leadership-staff relationships in a public institution in Kosovo, in this case, Customs, as well as the leadership of this organization, to see what is the leader's impact on the organization's effectiveness.

Two hypotheses have been raised in this paper.

Hypothesis 1: The dominant leadership style positively influences the effectiveness of the organization.

This hypothesis will test whether the leadership style most frequently used by the leader positively influences the effectiveness of the organization or its style hampers effectiveness in the organization.

Hypothesis 2: Lack of employee confidence in their leader hampers effectiveness in the organization.

This hypothesis tests the employee's report with the leader and will be verified by measuring the confidence of the workers in the leader. The credibility that the leader can have on the employee helps to increase the effectiveness of the organization, and in this case, it will be tested whether the workers trust or not the leader and whether the relationship between them affects the effectiveness of the organization.

The purpose of this research is to highlight the influence of the leader on the effectiveness of Kosovo Customs. To respond to the research question, data were collected from various levels of Customs employees. Survey questions have been raised based on two instruments, the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass and Avolio, 1992), and the Leadership Describing Questionnaire (Ohio State University, 1962).

The survey was conducted with two questionnaires; one addressed to the Directors of the Departments and the other to the staff of those Departments. The Department Director's questionnaire is made up of two parts in section "A", where they responded to their behavior with the staff of the department they are leading and part "B" asking about the Director-General. The staff questionnaire has been a part of interrelated questions about the Director of the respective Department. The questionnaire has a Likert scale, and it is structured into three sections, the demographic section, the leadership style section, and the leader's section of behavior and belief.

The conclusions and recommendations of this paper, based on the results of the empirical and theoretical analysis, tend to contribute to enhancing the organization's effectiveness. Respondents provided survey data from three different directorates in Kosovo Customs. Respondents were of different sexes and ages from the Law Enforcement Directorate, the Directorate of Operations and the Border and the Directorate for Legislation and Human Resources. The reason for the selection of these three directorates is the role that each of them has in the organization, starting from the operations directorate and the border managing the border points, and consequently the main part of this institution. The Law Enforcement Directorate is the organization that has sectors dealing with import and smuggling investigations, while the Directorate for Legislation and Human Resources is considered to have less impact on the functioning of Customs than the other two, and this is the reason for the selection of this Directorate (Kosovo Customs, 2016a).

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3. Theoretical Approaches to Leadership

The leader must understand the importance of the style that (s)he chooses to exercise in a given situation. The style of leadership that (s)he selects always affects his/her subordinates' performance, but also their enjoyment of work, resulting in employee motivation and, consequently, higher efficiency in the organization. According House and Aditya (1997, p. 451), the term of leadership style refers to "the manner in which specific behaviors are expressed may vary substantially." There are many and varied definitions of leadership and leadership theories have long been related to issues of power and authority (Eisenberg, Goodall Jr. & Trethewey, 2010). In his book "Leadership in Organizations", Yukl (2010, p. 21) introduces some definitions and ascertains that "most of the leadership definitions reflect the assumption that it involves a process where intentional influence has been exercised over other people to guide, structured and simplified activities and relationships in a group or organization." Based on Bass definition (1990, p. 19) "leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group. Any member of the group can exhibit some amount of leadership". Chemers (2014, p. 1) defines leadership as "a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task." Kevin Barge (2009, p. 593) sees it "as a contextual process involving the performance of talk and/or action that other people see as moving toward progress on certain important tasks." Leadership behaviors can affect positively, but also negatively the subordinates, encouraging or discouraging them. People who gather together in an organization to achieve a goal always need someone to lead them. As John P. Kotter says (1999, p. 2), "without leadership, organization stagnate, lose their way and eventually suffer the consequences." Former United States President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, said that "Leadership is the art of getting someone else to do something you want to be done because he wants to do it" (Friedman, 2008, p. 159). In an organization, leadership plays a major role in achieving goals. Hackman and Johnson (2013, p. 11) define leadership as "human communication that modifies the attitudes and behaviors of others to meet shared group goals and needs."

There are different theories about leadership, and all have a goal, finding the right leadership for an effective organization. The role of a leader is indisputable in achieving effectiveness in the organization. The function of the leader is to guide others towards the organization's objectives. In today's "wild" market, the organization needs the kind of leader that will survive the competition, and a complete leader must have different traits and not just one type of leader (Montgomery, 2012, p.36). The leader should be able to make decisions at the right moment, know when to impose orders (authoritarian), consult with others (democratic), delegate all his work to his subordinates by giving more freedom to their activity (liberal) and when rewarding them in order to increase their engagement as it motivates them to perform beyond expectations (transformational). For an effective organization, a leader needs to create an appropriate work environment and have the ability to interact with subordinates, using the power to motivate them and

persuade them to follow in achieving the organization's goals. Of course, the desire of each leader is to be effective and successful, but what are these skills that make the leader effective, to have greater support than another leader. Research (White and Lippitt, 1960; Blake and McCanse, 1991; Burns, 1978;) shows that different factors determine the effectiveness of the leader. The features of the leader, mentioned in the first leadership theories, leadership styles, vision, and culture, impact on its effectiveness as a leader. A leader does not have the task of exercising only power but also identifies the moment and the way that (s)he will exercise that power to attain certain objectives. Mutual leadership-staff reliability is another factor. How much do their subordinates believe their leader and vice versa, to what extent does the leader trust his staff to give them the task of persuasion that it will be performed as he asks them? Legitimacy or how many subordinates prefer their leader affects the effectiveness of the leader, and also the interaction between them.

4. Organizational Structure of Kosovo Customs

The Kosovo Customs Institution was established in August 1999 by UNMIK. After nine years of operation as the UNMIK Customs Service, in November 2008, the Kosovo Assembly adopted a new Customs Code that enabled the transfer of all competencies to local authorities and transformation into Kosovo Customs to complete oversight by UNMIK (Kosovo Customs, n.d.)[1]. The Kosovo Customs Mission can be divided into two main categories, contributing to economic issues and combating illegal activities (Kosovo Customs, 2009)[2]. Customs continues to be the institution that brings the most revenue to Kosovo's budget, but, besides customs duties, Kosovo Customs is also tasked with protecting the society from drug smuggling or other prohibited goods. In 2016, Customs has collected revenues of 1 billion and 40 million euros (Kosovo Customs, 2016b)[3].

Customs is the only field in which the European Union finds that Kosovo is in a moderate stage of development. In the 2016 Progress Report (2016, p. 46), the European Commission reports on the progress achieved in the Kosovo Customs. "The customs service has further improved its legislative and organizational capacity. Despite an overall fall in imports, revenue collection in 2015 increased by 9.2 % on 2014. Kosovo Customs collected more revenue (+27 % until March 2016) than in the same period in 2015. The increase is mainly attributed to the fight against corruption and organizational and procedural reforms."

The election of the General Director is regulated by the Customs and Excise Code of Kosovo. Article 5 of this Code (2008, p.5) specifies that the General Director is proposed by the Minister of Economy and Finance, and is appointed by the Prime

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[1] https://dogana.rks-gov.net/old/en/History#History
[2] https://dogana.rks-gov.net/old/en/Mission?l#Mission
[3] https://dogana.rks-gov.net/en/customs-concludes-with-record-revenues-2016/

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Minister of Kosovo. The second paragraph of Article 5 clarifies that the General Director is obliged to report to the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The General Directorate consists of five directorates and 14 different departments. The five directorates are[4]:

- Operational Directorate and Border
- Directorate of Law Enforcement
- Directorate of Origin, Tariff, and Laboratory
- Directorate for Legislation and Human Resources
- Directorate of Common Services

Directorates are run by the Director appointed by the General Director. Departments are managed by directors, except the Department of Supervision of Procedures and Excises, who respond directly to the General Director. The Director-General administers the Customs and submits any matter necessary for the efficient functioning of Customs. With section 9 of Article 6 of the Customs and Excise Code of Kosovo (2008, p.7), the Director General has the authority to "provide all customs officers with clear terms of reference, where in detailed is prescribed work that they have to perform." The Director-General appoints the directors and directors are responsible to the General Director. Another responsibility of the General Director is also the competence to advance or to lower the rank of any employee, based on the recommendation of a formed commission. The General Director may also dismiss or suspend the employee under Article 6 of the Customs Code.

5. Leadership and Effectiveness in Kosovo Customs

The paper discusses leadership style at two levels of management. The leadership style used by the General Director in relation to Directors of Directorates, and the leadership style of Director of Directorates with his subordinates. In Table 1, there were collected and analyzed demographic characteristics of the sample. According to the analysis, the sample is dominated by males aged 25-40 and respondents with over ten years of experience. Table 1 shows the number of respondents by gender. This table also summarizes the demographic data of this study, such as the age of employees divided into several main age groups, the position of the work they exercise in Customs and the working years in this institution.

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[4] https://dogana.rks-gov.net/old/repository/docs/Organogrami_2016_127097.pdf

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Demographic characteristics of respondents	N 60	% 100
SEX		
Women	23	38.3
Male	35	58.3
Valid	58	96.6
Missing	2	3.4
AGE		
25-40	35	58.3
41-50	23	38.3
51-60	2	3.3
Over 60		
Valid	60	100.0
POSITIONS IN CUSTOMS		
Customs Officer	8	13.3
High Customs Officer	15	25.0
Unit Leader	24	40.0
Head of the sector	8	13.3
Head of the Department	3	5.0
Valid	58	96.7
Missing	2	3.3
WORK EXPERIENCE		
Up to 5 years of work	1	1.7
5 - 10 years work	15	25.0
More than 10 years of work	44	73.3
Valid	60	100.0

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of the sample (designed by the author)

5.1 Leadership at the First Level of Management

To analyze the relationship at the highest level of management, surveys were conducted with the Directors of different Directorates in Kosovo Customs. The Director's Questionnaire was composed of two parts. The first part was devoted to the report with their staff, and the first 12 questions were about the style of leadership they use in the leading Directory, while in the second part, the questions were about the style of leadership used by the General Director.

It can be concluded that the General Director combines the four styles in relation to his subordinates (see Figure 1). However the dominant is the democratic style, which, according to the respondents, is the most often used by their leader.
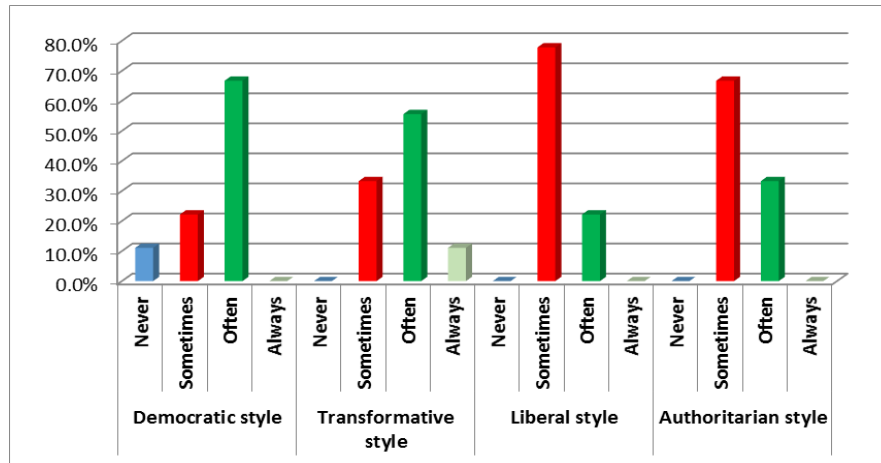
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Figure 1
Data on the General Director's four styles of leadership

In the reports, the General Director with the Directors of Directorates notes that regular meetings and instructions for guidance dominate the relationship between them. Although the General Director sometimes encourages initiatives from others, according to the respondents most often he does not take into account the ideas of others. As a result of ignoring ideas, when asked if thery approach the General Director, when they have a problem, the respondents have chosen mostly the answer, 'sometimes'.
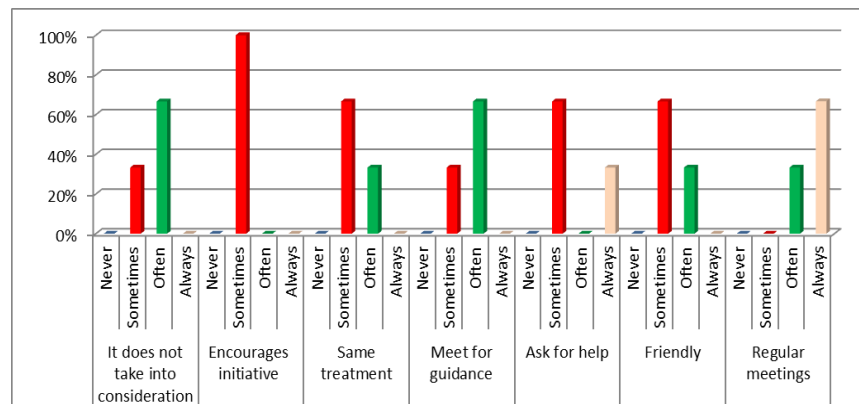

Figure 2.
Findings - The behavior and trust between
the leader and staff at the first level of management

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These findings confirm Jablin's theory, which states that the subordinates lost the will to contribute if they have the perception that their opinion/idea is not taken into account by the leader, in our case, by the General Director.

4.2 Leadership at the Second Level of Management

This section analyzes leadership style at the second level of management, i.e., the leader of a particular department. To understand the leadership style there were surveyed staff members of the three directorates: the Law Enforcement Directorate, the Directorate of Operations and the Border and the Directorate for Legislation and Human Resources. The first part of the questionnaire consisted of 12 questions, three questions for each leadership style with Likert scale. According to the respondents, the style of leadership mostly used by the Directors of Customs Directorates is the democratic style (33.9%, see Figure 3).

Almost half of respondents responded that their leader sometimes consulted with them before making the decision (42.1%, see Table 2). 43.9% (see Table 2) of them required their contribution to decision-making, and it often happens that the leader welcomes subordinates' ideas.

		N	%
He consulted before making the decision	Never	17	29.8%
	Sometimes	24	42.1%
	Often	13	22.8%
	Always	3	5.3%
It requires the contribution of others in decision-making	Never	9	15.8%
	Sometimes	25	43.9%
	Often	22	38.6%
	Always	1	1.8%
Welcomes the subordinates' ideas	Never	8	14.0%
	Sometimes	15	26.3%
	Often	23	40.4%
	Always	11	19.3%

Table 2.
Data on democratic style

Apart from the democratic style, another style that is often used by Directors of Directories is the liberal one. Respondents have responded that sometimes their director delegates work to them (see Table 3). Most respondents think that their leader never gets involved in decision-making as respondents have provided the answer 'often' when being asked whether the Director allows them to have a large degree of freedom in their work.

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		N	%
Delegates work to the staff	Never	10	17.5%
	Sometimes	21	36.8%
	Often	17	29.8%
	Always	9	15.8%
Avoid decisions by not being involved in leadership	Never	29	52.7%
	Sometimes	20	36.4%
	Often	4	7.3%
	Always	2	3.6%
Allows a large degree of freedom at work	Never	5	8.8%
	Sometimes	17	29.8%
	Often	21	36.8%
	Always	14	24.6%

Table 3.
Data on liberal style

Compared to the transformational style, there are more cases when authoritarian style is used by the Director of the Directorate. In all three questions (Table 4) related to this style (if the Director imposes orders, does not require the subordinates' opinion and exercises authority), the answer 'sometimes' is dominant.

		N	%
Impose orders	Never	23	41.8%
	Sometimes	22	40.0%
	Often	9	16.4%
	Always	1	1.8%
Does not require the subordinates' opinion	Never	22	38.6%
	Sometimes	24	42.1%
	Often	9	15.8%
	Always	2	3.5%
Exercises authority	Never	17	30.4%
	Sometimes	28	50.0%
	Often	11	19.6%
	Always	0	0.0%

Table 4.
Data on authoritarian style

As observed in Table 5, half of the respondents replied that they were never rewarded by their leader while more than half (58.9%) said that they were never motivated by their Director and 34.5% of them stated that the Director pushed them to overcome personal interests for the good of the organization.

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		N	**%**
Reward based on results achieved at work	Never	28	50.0%
	Sometimes	23	41.1%
	Often	4	7.1%
	Always	1	1.8%
It motivates the staff	Never	33	58.9%
	Sometimes	16	28.6%
	Often	6	10.7%
	Always	1	1.8%
Push staff to overcome personal interests	Never	9	16.4%
	Sometimes	11	20.0%
	Often	19	34.5%
	Always	16	29.1%

Table 5.
Data on transformational style

The following graph shows the responses of respondents from the three departments. As observed in Figure 3, the leadership style dominating in Kosovo Customs is the democratic style. According to the respondents, this style is often used (33.9%).
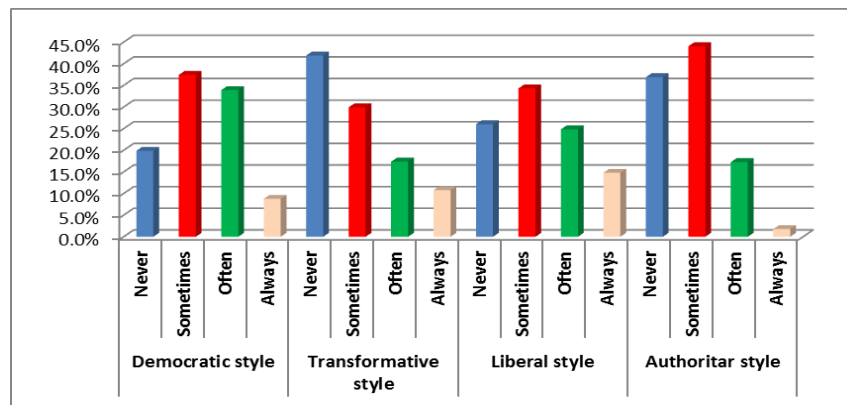
Figure 3.
Data of four leadership styles from Director of Directorates

Comparing the three directorates whose staff is involved in the survey, it can be noticed that the democratic styles dominate only in the Directorate for Legislation and Human Resources. Meanwhile, authoritarian and liberal styles have been singled out by law enforcement respondents as the Director of the Operations Department and the border, according to the respondents, most frequently use the democratic and liberal style. The figure below shows the usage frequency for all four leadership styles in all three
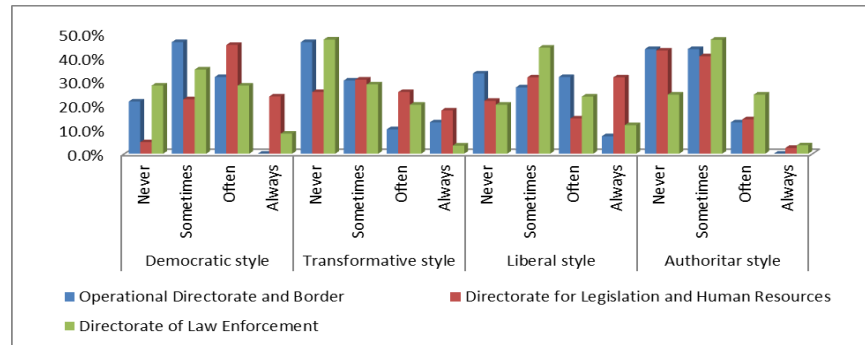
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Directorates involved in the research.

Figure 4.
Data on Four Styles of Leadership in the three Directories included in the Survey

As the relationship between the Directors of Directorates and Staff is concerned, it can be noticed (see Figure 5) that Directors encourage the initiatives coming from their staff, and this makes them more friendly to them, but they are convinced that their opinions are not taken into account. Almost half of the respondents believe they often have the same treatment from their Director, but some of them think that sometimes they are not treated the same.
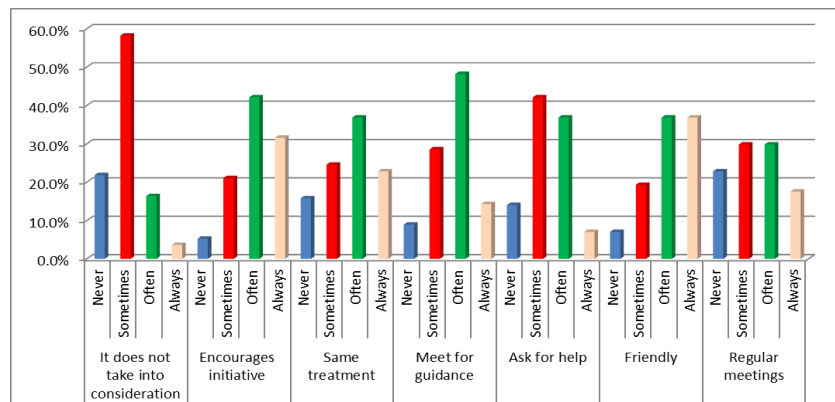

Figure 5.
The data of questions that measured the behavior and trust
between the leader and staff at the second level of management

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To test the correlation of leadership styles, The Pearson correlation coefficient is used, which evaluates the strength of the reciprocal bond between the two random sizes X and Y, expressed in the relevant formula, $r = r(X, Y)$, with the coefficient ranging from +1 to -1. A value above zero (0) shows a positive correlation, and if it is below zero (0), then the correlation is negative. The correlations between variables in this study were based on James D. Evans' descriptions.

The value of the coefficient correlation	The strength of the correlation
.80 or more	Very strong
.60 to .79	Strong
.40 to .59	Moderate
.20 to .39	Weak
.00 to .19	Very weak

Table 6.
Ranking and description of correlation coefficients according to Evans (1996, p. 146)

Based on Pearson's theory, correlations of leadership styles are tested (see Figure 6). In testing the relationship between the style of democratic leadership and the transformational leadership style, it results that there is a positive correlation between these two variables ($r = .516$). Thus, among the democratic leadership and transformative leadership variables, there is a moderate relation that implies that changes in one variable are on average related to the second variable. There is also a positive correlation between the style of transformational leadership and the liberal leadership style, ($r = .276$), however, based on the Evans' descriptor scale, it is a weak link.

In testing the relationship between the style of liberal leadership and authoritarian leadership style, it results that there is a positive correlation between these two variables ($r = .026$), but the relationship is very weak. A positive correlation but weak correlation exists between the style of democratic leadership and the liberal leadership style, ($r = .271$), while a negative, very weak correlation ($r = -.038$) is in the midst of the style of transformative leadership and authoritarian leadership style. There is also a negative correlation between the style of democratic leadership and the style of authoritarian leadership, ($r = -.227$). So between these two variables, there is a weak negative relation. When one style is used, more than the rate of another style usage will decrease.
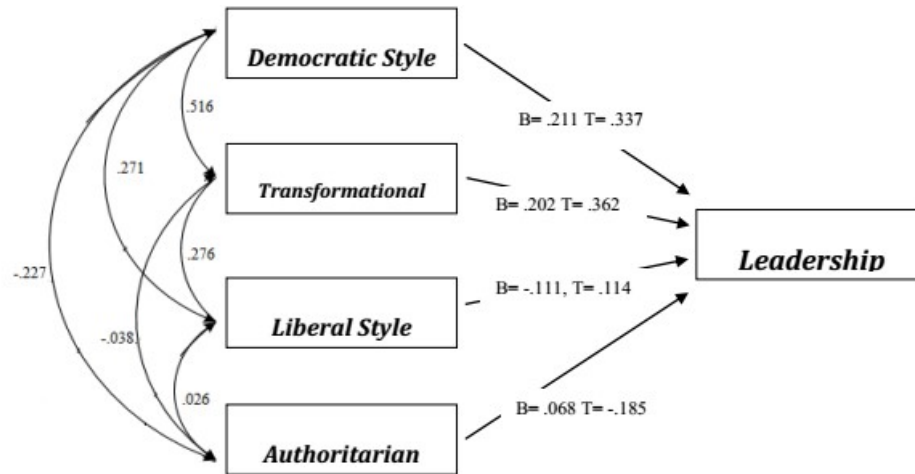
Figure 6.
The correlation between four leadership styles.
Source: Own. *Note*. B = Behaviour. T = Trust

Based on Pearson's theory, the correlation of leadership styles has been tested by measuring the correlation between the styles and the relationship between leader and staff. From the data analysis, it turns out that the most positive relationships are the democratic style variables and the transformational style with the other two variables, behavior and belief. So the influence of the Democratic leadership variable on the leadership factor is positive, as well as of the transformative leadership because increasing the use of this style also implies a rise in the relationship between leader-staff.

The coefficient of correlation is lower in the liberal and authoritarian style, in relation to the other two styles of leadership. The correlation of the liberal style variables with the behavior is negative, whereas authoritarian leadership has a negative correlation with the confidence variable, which indicates that using this style reduces the confidence of the staff to the leader.

4.3 Relationship Leader-Staff at Both Levels of Management

Two levels of management are analyzed, the relationship between the Director-General and Directors of Directorates, as well as the relationship between Director of the Directorates and their subordinates. Respondents are employees of different levels, of whom 38.3% do not have managerial positions, 40% are low management level, while 18.3% are middle and senior management level. To analyze the relationship at the highest level of management, surveys were conducted with the Directors of different Directorates of Customs. The Director's Questionnaire was composed of two parts. The first part was devoted to the relationship with their staff and consisted of 20 questions, while in the

second part, the question was for the relationship with the General Director.

In the questionnaire for the Directors of Directorates the leader – staff relations from top-down have been measured. Based on the responses of the Directors of Directorates (Figure 7), it can be concluded that there is trust between the leader and the subordinates. The Director often believes that the job is performed as it is required by confirming trust in their staff. On the other hand, the subordinates feel free to seek help when encountering problems and this happens often, implying that there is mutual trust between them, according to the perspective of the leaders of the Directorates.
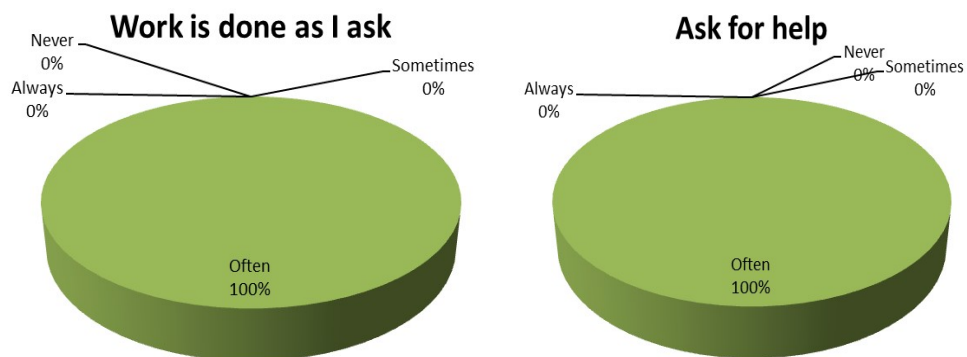
Figure 6.
Leader-staff relationships

Similar results also emerge from respondents' responses from the staff of the Directorates. When they have problems at work, either when they need advice in drafting a report or when they need to make detailed checks, 42% of them say that sometimes they are addressing the Directorates of Assistance, while 36.8% of them state that have the freedom to seek the help of their leader often (see Figure 8). This shows that the relationship between them is positive and this is confirmed by the opinion of the respondents that their leader is friendly to them since out of 57 respondents, 42 believe that he is almost always friendly to them.
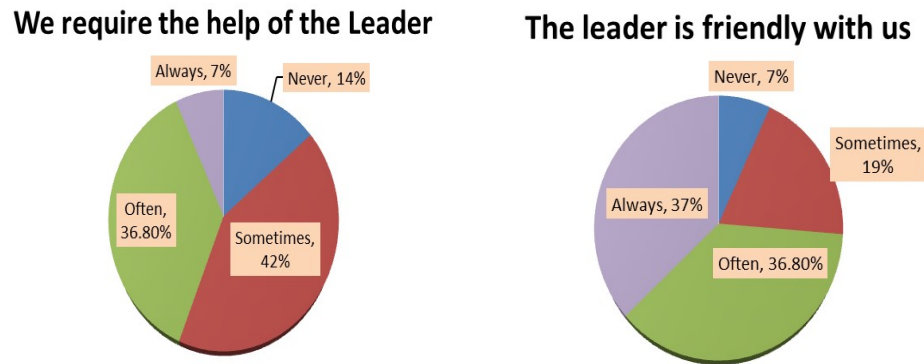
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We require the help of the Leader

The leader is friendly with us

Figure 7.
Staff-Leader relationships

5. Conclusions

This research has been done to analyze the leadership-staff relationssships in a public institution in Kosovo, namely Customs, an extremely important institution, taking into account the impact and contribution it has to the country's budget. The paper analyzes four leadership styles used by the Customs leaders at two managerial levels, at the first level by the General Director towards the Directors of Directorates, and at the second level by the Directors of Directorates to their respective staff. At both levels, the results of the study show that the democratic style is the dominant style of leadership in this institution. To measure the organizational effectiveness based on leadership-staff relationships, there are some questions that relate to the belief of the subordinate leader and vice versa, as well as to the behaviors between them. The survey results show that there is a good relationship between leaders and subordinates at both levels of management. Thus, this leader-staff relationship positively affects the effectiveness of Customs.

Hypothesis 1: *The dominant leadership style positively influences the effectiveness of the organization.* This hypothesis is confirmed as the dominant leadership style in Customs has a positive impact on the Customs effectiveness. This is asserted by testing the correlations of leadership styles with the subordinate leader's trust and conduct, based on Pearson's theory. In testing the relationship between the style of democratic leadership and the leader-subordinate relationship related to the organization's effectiveness, it results that there is a positive correlation between these variables (the democratic style-behaviour: $r = .211$ and the democratic style-trust: $r = .337$). Based on the Evans' descriptor, the correlation between these variables is weak, but it is positive, thus leading to the conclusion that this dominant style does not hinder the effectiveness of the organization.

Hypothesis 2: *Lack of employee confidence in their leader hampers effectiveness in the organization.* This hypothesis is considered inaccurate because the outcome of the

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study proves that there is trust in Customs between the leader and his subordinates. Reliability of leadership staff helps to enhance the organization's effectiveness. According to the opinion of the respondents involved in the research, there are elements of trust from both sides, besides the reliable report, there is a friendly relationship which helps the organization's functioning.

5.1 Recommendations

- Customs should make sure that chosen leaders, either at the first managerial level or even at the second level, should show fewer signs of an authoritarian leader because this type of leader almost always has a negative effect on the organization's functioning. This is also the opinion of the staff and of their leaders. Testing the correlation between the authoritarian style and leader-staff trust, it resulted a negative correlation, which differs from the other three styles.
- Ignorance of the opinions and ideas of others by the leader, observed in the relations of the Director General with the Directors of the Directorates is an issue that needs to be improved because not taking into consideration the subordinate's opinion negatively affects his interest in contributing to the improvement of the organization's functioning.
- Employee discrimination in the leader-staff relation is an issue that is addressed by nearly 40% of respondents. Therefore, it is recommended that this needs to be improved to reduce the number of cases when the leader does not have the same treatement to the subordinates. For this, Customs employees have also participated in various seminars and workshops focusing on discrimination within the organization.
- Based on the results of the study, it is recommended for Customs to regulate legally or with any administrative instruction, the opportunity to reward the distinguished workers, which would increase the motivation within the staff.

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