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Editorial

This is the 11th 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 issue 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, ethnography and advertising.

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This issue is focused on various approaches to memory studies, political discourse and organizational communication.

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.

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The Image Schema: A Definition

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Abstract: The common belief among linguists is that the image schemas cannot be defined, except by enumeration only (e.g. Clausner and Croft, 1999). There are two reasons of that impotence: a) total disregard of the prenatal development; b) almost total neglect of the object schema. In a), what is entirely overlooked, is the simultaneous development of the nervous system and the sense of touch from the 7-8th week of g.a. It is obvious that the constant tactile interactions between two physical objects – the foetus and the mother's body – must leave some imprint on the nervous system and the mental structures. For b) physical objects are the only entities which we experience all the time through touch since the 7-8th week of gestation. Objects are also conceptually independent in contrast to conceptually dependent relations. Following Grady's 2005 condition to rule out "schemas that are too general to be associated with any particular type of perceptual experience, or too rich to count as fundamental dimensions of perceptual representation", I have taken the object schema as the basis for formulating a definition of the image schema as "a mental structure with at least one OBJECT image schema, which is a conceptually independent entity representing a physical object whose fundamental property is density experienceable by touch, with ensuing boundedness, shape, size, etc."

Keywords: the object image schema, relational schemas, the sense of touch, the prenatal formation of image schemas.

1. Introduction

Ever since they were first described by Johnson (1987), image schemas have proved difficult to define. Clausner and Croft concluded simply that "[o]ne can define image schematic domains only by enumeration" (1999, p. 21). Oakley posed a number of questions referring to the identity of image schemas: "What counts as an exhaustive image-schematic account of a familiar activity? Is there consensus on the exact number of image schemas? What are the constraints on postulating image schemas?" (2007, p. 229). Indeed, these last two questions should be reversed, since establishing constraints might bring us closer to the question of their number, which is an issue of rather lesser importance. As Johnson remarked, "[t]here is clearly nothing sacred about 253 patterns versus 53 or any other number of patterns..." (1987, p. 126).¹ Oakley's first question

¹ Also Krzeszowski has confirmed that just as it is impossible to determine the number of preconceptual schemas, it is also impossible to determine the number of preschemas (Krzeszowski, 2016, p. 188).

addresses the degree of schematicity and might also be solved if determining criteria could be established. Oakley shared his pessimism with other scholars writing that “[a]t present, I see no widespread agreement on these matters, especially regarding the exact number of image schemas or even regarding the question whether some of the items appearing on Johnson’s authoritative list, such as ENABLEMENT, are bona fide image schemas” (Oakley, 2007, p. 222). Though I believe that the identification and definition of image schemas would also allow us to estimate their number, it is not immediately clear to me what purpose such knowledge could serve.

Schematicity was also discussed by Tuggy (2007) who, following Langacker (1987), wrote that schematicity is a relative matter and all concepts are schematic to some degree (2007, p. 84). So conceived schematicity he described in terms of a comparison between a standard and a target, for example, the relation RODENT (standard) → SQUIRREL (target) has a more salient schematicity than the relation THING → SQUIRREL (2007: 86). He explained schematicity as a “transitive” concept encapsulated in a simple logical formula: if $A \rightarrow B$ and $B \rightarrow C$ then this logically necessitates that $A \rightarrow C$ (2007, p. 84); the arrow stands for “is schematic for”). Unfortunately, while this establishes obvious hierarchies, it does not define the image schema as a limited set of schemas of a highly abstract character. Recent studies, for example Mandler and Canovás (2014) who describe image schemas as simple ‘spatial stories’ built from SPATIAL PRIMITIVES, have not brought us any closer to a solution.

The commonly discussed lists of IMAGE SCHEMAS vary and are quite clearly intuitive, with no coherent criteria except a set of the features which, it is thought, IMAGE SCHEMAS should conform to, such as having an embodied and preconceptual nature, high schematicity, an internal structure, and high flexibility (Hampe, 2005).

The most common experiential basis in those considerations has been space (e.g. Radden, 2005; Mandler and Canovás, 2014). Most linguists have overlooked the fact that space cannot be experienced by touch, sight or hearing, and that the only entities experienceable through the senses are physical objects with density as their main property. In a number of papers, I argued (2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2009, 2011, 2018) that physical objects are fundamental to human cognition,² other entities being abstract and dependent on objects. This division into the material and phenomenological worlds is not new. We find quite strong statements on this dichotomy in the works of, for example, Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae*), Kotarbiński (1929) and more recently Krzeszowski (1997, 2016).³ If, as Langacker (1987) argued, all predications designate either conceptually independent ‘things’ or conceptually dependent ‘relations’, it is clear that, though Szwedek’s understanding of ‘things’ as physical objects is different, any consideration of image schemas should be based on physical objects as independent entities.

² Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976) were quite clear about this issue when they wrote that “Languages are designed to deal with relativistic space; with space relative to the objects that occupy it” (1976, p. 380). With regard to metaphorization I argued (2000 and later works, particularly 2011) for the importance of *objectification*, i.e. metaphorization in terms of physical objects, which are the ultimate source domain. For example, LOVE as a relation can be objectified, as the ‘love is blind’ example shows, where ‘love’ is conceptualized as a human object.

³ See section 4 for more details.

Bearing this in mind, Grady's (2005) proposal, though vague and general, appears more promising, in that it at least suggests guidelines for a definition of the image schema which, as he wrote, should be determined by ruling out "certain schemas that are too general to be associated with any particular type of perceptual experience, or too rich to count as fundamental dimensions of perceptual representation" (Grady, 2005, p. 35).

The main task in formulating a definition is to "set boundaries" (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). In the case of image schemas, at one end, the cut-off point would be the distinction between image schematic domains and non-imagistic domains (Clausner and Croft 1999: 14), that is such that lack images (Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p. 94ff). At the other end, the task would be to determine the boundary between the most abstract image schemas and other, more concrete schemas. The first boundary seems uncontroversial and has not been really dealt with in the literature in the context of image schemas. Thus, the more difficult problem is to set a boundary between what would be called the most abstract and less abstract (more concrete) image schemas, the former in the sense in which they were introduced by Johnson (1987) and discussed, for example, by Hampe (2005). As I intend to show, such a distinction can be made on the basis of the categorization of physical objects.⁴

It is the aim of the present paper to show that a definition of image schemas must be based on categorization of conceptually independent objects, as such schemas on the one hand cannot be dissociated from some "particular type of perceptual experience", and, on the other hand, are not "too rich to count as fundamental dimensions of perceptual representation" (Grady, 2005, p. 35). I believe that such an approach will lead to establishing a criterion for the identification and definition of image schemas.

In the remainder of the paper I am going to discuss the following issues:

- Hampe's (2005) six features of image schemas, with emphasis on the origin of schemas in the prenatal period and the crucial role of the sense of touch,
- the structure of the physical world,
- the OBJECT schema and its definition,
- relational schemas and the way in which image schemas can be identified and defined,
- again Hampe's criteria in the light of these definitions,
- a few examples based on the new approach.

Conclusions and References will close the paper.

2. Hampe's Features

Taking as a starting point the monographs of Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987), Hampe (2005, pp. 1-2) proposed that image schemas are:

- i) embodied/experiential;
- ii) preconceptual;
- iii) highly schematic gestalts;

⁴ As I have demonstrated (2011), all abstract entities, including relations, are metaphorizable as objects, a process referred to by Szwedek as *objectification*.

- iv) internally structured;
- v) highly flexible;
- vi) patterns acquired independently of other concepts.

These features are discussed in Szwedek (2018), whose presentation is briefly recapitulated below, with a more extensive discussion of those, which are relevant to the present paper.

2.1. Image Schemas Are Embodied/Experiential

This is the least controversial claim but most research has so far been based on visual experiences in the postnatal period. A fairly typical opinion in this regard is Johnson's view that image schemas "are not tied to any single perceptual modality, though our visual schemas seem to predominate" (1987, p. 25).⁵ It is, however, worth noting that, as early as 1987, Lakoff (1987) also mentioned touch as an important sensory experience. Calling on the earlier research of scholars such as Marmor and Zaback, Carpenter and Eisenberg, Zimler and Keenan, and Kerr, he reported that "[w]hen mental imagery experiments are run with the congenitally blind using touch instead of vision, the results are virtually the same as for sighted people, except that people who can see perform the tasks faster" (1987, p. 446). This observation may be taken as yet another argument for the prenatal origin of touch and corresponding schemas.

To expose the unique character of touch in human experience, it is sufficient to mention studies by Hatwell, Streri and Gentaz (2003), Popova (2005), and Gärdenfors (2007), along with a number of others of a more neurological character (e.g. Neisser, 1976, Chamberlain, n.d.; Kornas-Biela, 2011).

2.1.1. The Role of Touch in Image Schema Formation

In a number of studies I argued for the unique and primeval character of touch in human experience (Szwedek, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2009, 2011, 2018), adducing the following arguments (2018):

- a) Touch is the earliest sense to develop. Kornas-Biela writes that "the functional activity of the sense of touch (in the lips-nose area) is observed as early as the 5th week of pregnancy, and it is the most developed of senses at birth (Kornas-Biela, 2011: 159⁶), while "the visual focus and tracking begin around the 31st week" (Chamberlain, n.d.: 3);
- b) Touch, unlike the 'telecommunicative' senses (Pöppel and Edingshaus, 1994), provides the closest possible experience of the physical world (Popova, 2005);
- c) Touch is the only sense capable of providing a three-dimensional perception of objects;

⁵ Cf. Neisser's assertion that biologically "a schema is a part of the nervous system" (1976, p. 54) and Dodge and Lakoff's (2005) view of image schemas as neural circuits.

⁶ 7th week in Chamberlain n.d.: 1.

- d) Touch, including the vital sense of taste, is the only whole-body sense reaching “full body sensitivity by the 32nd week” (Chamberlain, n.d.: 1);
- e) The most vital haptic organs – the hands and mouth – have the largest neuronal representations in the brain;
- f) *Encyclopædia Britannica* notes that “[t]actual sensations enable one to differentiate his own body from the surrounding environment”, where “[t]he body of the individual seems to function as a perceptual frame of reference.” Popova (2005: 401) confirms that “[t]ouch thus incorporates self-awareness uniquely and distinctly from the other senses”, and emphasizes that “the tactile sense is a unique modality in which stimulation is *obtained* rather than imposed by the stimulus” (Popova, 2005, p. 401).
- g) Finally, the fundamental character of touch translates into linguistic structures. Szwedek (2000) lists many examples from various languages illustrating the KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS TOUCHING metaphor.⁷ Here are just a few examples.

English: *capture, catch, grasp the meaning*;

German: *fassen, begreifen* ‘to understand’ (from *greifen* ‘to catch’), *zur Kenntnis nehmen* ‘to take note’;

Finnish: *käsittää* ‘to understand’ derives from *käsi* ‘hand’; *käsite* is a ‘concept’, i.e. something grasped.

Polish: *pojąć* ‘to understand’; *jąć* derives from the Slavic root *jqć, imać* ‘to take’ (*mieć* – ‘to have’), of the same etymology as German *nehmen*, OE *naman*, from PIE **neme*; cf. also *chwytać, łapać* ‘to catch’ (the meaning).

Hungarian: *ért* ‘to understand’ comes from Old Turkish *er* ‘to touch’, ‘to reach’; ‘touching’, ‘grasping’ is related to ‘understanding’ in the verb *fog* ‘to grasp, to hold, to seize’, in several lexicalized words: *felfog* ‘to comprehend’.

Tibetan: *go* ‘to understand’ derives from ‘to be full’, ‘to have enough of something’; *dgongs-pa* ‘to think’, ‘to consider’ derives from ‘to weigh’, ‘to hold’, and *yid-la-dzin* ‘to think’ literally means ‘to mind-in-keep’.⁸

The above exposition emphasizes the unique and primeval character of touch in our experience of physical objects. In addition to the arguments above, we can summarize this claim in the following way: we can close our eyes and not see, we can plug our ears and not hear, we can hold the nose and not smell, but we cannot stop touching things – the air, the ground/floor, our clothes, etc. – and therefore we hardly notice touching because it is always part of our bodily experience.⁹ It is especially important in the prenatal period when other senses have not fully developed yet, the fact that relates directly to image-schema formation. As Hampe (2005) observes, “[a]nother major theme [...] pertains to image-schema formation itself” (Hampe, 2005, p. 7), but except a few

⁷ Bridging Sweetser’s (1990) metaphors: KNOWING/UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, and SEEING IS GRASPING.

⁸ These examples have been provided by Andrew Chesterman for Finnish, Ferenc Kiefer for Hungarian, and Przemysław Żywicznyński for Tibetan.

⁹ This is a paraphrase of Wittgenstein’s (1953: 30) adage that we are “unable to notice something – because it is always before [our] eyes” identical to Johnson’s (1987) observation that because “force is *everywhere*, we tend to take for granted and overlook the nature of its operation” (Johnson, 1987: 42).

occasional mentions of the idea of innateness (for example, Mandler, 2005, Dodge and Lakoff, 2005), the discussion does not go beyond the postnatal period. Notable exceptions are Szwedek (2002b) and Rohrer (2005). In my 2002b paper, I hinted at the importance of touch in the prenatal period emphasizing the fact that the sense of touch and the neural system develop simultaneously from the 7-8th week of pregnancy (Szwedek, 2002b, 2008. Rohrer held that „[a]lthough image schemas may ultimately require the consolidation of postnatal sensorimotor experience, their origins stretch back into prenatal experience.” (2005, p. 176).

I wish to conclude that if the sense of touch and the nervous system develop simultaneously, it is unimaginable that the first tactile experiences of the foetus would not be recorded in the nervous system.

The question of the origin of image schemas is also mentioned by Dodge and Lakoff (2005) who, in their otherwise interesting paper, ask: “Where do universal primitive image schemas come from?” (2005, p. 71). The answer seems to emerge from what I have just stated above, following my 2018 proposal – from the tactile interaction between the foetus and the mother’s body. As I observed (2018): “Naturally, we do not know what form image schemas have in our minds. We can only assume that in the prenatal period, their form is simpler (cf. Krzeszowski’s 2016 “preschemas”) than in the postnatal period, when they are being enriched by the other senses.” (Szwedek, 2018, p. 86).

Some hope is placed in neurology for discovery of the neural structures corresponding to image schemas. But interesting as Dodge and Lakoff’s (2005) findings are, they rather describe the geography and mechanisms of the brain-mind relationships in the postnatal period. It is rather surprising that they disregard the possibility that such neural circuits with corresponding schemas can be formed in the prenatal period, as I postulated in 2018. They conclude, rather generally, that “primitive image schemas are based on specific types of neural structure” (2005, p. 72) and, more specifically, establish certain correspondences between image schemas and neural circuits, which, however, brings us nowhere near the origin and formation of image schemas.

2.1.2. Some Examples of the Image Schema Formed in the Prenatal Period

To supplement the above discussion, let us, in an abbreviated form refer to my proposal of the origin of some image schemas in the prenatal period (2018, pp. 83-84).

OBJECT	own body of the foetus; the womb;
CONTAINER	foetus– womb relation;
PROCESS/PATH	movements of the foetus;
LINK, CONTACT	umbilical cord, or direct contact (touching) with the wall;
PART/WHOLE	hand-foot experience;
BALANCE	position of the foetus (the development of the labyrinth begins about 21 days after conception, and is completed about 4 months later);

FORCE	baby's force against the wall of the womb;
BLOCKAGE	wall of the womb;
COUNTERFORCE	wall of the womb;
DIVERSION	rotations;
SCALE, MATCHING	different blockage forces in front and towards the spine;
NEAR-FAR	position in the womb, relation between extremities;
SURFACE	wall of the womb;
CYCLE	cyclical movements of the mother's walk;
MATCHING	various comparisons of different places in the womb;
UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK	during rotations;
SELF MOTION	own body of the foetus;
CAUSED MOTION	mother's motions cause the foetus' motion? (Mandler, 1992)

As will be clear from section 4, touch is indispensable to the description of our experiences of the world of physical objects; and consequently it is also indispensable in the description of the OBJECT schema and, indirectly, of other schemas.

2.2. Image Schemas Are Preconceptual

This point is also related to the issue of when it is that image schemas are formed. Most scholars have so far discussed image schemas formation in the postnatal period (cf. for example, Mandler 2012; also, note Johnson's quote above on vision). However, as I argued (2018), to ignore tactile experience in the earliest, prenatal stages is a serious methodological mistake. I demonstrated that image schemas are even 'more preconceptual' in the sense that they are prenatal, as has also been demonstrated in the preceding section.

2.3. Image Schemas Are Highly Schematic Gestalts

This point is related to Grady's query about excessively general vs excessively rich image schemas, and raises the question of the measurability of schematicity, on which subject Grady notes that the decision may be best left to an individual "scholar's understanding" (Grady, 2005, p. 37). A good example of the confusion in this area is Langacker's (1987) rather disappointing position, based on the internal relations among schemas and their relative specificity:

The notion of schematicity pertains to level of specificity, i.e. the fineness of detail with which something is characterized; the notion always pertains,

primarily if not solely, to precision of specification along one or more parameters, hence to the degree of restriction imposed on possible values along these parameters. A schema is thus abstract relative to its nonzero elaborations in the sense of providing less information and being compatible with a broader range of options...

(Langacker, 1987, p. 132)

He later continued that “[t]he difference is akin to that between representing a structure by plotting it on a fine grid (where even minor features show up) and on a coarse grid (where only gross features are preserved)” (1987, pp. 133-134).

As indicated earlier, Tuggy’s (2007) similar approach did not solve the problem of the definition of the image schema as anything more than a limited set of highly abstract entities. He only articulated a simple, logical rule of inclusion within hierarchies of categories.

Whatever the approach, it is appropriate to quote Langacker’s (1987) conclusion that “[o]ur cognitive ability to conceptualize situations at varying levels of schematicity is undeniable” (1987, p. 134) and that “[t]he linguistic significance of this ability is hard to overstate” (1987, p. 135).

While all this is true, what linguists are looking for are image schemas of a universal character (as is evident from Grady’s remark, quoted above, on too general vs too rich image schemas (Grady, 2005: 35)). The aim of the present paper is thus to find a viable criterion for distinguishing too concrete image schemas from the most universal image schemas still tied to perceptual experience, thus excluding what Clausner and Croft (1999, p. 14) call nonimagistic domains, such as THOUGHT, DEATH and TIME, etc. (cf. also Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p. 94ff).

As will be shown in the remaining sections, this problem can be solved with reference to the schematicity (in terms of generality/universality) of objects as fundamental components of relational schemas.

2.4. Image Schemas Are Internally Structured

This feature refers to Johnson’s observation that an image schema consists “of parts standing in relations and organized into unified wholes” (Johnson, 1987, p. xxix). In a way, this coincides with the division into objects/concepts and the relations among them, the issue discussed in section 4., below.

2.5. Image Schemas Are Highly Flexible

Flexibility and transformations have been discussed extensively in Nerlich, Todd, Herman and Clarke (2004) and Dewell (1994, 2005). As will be demonstrated later in the present paper, flexibility is a direct consequence of the hierarchy of abstractness of objects with regard to relations.

2.6. Image Schemas Are Patterns Acquired Independently of Other Concepts

This is a disputable claim. Knowledge is a tightly knit and highly complex network of concepts reflecting our mind's organization of the complex world, and it is difficult to assume that image schemas would be acquired independently of other concepts.¹⁰ Since this problem is not directly relevant to the topic of the present paper, I will only mention some studies on subsidiarity (dependency) within image schemas. Typically, image schemas have been listed and discussed in random order. However, Johnson (1987, p. 46) suggested that diversion is a variation of counterforce. Later, Pauwels and Simon-Vandenberg (1993) observed that not all image schemas could be ranked on a par. The idea was also taken up by Peña (1999) for the PATH-FORCE relation, and Santibáñez (2002) for the OBJECT schema. Krzeszowski (2016) proposed dividing schemas into 'simple' and 'complex' categories (SOURCE–PATH–GOAL), with 'simple' schemas further subdivided into 'binary' (BALANCE–NO BALANCE) and 'bi-partite' (NEAR–FAR) types. In 2018, I argued that the only independent schema is that of OBJECT, while all other schemas are relational in nature and dependent on the OBJECT schema.

3. The Structure of the World

We live in both material and phenomenological worlds. The distinction between the material (physical) and immaterial world is not new. As early as in the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas wrote that "it is natural to man to attain to intellectual truths through sensible objects, because all our knowledge originates from sense. Hence in Holy Writ, spiritual truths are fittingly taught under the likeness of material things" (Aquinas, First Part, Question 1, Article 9).

A similar distinction between the material and phenomenological worlds was made by Krzeszowski (1997). He observed that

[not] all 'things' exist in the material world. Some, perhaps most, are only results of human conceptualization. Things such as friendship, love, mathematics, tragedy, motherhood, and hosts of others, including values themselves, do not exist outside human experience as entities independent of human conceptualization. In fact, they are results of human cognitive processes and specifically the process of *conceptualization*. Therefore, they *exist* in the same ontological domain, which is different from the domain of the material world. I shall refer to these two domains as, respectively, the phenomenological domain and the material domain. (Krzeszowski, 1997, p. 24).

¹⁰ In this regard, see studies by Pauwels and Simon-Vandenberg (1993), Peña (1999) and Santibáñez (2002), who argue for some dependencies among image schemas.

A slightly different distinction was proposed by Beaugrande and Dressler (1980) who distinguish two types of components of the textual world: concepts and relations. A concept is defined as “a configuration of knowledge (cognitive content) which can be recovered or activated with more or less unity and consistency in the mind” (1980, p. 4), while “relations are the links between concepts which appear together in a textual world: each link would bear a designation of the concept it connects to” (1980, p. 4).

Langacker’s (1987) position seems to be similar to that of Beaugrande and Dressler’s in that he distinguished two types of predications: nominal predications designating a ‘**thing**’ and **relational** predication designating either an ‘atemporal relation’ or a ‘process’ (1987, p. 183) (author’s emphasis). However, his definition of a ‘thing’ is more abstract: “it makes reference **not to physical objects** but rather cognitive events. A symbolic structure whose semantic pole designates a thing is categorized as a **noun**” (1987, p. 183) (my emphasis). He then describes relations as “conceptually dependent” in the sense that “one cannot conceptualize interconnections without also conceptualizing the entities that they interconnect” (1987, p. 215). The broader treatment of a ‘thing’ may be justified only in the light of *objectification* (Szwedek, 2000, 2002a, and particularly 2011) whereby all concepts can be objectified, for example, THOUGHT IS AN OBJECT (which we can *have*, which may be *scattered* and *collected*, just like objects), or AN ANIMATE BEING (that can *come*, *run*, *be born*, *strike* and *breathe*) (see Szwedek, 2011 for more examples) and LIFE IS AN OBJECT (that we can *have*, *give*, *take* and *lose*).

Strangely enough, the beginnings of the division into objects and relations may be sought in Chomsky’s selectional restrictions mechanism (1965, p. 114ff), in which nouns had their own characterization through semantic features¹¹ such as, for example, [+Common; +Count; +Animate; + Human] (Fig. 1), while verbs were characterized through the nouns and their features (Fig. 2).

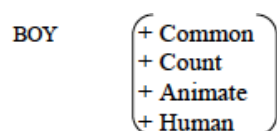


Fig. 1. Chomsky’s (1965) semantic features of nouns.

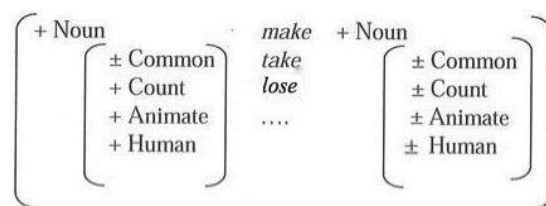


Fig. 2. Chomsky’s (1965) selectional restrictions.

¹¹ Chomsky’s semantic features look more like ontological properties; after all, it is objects, not nouns, that can be ± animate or ± human, etc.

As the above diagrams show, such a mechanism clearly requires that nouns, representing objects are necessary components for the characterization of verbs (representing processes).

Closely related to these diagrams is Johnson's observation that "[t]he world consists of objects that have properties and stand in various relations" (Johnson, 1987, p. x). Johnson wrote this in the context of the Objectivist orientation, but if we ignore the rest of his statement, this assertion is true of any orientation. What we call the real world consists of objects and various relations obtaining between them.

In my 2000, 2002a, 2011, and 2018 papers I followed Aquinas and Krzeszowski, arguing that if embodiment is a foundation of our experience, it is clear that all our bodily senses can ever experience are physical objects. In his 2018 paper he concluded that the OBJECT schema is the only independent schema, while all other schemas, at least those commonly discussed within the standard inventory (Hampe, 2005), represent relations among objects (cf. Johnson, 1987, p. x). It has to be added that it is obvious that relations cannot be physical. If we accept touch as the most basic sensory experience (cf. point 2.1 above), it is clear that we can touch neither LINK nor CONTAINMENT, nor any other relation.

4. Objects and the OBJECT Image Schema

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy notes that "the concept of object [...] is among the most general concepts (or categories) which we possess. It seems very doubtful that it can be defined in more general terms [...]" (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/object>; DOA Oct. 10, 2016). I suggest that my proposal of the definition of the OBJECT schema as bounded matter is very general and exhausts Grady's essential conditions of generality and "perceptual experience" (2005, p. 35) – it is bounded matter whose density is primarily experienced by touch.

The material world is the world of physical objects with density as its fundamental property, in some bounded¹² form. Depending on the degree of density, we divide physical objects into solid, liquid and gaseous. While there is no doubt about the density of these types of objects, their degree of boundedness may be difficult to comprehend. While solid objects have clear boundaries, the boundaries of liquids and gases are the surfaces of solid objects, their containers. Thus, for example, the inner surface of a tub is at the same time the outer boundary of the water in it. From this point of view, seas, oceans, lakes, puddles and rivers are 'containers' (basins, river beds) of different shapes and sizes with the 'water-object' within. Following this line of thinking we may say that all gases are bounded by either solid or liquid objects. Thus, the air (atmosphere) is bounded internally by the earth and all objects on its surface, including liquids. For instance, the surface of a desk is at the same time the boundary of the air. The shape of the external boundary of the atmosphere is determined by the force of gravity. One

¹² Langacker (1987) uses the term 'boundedness' in a broader sense according to which a 'thing' is a region "bounded in a primary domain" (1987, p. 189).

might be tempted to say that this boundary is the interplanetary space, but having no density it cannot be treated as an object, though it may be metaphorically conceptualized as one.

In such a sense, without further specifications, OBJECT is the most universal and general entity. Langacker pointed out that “[CLAW HAMMER] has a fairly precise shape specification, and [HAMMER] a somewhat less precise one, [TOOL] is quite nonspecific in regard to shape.” (Langacker, 1987, p. 135). Once again, from this point of view, the most unspecific concept is that of [OBJECT]. This also implies that [OBJECT] is the most abstract schema, while [TOOL], [HAMMER] and [CLAW HAMMER] are descendingly more and more concrete. It is necessary to remember that we are looking for highly schematic structures (see point 2.3.) excluding schemas that are “too rich to count as fundamental dimensions of perceptual representation” (Grady, 2005, p. 135).

Thus, we can conclude that density (and ensuing boundedness, shape, size, etc.) experienceable through the fundamental sense of touch, is the only property shared by all material objects. On that basis we can formulate a **definition of the OBJECT image schema as a mental representation of a physical object, whose fundamental property is density experienceable by touch, with ensuing boundedness, shape, size, etc.**¹³ to be distinguished from, for example, ANIMATE OBJECT schemas, which have density plus animateness, excluding all inanimate objects, and so on down the hierarchy of objects. The broken line in Fig. 3 shows the boundary between the OBJECT image schema and other, more concrete schemas.

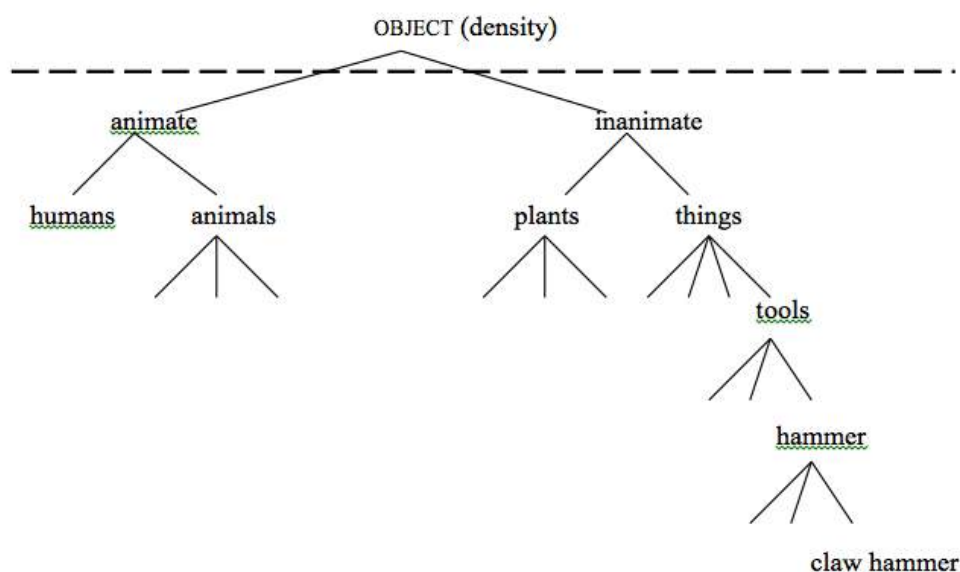


Fig. 3. The OBJECT image schema vs more concrete schemas.

¹³ This is a modified version of the definition proposed by Szwedek (2018) which however was logically and materially flawed. However, the redefinition does not invalidate the overall argumentation of the 2018 paper.

5. Relations and the RELATIONAL Image Schemas

Apart from the OBJECT image schema, all other schemas are relational (Szwedek, 2018). Langacker distinguishes two types of relations: atemporal relations “corresponding to adjectives, adverbs, prepositions and similar classes”¹⁴ (Langacker, 1987, p. 214) and processes, represented by verbs as their “symbolic expression” (1987, p. 344). It is important to add at the outset that relations are conceptually dependent (cf. Beaugrande and Dressler, 1980, p. 4; Langacker, 1987, p. 215). Since the major division of the world’s entities is into objects (concepts in Beaugrande and Dressler, 1980, Langacker, 1987, and physical objects in Szwedek, 2018; possibly also in Johnson, 1987, p. x, in connection with embodiment) and relations between them, if relations are dependent, they must be dependent on objects.

Like objects, relations also display hierarchical organization. Thus, [MOTION] is more abstract than [INANIMATE MOTION] or [ANIMATE MOTION],¹⁵ which in turn are more abstract than [WALK], [RUN] or any other activity. As in the case of the OBJECT schema, there is a difference between MOTION and WALK in that the former implies a relation with any physical object (solid, liquid and gaseous), while the latter involves only some animate objects, those with legs, via ANIMATE MOTION, which would also include flying, crawling and swimming. Each of those relations has its own image schema, but it is only MOTION that is devoid of any specification of its objects, in contrast to, for example, animate objects with wings, or fins, or no extremities.

I think it is appropriate at this point to indicate that embodiment implies universality of perception of objects and universality of various experiences as a basis for image schemas. Such a position is consonant with that of Lakoff (1987), who drew attention to the universality of image schemas: “[t]he image-schematic structuring of bodily experience is, we hypothesize, the same for all human beings. Moreover, the principles determining basic-level structure are also universally valid, though the particular concepts arrived at may differ somewhat” (1987, p. 302). And he added that “[t]here are, however, many basic experiences that one can pretty reasonably take as being universal. Among them are the basic-level perception of physical objects and what we have called ‘kinaesthetic image schemas’: structured experiences of vertical and horizontal dimensions, balance, inside and outside, and many others” (1987, p. 312).

As a preliminary conclusion, I would like to submit that image schemas, as proposed by Johnson (1987), Grady (2005), Clausner and Croft (2005) and others, refer to objects without any specification except density, i.e. the OBJECT schema (cf. Szwedek, 2018), and relations involving objects, as in ‘X₁ relation X₂’, where ‘X’ stands for the OBJECT schema, and ‘relation’, for example, for LINK, CONTACT, BALANCE, etc.¹⁶

¹⁴ Also nouns like *part*; cf. Langacker’s (1987: 218) “relational noun”.

¹⁵ The latter two are listed by Hampe (2005).

¹⁶ See Szwedek (2018) for diagrams representing the schemas most commonly listed in the current literature. Cf. also Langacker’s assertion that “the nature of a mental experience is reflected more directly in a complex image than in a complex formula” (2008, pp. 32-33).

In the remainder of this paper I wish to demonstrate that my assumptions meet the conditions specified by Hampe (2005), and to confront my hypothesis with the description of relational schemas most commonly discussed in literature (cf. also Szwedek, 2018).

6. Hampe's Criteria in the New Approach

It seems appropriate at this point to review Hampe's criteria in the light of the discussion of the nature of objects, the OBJECT schema and relational schemas. Thus, the OBJECT image schema is:

6.1. embodied/experiential:

In view of my claim about the sensory experiences of the physical objects, particularly the fundamental experience of touch, there can be no doubt as to the embodied character of the OBJECT image schema.

6.2. preconceptual:

The fact that many fundamental schemas arise in the prenatal period (Szwedek, 2018) is the best evidence of their preconceptual nature.

6.3. highly schematic gestalts:

There cannot be anything more schematic than the OBJECT schema as proposed in the present paper, its schematicity extending over relations. Together they form well established gestalts in that relational schemas must have an OBJECT schema as their component.

6.4. internally structured:

Image schemas consist of parts, that is objects and relations.

6.5. highly flexible:

Being highly schematic, image schemas – in the sense proposed in the present paper – constitute grounds for an innumerable array of schemas of various degrees of abstractness (cf. Langacker's [THING] → [TOOL] → [HAMMER] → [CLAW HAMMER], or [MOTION] → [ANIMATE MOTION] → [WALK], etc.

6.6. patterns acquired independently of other concepts.

This claim remains unsubstantiated and rather controversial. As I mentioned earlier in the present paper, knowledge is a tightly knit and highly complex network of concepts reflecting our mind's organization of the complex world, and it is difficult to imagine that image schemas would be acquired independently of other concepts. For example, it is unimaginable that the LINK schema would be acquired independently of the OBJECT schema.

7. Examples

My hypothesis is that since objects are conceptually independent and fundamental components of relational image schemas, any distinction between ‘image schemas’ and ‘more concrete image schemas’ must rely on the degree of abstractness of the object expressed in the number of ‘concrete’ features. The most universal and fundamental feature of all physical objects is density, meeting the criteria of perceptibility and schematicity, which constitute the foundations of an OBJECT image schema. Any categories of objects with more concrete feature(s), for example, INANIMATE OBJECT, or still hierarchically lower TOOL, qualify as ‘more concrete image schemas’.

Before reviewing some common image schemas, a brief note on the categorization of objects seems in order. As I mentioned above, the most fundamental property of physical object is density, with ensuing boundedness, size, shape, etc. Going down the hierarchy, the Object splits into Animate and Inanimate objects, with the Animate objects splitting into Humans and Animals, and Inanimate objects into whatever categories we might want to find appropriate – the lower the category, the more concrete is the schema. A sample of such categorization is shown in Fig. 3 in section 4 above.

I have no intention to review all the image schemas listed by Hampe (2005) in the light of the formula I have proposed of the general form ‘ X_1 relation X_2 ’, but rather to discuss briefly only a few schemas to demonstrate the formula’s validity *vis-à-vis* Hampe’s features.

The OBJECT schema itself is internally structured, and has parts with relations obtaining between them. Every object has PARTS, even if they are only imposed by the human mind, and these are also conceptualized as separate objects in some relation to the whole and to other parts. For example, a leg is part of a chair and numerous other objects,¹⁷ but we can also identify parts of a solid object like the inside and outside of a piece of amber. As I mentioned above, having density entails having a surface, that is the “outside part”¹⁸ of objects, also conceptualizable as a separate object (*A thin surface has been carried away from the whole bas-relief* (OED), *on the surface, under the surface*, etc.).

Containment is definitely an image schema in the sense that, given the three-dimensional character of matter, all objects are containers, for example, ‘ X_1 contains X_2 ’, X_2 is in the air, in water, in a solid object (like an insect inside a piece of amber). Connected with the containment schema is the full-empty schema, with ‘full’ involving two objects and ‘empty’ only one object. It is not unlikely that the centre/periphery schema may be treated as a subcategory of the containment schema, with a precise indication of one object ‘in the centre’ and the other closer to the “the outer limits or edge of an area or **object**” (*Oxford Dictionary of English*) (my emphasis).

As will be seen below, the OBJECT schema is a necessary part of all other (relational) schemas. Among the obvious candidates for image schemas in the sense proposed here, are CONTACT/LINK schemas, both of which involve contact (direct and indirect).¹⁹

¹⁷ For example, leg of an animate object, with identifiable parts like a thigh, knee, calf and shin, ankle, foot and toes.

¹⁸ As defined by ODE (*Oxford Dictionary of English*)

¹⁹ This suggests that LINK could be treated as a variant of CONTACT. The diagrams are taken from Szwedek (2018).



Fig. 4. CONTACT and LINK image schemas.

Though front-back, left-right are in essence anthropocentric, and up-down geocentric, they refer not only to human beings and the earth, respectively, but are also assigned to all objects and thus would meet the condition of universality.

It seems that the above schemas have a predominantly static character (see Szwedek, 2018).

Though the other relations have nominal labels,²⁰ they have a dynamic character, for example MOTION and FORCE. Hampe (2005), following other linguists, proposes to also distinguish ANIMATE MOTION, INANIMATE MOTION, SELF-MOTION and a number of variants of FORCE. It is not my intention here to propose any typology (subsidiariness) of image schemas,²¹ but rather to emphasize the role of the OBJECT schema in relational schemas. Nevertheless, some subsidiariness of image schemas is implied in my discussion.

While MOTION as such would qualify as an image schema in the sense proposed here, ANIMATE MOTION, SELF-MOTION and CAUSED MOTION would not, in the sense that in their characterization they have animate objects. MOTION schema can be represented as 'X moves', splitting down to animate motion, selfmotion and inanimate motion, though the latter would belong to a more complex schema 'X₁ moved X₂' where X₁ stands for animate objects using force, and X₂ is an affected entity, an object set in motion. Without those objects, there would be no motion. Again, objects turn out to be fundamental components of relational image schemas, with the MOTION schema branching off to more concrete relations like animate motion, selfmotion and caused motion, with more concrete properties of objects than just density.

Still another image schema commonly discussed in the literature is FORCE and its variations. It must be pointed out at the very outset that according to Newton, FORCE has the $F = ma$ formula, where 'm' stand for 'mass' and 'a' for acceleration. Again, acceleration is a relation involving an object which has 'mass'. The most general form of FORCE can be represented as in Fig. 5 (the black circle stands for the energy source).

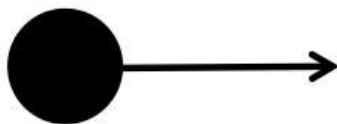


Fig. 5. The FORCE schema.

²⁰ Cf. Szwedek, 2002, and particularly 2011 for the *objectification* hypothesis, according to which every abstract concept, including relations, can be conceptualized as an object, naturally then in a nominal form.

²¹ See Pauwels and Simon-Vandenberg (1993), Peña (1999) and Santibáñez (2002) for attempts at establishing subsidiarities/dependencies among image schemas.

Here the black circle is the energy source and the arrow stands for motion (acceleration). The FORCE schema may have a number of variants depending on the number of other objects and their motions.

Newton's Third Law states that "[w]hen one body exerts a force on a second body, the second body simultaneously exerts a force equal in magnitude and opposite in direction on the first body." (*Wikipedia*). Such a situation is known as COUNTERFORCE (Johnson, 1987, p. 46, Fig. 8), which results in some form of RESTRAINT. If, for example, 'X₂' has a mass and velocity such that it stops 'X₁', we have BLOCKAGE (entire restraint of the moving object X₁ by the object X₂). A still much greater mass and acceleration of 'X₁' would result in the REPULSION or REMOVAL of 'X₂'. If the direction of one of the objects is not aligned with the direction of movement of the other object, we would have DIVERSION and possible REMOVAL of the other object. I think that all those forces are subsidiaries to the RESTRAINT or RESISTANCE schemas.²²

BLOCKAGE, REMOVAL and DIVERSION are, to a greater or lesser degree, dependent on the mass, acceleration of and contact angle with the other object.

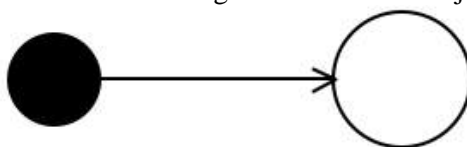


Fig. 6. BLOCKAGE schema (the size of objects represents the amount of mass).

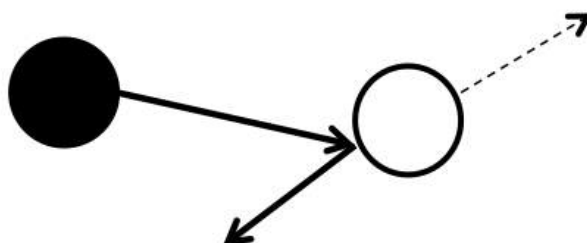


Fig. 7. DIVERSION (solid arrows), REPULSION and REMOVAL schemas (broken arrow).

It is necessary to repeat that an elaboration of a typology of schemas is not the aim here. It would require a separate, extensive study. I merely want to demonstrate the fundamental role of the OBJECT schema in the structure of RELATIONAL schemas.²³ Quite definitely, the number of relations defined by the OBJECT image schema will be limited, if the schema is conceived in this way. However, their form and number have yet to be determined through detailed analyses.

²² I think that all those forces are subsidiaries to the RESTRAINT or RESISTANCE schemas. The OED defines restraint as "[t]he action or an act of restraining, checking, or stopping something" and resistance as "quality by which an inanimate body resists the action of another body".

²³ For a description of other schemas including the prenatal ones, see Szwedek (2018).

The distinction between OBJECT and its subcategories meets the criteria proposed by Grady: on the one hand, “certain schemas that are too general to be associated with any particular type of perceptual experience” and on the other hand, schemas “too rich to count as fundamental dimensions of perceptual representation” (Grady, 2005: 35). The OBJECT schema, as proposed in the present paper, is associated with the fundamental tactile experience of density, while any of its subcategories should be interpreted as too rich. Naturally, such a distinction will also translate into relations which are conceptually dependent on the object.

8. Conclusions

So far linguists have questioned the possibility of defining the image schema which, on the one hand, would be anchored in perceptual experience, and, on the other, hand would not be too concrete. Following my earlier research (Szwedek, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2009, 2011, 2018) about the role of touch in our prenatal and postnatal perception of objects, I have proposed that the definition of the image schema, in the form conforming to the above-mentioned requirements formulated by scholars, should be based on the conceptually independent object schema. I have concluded that the minimum level of perceptibility involves the density of the OBJECT, the most general entity encompassing all physical objects in our world, and I have shown how this affects the schematicity of relational image schemas. To make it easier to visualize the indispensable role of objects in image schemas, I followed Johnson and other scholars and provided a sample of the possible diagrammatic representations. All these observations led me to formulate the following definition of the image schema.

The IMAGE SCHEMA is a mental structure with at least one OBJECT image schema, which is a conceptually independent entity representing a physical object whose fundamental property is density experienceable by touch, with ensuing boundedness, shape, size, etc.

The matter of what schemas can be identified – including their number, and their structure – remains open to question, and will require further detailed and extensive investigation.

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Bifurcating the Mechanism of Foodsemy: Randy Skeletal Meats, Sinister Variety Meats, Gay Fruit, Sick Veggies and Bad Apples

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Abstract: Recent decades have witnessed increased interest in the study of metaphor. New categories of metaphorical transfers have been singled out and studied in world linguistics. In recent times the two types of metaphorical extensions that have drawn the attention of those markedly interested in the process of metaphorisation – both synchronically and diachronically – are by now well-recognized categories of metaphorical transfers known as *zoosemy* and *foodsemy*. The former has been defined as metaphorical transfer onto the conceptual macrocategory HUMAN BEING of the lexical items primarily linked to the macrocategory ANIMALS, while the latter pertains to the transfer from the macrocategory FOODSTUFFS. This paper is intended to be a contribution to the study of foodstuffs-related metaphor. The term *foodsemy* was first used for the purpose of data-oriented study in Kleparski (2008). In the case of this type of metaphorical transfer, the food-related lexical items are a subject to metaphorical shifts where the source domain is identifiable as the category FOODSTUFFS, and the most frequent target domain is the macrocategory HUMAN BEING, but also other categories, such as BODY PARTS or MONEY. It turns out that there are certain well-definable paths and tendencies that may be captured in the semantic history of the relevant vocabulary, and this paper attempts to point to some of the most obvious patterns of metaphorical shifts.

Keywords: semantic change, metaphore, foodsemy, wammel-syndrome

1. The Role of Food in Human World

Throughout our lifetime we are all involved in a variety of relations, either temporary or permanent, either those obtaining as a matter of course or as a matter of choice, ours or that of others. It takes little time to realize that one of the few things that we stand in somewhat permanent relation to are food and drink, which are both – in somewhat equally vital measure – as indispensable as the air we need to breathe. Because of the life-sustaining qualities of both elements, food and drink are normally of regular occurrence in our daily experience, both sensory and cultural. Obvious as it is, the importance of food in human life has been stressed by Civitello (2008, p. xiv) in the following manner:

Food is one of the ways humans define themselves as civilized. But ‘civilized’ is a slippery concept, very much in the eye of the beholder. For example,

civilized people use utensils – forks, knives, spoons, chopsticks. Unless they're eating with their hands. Civilization has been used as a reason for vegetarianism – not eating meat elevates humans and separates them from “savages”. But notorious vegetarians include mass murderers like Robespierre, the leader of the Terror that followed the French Revolution, and Hitler.

It is fairly obvious that the importance of food and drink consumption whether of unrestricted traditional, strictly vegan or only vegetarian profile, and all broadly-understood nourishment products transcends the function of life-sustaining act normally repeated several times on a daily basis. In every culture food plays significant role, or rather – should we say – multiple roles, as it is the *sine qua non* constitutive element at all kinds of social gatherings starting from wedding parties through coming off age alcohol orgies to solemn funeral receptions, all kinds of family celebrations or festive seasons, both national and local. On such occasions, people treat themselves with delicious foods either because they are extremely happy, or – on the contrary – they consume food in order to cheer themselves up, they delve into serving bowls, tureens and cake stands when they achieve success or are down with some failure, both at times of trouble, sorrow and joy.

One may speak about a bulk of routine acts, conventions, traditions and customs related to food and drink (consumption) that both individually and collectively pervade and affect all aspects of human existence and experience. Note that – apart from the life-sustaining function – though this is becoming less of a rule, the act of food consumption is a social event that helps to cultivate family and social bonds and contacts, and such social events are normally regulated by culture-specific codes of conventional *dos and don'ts*. For example, consider the timing of salad serving. In many European countries you may expect salads to be served after, rather than before, the main dish while in Poland salads tend to be served *in medias res*, that is simultaneously with the main course which has been linguistically immortalized language-wise in many Polish well-embedded culinary collocates, such as, for example, *schabowy z kapustą* ‘meat cutlet with stewed cabbage’ or *mielony z mizerią* ‘minced meat balls with cucumber salad’, while in English the typical vegetable-like milieu for the typically English fried cod is *fish and chips*.

2. Foodsemy: General

Because food is essential in human life and normally food consumption is a daily routine rather than the matter of whim, cases of foodsemy, that is the metaphorical transfer of food related vocabulary are found in many languages, and they are indeed there to see in great numbers. In recent times the two types of metaphorical extensions that have drawn the attention of those busy with the intricacies of metaphorisation – both synchronically and diachronically – are by now well-recognized categories of *zoosemy* and *foodsemy*. The former term refers to metaphorical transfers onto the conceptual macrocategory **HUMAN BEING** of the lexical items primarily linked to the macrocategory **ANIMALS** (e.g. *cow* > ‘fat, obese woman’, *pig* > ‘nasty and unpleasant person’), while the latter pertains to the transfer

from the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** (e.g. *hamburger* > ‘a person who is not very wise’, *cheesecake* > ‘an attractive female’). The term *foodsemy* was first used in the data-oriented study offered in Kleparski (2008) for those metaphorical transfer in which the food-related lexical items are a subject to metaphorical shifts where the source domain is identifiable as the category **FOODSTUFFS**, and the most frequent target domain is the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING**, but also other categories, such as **BODY PARTS** or **MONEY**, as shown in the ongoing research works offered by, among others, Cymbalista and Kleparski (2013, p. 145), Kleparski (2008, 2013), Kudła (2009, 2010, 2016), Kowalczyk (2015), Kowalczyk and Kleparski (2016), yet, most frequently, it is the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING** that is the target of metaphorical innovation.

Although foodsemy transfers are most frequent with nouns, the transfers of lexical items belonging to other grammatical categories are there to be found, too. The category of English foodsemy comprises such cases of adjectival foodsemy as *porky* ‘fat, obese’ or *cheesy* ‘of poor quality’, as well as a number of phrasal verbs, such as *to cream off* ‘to take the best part of something’ or *to milk somebody dry* ‘to cheat somebody out of everything they have’. As to other languages, the cases of Polish *kielbasić* (literally ‘to sausage’), meaning ‘to fail to do something, to become unbearably difficult’, *chrzanić* (literally ‘to horse radish’), metaphorically used in the sense ‘to talk rubbish’ and *cukrować/cukrzyć* (literary ‘to sugar’) employed to mean ‘to pander’ constitute a representative sample of Polish verbs employed foodsemically.

Like the majority of all objects, the semantics of names that refer to objects we eat is universally subject to semantic extensions. Similarly to foodstuffs themselves, the metaphorical foodsemy extensions that make the food-related vocabulary polysemous may be set against the variously segmented negative-positive evaluative scale. The foodstuffs we eat and drinks that we drink are subject to assessment, evaluation and hence axiological labelling, either temporary and short-lasting or permanent and terminal, those of positive colouring, those that are negatively tinted and those that as plain as day and colourless as can be.

First, however, in order to deserve to be linked to the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS**, and not to the category of **INEDIBLE SUBSTANCES**, or – least to say – **POISONOUS SUBSTANCES** the axiological value, the emotional attitude and the various connotations that foodstuffs may have are either on the neutral side (*parsley, beetroot, carrot*), or – at least in some way – positive or at least in agreement with culturally imposed norms and habits (*candy, doughnut, cheesecake*), at least in a given consumers’ food and nourishment culture.

Truly, this classificatory problem is more complex than it may seem. The virtual value and connotations the foodstuffs are linked to may sometimes prove to be somewhat surprising. Internationally, an average British consumer would shiver at the very thought of eating *horse meat*, nor would they ever catch and fry *carp* – one of the rudimentary elements of Polish Christmas Eve, because the conceptual image of the fish in Britain shouts <FOR SPORT>, and not something that you catch, keep, fry and eat. Again, *tripe stew* – a stereotypically man’s treat in Poland preferably washed down with a gulp of vodka or a pint of beer – in Britain most people would see it consumed only on TV game shows by those who are ready to face challenges. Much unlike *bacon* or *ham* gladly consumed on a daily basis, both the British and American consumers associate *tripe* with something that is

linked to **FEEDSTUFFS** rather than **FOODSTUFFS**, that is something you feed dogs with rather than something you cook for your nearest and dearest, let alone offer to your guests.

Meat and meat-based products are in no way an exception. The healthy B-vitamin bombshell in Britain known as *Marmite* (with an Australian version labelled as *Vegemite*), or the well-known delicacy known as *Branston pickle* that started in Burton-on-Trent, but by now has become popular all over United Kingdom, are clearly in no way appreciated by Polish consumers. Other lines of division may run inside consumers' cultures that might be expected to be more or less monolithic in this respect. When we consider Anglo-Saxon culture, in British cuisine – what Americans call *biscuits and gravy* – gets much evil feelings because the British concept of *gravy* somewhat intrinsically excludes the visually conditioned attributive value <WHITE>.

The process of evaluation is based on a complex matrix of *does and don'ts*, national, regional and family traditions, and – on individual scale, sensual experience. As oftentimes stressed in the literature of the subject, in establishing whether the picture of a particular foodstuff is positively or negatively tinted, rational arguments tend to work at times, but they alone are by no means sufficient, and one – faced with plateful of whatever is offered for consumption – most frequently resorts to a lower level of variously conditioned sensory values linked either with the experience of pleasure or displeasure, and it is them that determine the answer to the question: *To eat or not to eat*.

In other words, inanimate as they all are – with the exception of those few ones that are consumed live in many Asian cultures – foodstuffs may be said to have a life of their own which is very much one-sidedly experiential, and – extreme cases aside – their consumption is both determined and experienced through a variety of sense channels, though not necessarily in that order. On some occasions the very sighting of what is there to consume makes our mouth water, but on other occasions we feel determined not take another spoonful because what we have experienced with the opening bite was more than enough. On the metaphorical level, there are those foodstuffs, such as candies, lollipops or doughnuts, whose pleasant sensory experience, materialized as the variously intensified conceptual element <SWEET>, places them at the positive end of the sensory hierarchy (Kleparski 2016). However, it should be added that at the vital level such foodstuffs can be proved to be entirely negative axiologically, because their long-term consumption is detrimental to our health, doctors and statistics tell us. At the same time, let us stress that the experience of sensory pleasure and displeasure that materializes in the presence of, among others, such positively or negatively loaded elements as <SWEET> (*candy, cheesecake*) or <ACID> (*lemon, vinegar*) is in no way a necessary prerequisite for the rise of metaphorical extensions, although it frequently forms the experiential basis for it, and the semantics of the expression *to be in a pickle* is a case in point, the metaphorical meaning of which is defined as 'to be in trouble, in a difficult situation'.¹

¹ Originally, *pickle* was not used with reference to the edible element of food that you pull out of jar but the brine or vinegar the edible thing was preserved in, and hence *to be in a pickle* served to encode the sense 'to be in an uncomfortable environment', as evidenced in the following quotation: John Foxe said in a sermon in 1585: "In this *pickle* lyeth man by nature, that is, all wee that be Adams children."

To take an illustration of the case in no way relatable to the presence of the element <ACIDITY>, let us observe that metaphorisation that has affected a number of names for dairy products in various natural languages is only on seldom occasions conditioned by any sensory characteristics, but rather it is frequently relatable to vaguely determinable beliefs, stereotypes and varying extralinguistic conditionings. In other words, the names of dairy products can hardly be said to associate with some dominant conceptual value, such as <SWEET>, which is clearly discernible in the case of those senses that are somehow related to the category SWEETS, within the limits of the conceptual category DAIRY PRODUCTS there are many cases of intriguing metaphorical transfers in well-defined directions. This applies in equal measure to both substantiated (lexical), as well as spectral (phraseological) metaphorical senses, as proposed in Kleparski (2017).

3. Foodsemy: The Carnivorous Bents

For the sake of illustration let us now remain on the carnivorous level translated onto metaphorical dimension. Evidence from various languages analysed by those working in the field, for example in Kleparski (2008, 2012, 2013) and Kowalczyk and Kleparski (2015) shows that the semantics of *meat*-based lexical items is prone to be subject to metaphorical extensions, frequently involving some form of evaluative colouring. For example, Kleparski (2008) provides ample evidence that testifies to the abundance of Romance metaphors related to vocabulary grouped within the category EDIBLE MEAT that – once they are transposed from the food-specific level onto the human-specific level – frequently entail the presence of such negatively loaded attributive values as <STUPID>, <THIEVISH> and <DEAD>. Yet, it is difficult – if not altogether impossible – to find a single common rational or experiential ground that would provide the bridge for the metaphorical transfers that obtain here.

Thus, for instance, Italian *salame* ‘salami’ is used in the secondary metaphorical sense ‘stupid person’, while French *andouille* ‘(kind of) sausage’ may be contextually used in the metaphorical sense ‘imbecile’. Spanish *chorizo*, the primary sense of which is ‘a type of Spanish sausage’, is used metaphorically in the senses ‘shoplifter’ or ‘pick-pocket’, while *fiambre*, the primary meaning of which is ‘smoked ham’, is used in the sense ‘dead body’. Polish *parówa* – the augmentative form of *parówka* ‘kind of frankfurter sausage’ – is used in prison slang in the sense ‘an inmate who is forced to pay sexual services to other inmates’. As to English data, *mutton* is frequently quoted as one of the earliest cases of meat-specific metaphorical transfers in the history of English. This French borrowing has been present in English since the Mid. E. period, at the end of which the noun started to be used in the euphemistic sense ‘promiscuous woman’, and in Shakespeare’s times the collocation *laced mutton* was used in the sense ‘a prostitute’. The unflattering connotations linked to the metaphorical senses of *mutton* may be said to have culminated in the semantics of the comparative phrase *mutton dressed as lamb*, the crushing judgement on an older woman trying to look younger than her age.² By the 20th

² Gutiérrez-Rivas (2011) assumes a definite angle in her analysis of food metaphor setting foodsemy in the context

century by some vaguely definable *pars pro toto* mechanism, the noun became virtually synonymous with the female sexual organs. Apart from this, the compound *muttonhead* is applied today in derogatory sense 'a stupid person, a person of limited intelligence' which in the early 20th was shortened to *mutt* 'a stupid person' (cf. Polish *baraniągłowa* lit. 'sheep's head' also used in the sense 'a stupid person').

As to other relevant English meat-based metaphors, in present-day American English the noun *beef* is employed in the sense 'a muscular man', and this secondary sense dates back to the mid-19th century, and so does the zero-derived verb *to beef* that serves to render the sense 'to complain' (*DFE*)³ informs us that the verb *gammon* in Victorian times developed the sense 'to delude, to cheat', and – as an exclamation – it is used today in the sense 'Nonsense, you are pulling my leg!'. In the 19th century *ham actor* or *hambone* came to be applied in the sense 'actor who goes over the top', and the rise of the human-specific compound may have been extralinguistically motivated by the practice of removing theatrical make-up with ham fat. Today, the theatrical senses of the two complex formations are echoed in the semantics of the verb phrase *to ham it up* 'to overplay a part', but also in the nominal phrase *imported ham* 'a British actor performing in America'. In present-day English *ham* forms a constitutive element of such adjectival disparaging formations as *ham-fisted* and *ham-handed* used in the sense 'butterfingers, awkward person'.

By now we hope to have made it abundantly clear that in English there seems to obtain some kind of relation between those food-specific lexical items that are variously related to the category **EDIBLE MEAT** on the one hand, and – on the other hand – such human-specific attributive values as <STUPIDITY>, <AWKWARDNESS> and <SEXUALITY> that crop up in their secondarily derived metaphorical senses. As to the element of <SEXUALITY>, the relation seems to be particularly evident, especially when we realize how many English meat-related nouns have become synonyms of both male privy parts (*beef*, *beef torpedo*, *beef bayonet*, *beef bugle*, *hot dog*, *love steak* *meat puppet*, *meat*

of sexist discussion. The author argues that some Spanish native speakers, female speakers included, categorize women and/or women's body parts either as food that can be eaten, or, are edible, though only on certain occasions. Let us observe that these metaphoric projections provide further support to the widespread view that women are pictured as products to be enjoyed through consumption and then discarded (see, among others, Kleparski 1997). Note that certain English cases of foodsemic extension must ultimately be set against the background of a broadly understood sexist consumption as they frequently yield female-specific senses, such as the metaphorical senses of *prostiscutto* and *yum-yum girl*. The former is a blend formation based on the English *prostitute* and Italian *prosciutto* – coined in the 1930s to convey a somewhat complex yet reality-mirrored notion of 'a female prostitute regarded as an item on the menu'. The reduplicative compound *yum-yum girl*, with the initial element *yum* expressing a pleasurable or delicious sensation that accompanies palate-based type of consumption, in the late 19th century became a euphemism used to convey the sense 'prostitute' – with a certain shift of the sphere responsible for the sensing of the figuratively developed consumption of the consumption-available object. Returning to meat terminology, Polish *mięsko*, the diminutive form of *mięso* 'meat', *cielęcinka*, the diminutive form of *cielęcina* 'veal' and *wolowinka*, the diminutive form of *wolowina* 'beef' are all currently heard sexist and belittling expressions used in the sense 'sexually attractive and available (young) woman' which – metaphorically speaking – seem to put sexually pictured females straight on the meat hook at the local butchers.

³ The list of acronyms of the titles of lexicographic sources used and referred to in the paper is provided in the appended *Table of Abbreviations*.

whistle, pork sword, salami, (love) sausage, tube steak and female privy parts. Below, we document some of the sexually biased metaphors directed at female private parts:

- 1) *mutton* (He can't quite believe she hawks her *mutton* in hexagonal horn-rimmed spectacles.);
- 2) *meat* (It would be unbearable, but less so, if it were only the vagina that was belittled by terms like *meat*.);
- 3) *fur burger* (*Fur burger* is my favourite snack.);
- 4) *bacon sandwich* (Her pussy looks like a flapping *bacon sandwich*.);
- 5) *beef curtains* (... the former rock star went out partying at the Bellagio in Vegas and showed the world her hairless *beef curtains*, cuz she knows we just can't get enough of that.)

Be it a matter of coincidence or not, but with the exception of declared vegetarians – least to say vegans – there seems to obtain nothing directly responsible for the rise of negatively loaded meat-related metaphors, nor can such metaphors be determined to channel any easily observable and hence definable ill-experienced sensual qualities. True as it is, there is a specialized form of meat-related sensually-conditioned type of foodsemy that was given the name of *linguistic wammel syndrome* in Kleparski (2012). Unlike the transfers that affect the semantics of many delicacies the wammel-syndrome-conditioned metaphors seem to be based mainly, though not exclusively, on visual experience, or rather lack of easily definable and expected visual experience that someone who eyes what he/she is just about to consume may hope to have. In other words, the conceptual elements that may be conjectured to be at work here, and – in many documented cases – result in the rise of negatively charged secondary senses may be formalised as <VISUAL OPAQUENESS> and <VISUAL INDETERMINATENESS>.

In other words, one has grounds to say that the lack of expected visual experience may be claimed to be the main driving force behind the metaphorisation of those food-specific lexical items that are – in one way or another – related to what in English is referred to as the category **VARIETY MEATS**. In terms of extralinguistic facts, the label *variety meats* stands for all edible parts of mammals other than the skeletal meat, and this covers various organs (brains, heart, kidneys, liver, pancreas, stomach and thymus), as well as extremities (such as ankles, feet, lips, tail and tongue). At the same time, the term *variety meats* serves as a euphemism for meat by-products, the vast category or rather a peg to hang everything other than muscle and fat, while a very much more straightforward alternative term *mystery meat* is not a euphemism, but a child's term for unidentifiable cafeteria food.

In English the noun *wammel*, alternating with *wamble*, is a disparaging alternative for what we know as *Irish stew*, obviously as viewed by the English not by the Irish.⁴ Obviously, in every culture there are foodstuffs that may in one way or another be

⁴ As shown by various lexicographic sources, *stew* itself has entered the structure of a compound that merely embodies the indeterminateness of the foodstuff, namely *son-of-a-bitch stew* that is a slang term among American

linked to the notion of wammel. In English, the Scottish name *haggis* – apostrophized by Robert Burns as *a great chieftain o' the puddin' race* – nowadays stands for the classic Scottish dish, defined as ‘a sheep’s stomach containing the mixed lungs, heart and liver of the sheep mixed and cooked with onions, pepper and salt’.⁵ In terms of metaphorical human-specific usage, in Scottish English *haggis* has become a contemptuous appellation for ‘a soft-headed person’, and it is variously used with reference to people in such negatively charged combinations as, for example, *haggis-headed* ‘a stupid person’ and *haggis-heart* ‘a soft, cowardly person’ (see *OED*).

In our view, the *wammel* label stands for all types of foodstuffs the contents of which are either difficult or impossible to determine, either by means of visual channel or other sensory means. The defining criterion that anything classed as wammel almost universally meets is undeterminable nature of its contents; oftentimes the suspicious first-time consumers of trammel-label-desiring foodstuffs feel the urge to fork and poke suspiciously such a dish, unless the consumers are the chefs and they know *what* is there inside. On our interpretation, this nutritional feeling of opaqueness, indeterminateness and hence insecurity is frequently mirrored in the nature of foodsemic transfers which somewhat reflect one of the far-ranging streaks in the human mind that may be summarised by the following formula:

<SENSUALLY NEGATIVE/INDETERMINABLE = NEGATIVE METAPHORICAL LOAD>

The cases that may be classed as belonging to this category of foodsemic transfers in English are not far to seek, and the details of the semantic history of the noun *pudding* may serve as an illustration. The name derives from O.Fr. *boudin* ‘sausage’, which from the mid-16th century onwards the English noun has been increasingly applied to a variety of dishes, sweet or savoury that are cooked in a bag or cloth, usually by boiling or steaming. Today, *pudding* serves to name different types of foodstuffs that range from *hasty pudding* (milk-based boiled cornmeal), through *Yorkshire pudding* (popovers baked with roast beef) to *blood pudding* or *blood sausage*, which is a sausage that contains a high percentage of blood. In Scottish English *pudding* is used in the sense ‘the intestines of a pig filled with various ingredients’, and the compound *pudding-headit* is used metaphorically in the human-specific sense ‘stupid, thick-headed person’. Note that the noun *pudding* – that in its basic nutritional sense may refer to something not entirely specifiable content-wise – developed at the end of the 18th century a human-specific sense ‘thick-set person’. Today, the negative metaphorical overtones are present in many *pudding*-based complex formations, such as, for example, the adjective *puddingheaded*, the 19th century formation used in the sense ‘soft-headed; stupid’ (see Fig. 1).

cowboys and miners for a stew made pretty much from whatever is available at the moment of cooking.

⁵ The possible etymology of *haggis* is the 17th century *haggess* meaning ‘magpie’ which may, in turn, mirror the possible derivation of *pie* ‘baked pastry with filling’ from the now archaic word *pie* ‘magpie’ based on the idea that pie contained a miscellaneous collection of (edible) odds and ends similar to that said to be assembled by the acquisitive magpie (see *DD*).

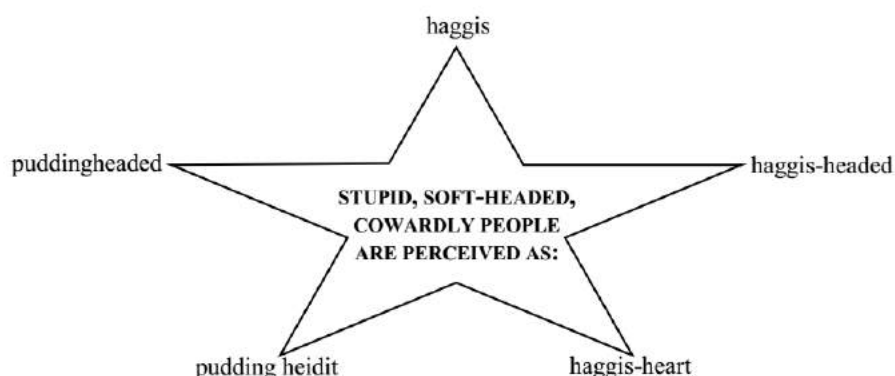


Fig. 1. Wammel-syndrome-conditioned metaphors derived from *haggis* and *pudding*.

The origin of the derogative use of *faggot* 'homosexual' that appeared in the 20th century American slang is to be sought in the sense 'the animal's liver, lungs, heart and spleen are minced up, mixed with belly of pork, onion, then moulded into billiard-ball shapes and braised in stock' (see *DD*). Let us point to the fact that faggot-like nourishment products are common to most areas of Europe where the pig is an important food animal; in Brittany meat balls are called *boulettes* while in Provence they are known as *gayettes*. Further, the noun *pie*, which – viewed from the perspective of the contents of the object it stands for – may be treated as inducing wammel-like sensations. The noun has entered a number of compounds and expressions that are variously negative, such as, for example, *pie-eater* which in Australian English is used in the sense 'nasty little nobody', *pie-eyed* used in slang in the sense 'drunk, pissed' and *to eat humble pie* meaning 'to humble oneself'. As pointed out before, in Anglo-Saxon culture what is named as *tripe* is perceived as something that we feed dogs with rather than offer to people who visit us, and this may be the reason why this variety meat noun has become associated with directly negative overtones, as it is used in the verbal idiomatic phrase *to talk tripe* 'to talk nonsense'.⁶

Other languages provide further evidence for the pancultural existence of the linguistic wammel-related sensations and hence variously directed metaphorical transfers. Let us take the metaphorical sense of Polish *kaszana*, the augmentative form of *kaszanka* 'black pudding' that is metaphorically used in colloquial Polish as a peg to hang anything that may be qualified as either <USELESS>, <DISAGREEABLE> or <UNACCEPTABLE>, for example in such contexts as:

- 1) Ten show to straszna *kaszana*. 'This show was rubbish.';
- 2) Przemówienie premiera to jedna wielka *kaszana*. 'The Prime Minister's speech was a load of rubbish.';

⁶ In Polish the metaphorical message is that *flaki* 'tripe' is associated with the domain of <BOREDOM>, when used in the set expression *flaki z olejem* literally 'tripe with oil'.

- 3) Nie róbcie *kaszany*, bo przyjadą ochroniarze i będziecie mieli kłopoty. ‘Don’t do anything silly because the security will come and you will be in trouble’.

In Polish cuisine one of the close equivalents of English meat balls is known as *klops*, and in its primary sense it may be defined as ‘meatball made of mincemeat and spices’. Though the metaphorical use of the noun is largely archaic today, it is still occasionally used today in the figurative sense ‘failure, problem that makes our plans difficult to realize’, in such contexts as:

- 1) Autobus mi uciekł i teraz *klops* z noclegiem. ‘I missed the bus and now we have no place to spend the night’.
- 2) No i mamy *klops* z eksportem węgla! ‘There are problems with coal export.’ (see *SJP*)

Let us point to the fact that in this case, too, one is fully justified in speaking of the wammel syndrome circumstances, because the meatballs are somewhat universally hard to determine content wise, and – as a matter of fact – especially in group nutrition facilities, such as students’ canteen its contents is frequently identified with all types of weekly obtained leftovers moulded into one wammel-like substance for which the term *wammel* is by all means adequate.

When we continue our check on the somewhat suspicious contents and figurative use of meat-related products that follow the like metaphorical path we see that Polish *pasztet* ‘paste’ and *bigos* ‘cabbage cooked with bits and pieces of meat and/or sausage’ – that by many is classed as belonging loosely to the gastronomical order – also show traces of the same tendency because their metaphorical application brings to the fore such axiologically negative values as <UNACCEPTABLE>, <TROUBLESOME> or <DISAGREEABLE> which may be evidenced by means of the following contexts:

- 1) Niezły *pasztet* mieliśmy w tym roku z Paradą Wolności. ‘The Freedom Parade proved to be a troublesome event this year’.
- 2) Spóźniłiśmy się na pociąg; ale sobie narobilismy *bigosu*. ‘We are late for the train; what trouble we are in!’

4. Foodsemy: The Harmony of <SWEETNESS> Channelled Transfers

The cases of sensory-based <SWEET>-mediated metaphorical transfer are probably most frequently quoted type of food-based metaphorisation processes. Instances of its operation are found at various stages of the history of English, but also they are well evidenced in other languages, too. In such cases the projection of attributive values associated with the members of the macrocategory **FOODSTUFFS** onto the macrocategory **HUMAN BEING** repeatedly involves the re-evaluation and metaphorical processing of the value <SWEET>, which – somewhat erroneously in the eyes of medical doctors, at least –

is perceived as positive for the transfer instigators. The well-documented case in the history of English is the process of metaphorisation of *honey*, which already in the 15th century resulted in the rise of figurative human-specific sense ‘beloved, dear person’.⁷ Another historically documented case in point is the semantic story of *sugar* – a Romance borrowing that has been present in English since the end of the 13th century. The noun – against all medical odds – is till this day employed metaphorically as an endearing term that serves to express the sense ‘dear, beloved person’ that developed in the first decades of the 20th century.⁸ Likewise, a number of other <SWEET>-related foodstuffs that may be said to have certain positive connotations have developed human-specific senses. In British English *cheesecake*, and in American English *sugar baby*, *sugar pie*, *arm candy* and *shoulder candy* are all used in the positively loaded sense ‘young, attractive lady’.

Naturally, the results of <SWEET>-conditioned metaphorical transfers are there to see in other languages of the world. The international panorama of words that may be said to have followed the metaphorical path <SWEETNESS IS PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE> is represented by, for example, Polish *cukierek*, Spanish *bombon*, Romanian *bomboana*, Slovak *cukrik*, all meaning literally ‘candy’ which may be used metaphorically in the secondary sense ‘young, attractive girl’ (see Fig. 2). Similarly, Italian *zucchero* ‘sugar’ may be used in the sense ‘kind, pleasant or handsome person’, very much like *fico* ‘fig’ that is figuratively used in the sense ‘beautiful, handsome person’. In the metaphorical application of the lexical items scrutinized here, one distinguishes human-specific positively loaded attributive values, such as <PLEASANT>, <DEAR>, <HANDSOME> or <BEAUTIFUL>, that may be said to represent various qualities of appearance and character of human beings that are welcome and appreciated.

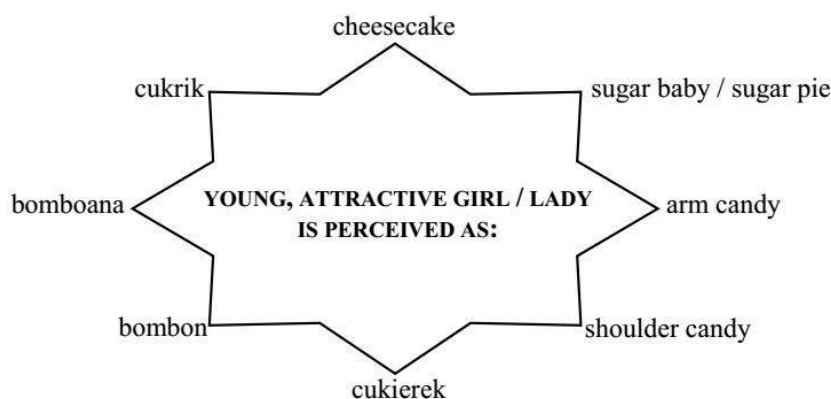


Fig. 2. <SWEET>-conditioned metaphorical transfers in the languages of the world.

⁷ The time frames for this application of *honey* are encircled by the following quotations supplied by the *OED* (a1375 William...seide, ‘mi *hony*, mi hert, al hol þou me makest’. > 2010 *Honey*, I’ve dabbled in everything.)

⁸ The *OED* provides ample evidence for the sense, usually in such combinations as *sugar-babe*, *sugar-baby*, *sugar-pie* (1930 A-settin’ on the ice till my feet got cold, *sugar-babe*. > 1980 Okay, *sugar*, what are you looking for?).

Note that in some cases one may speak about certain progression of foodsemic transfers, and – oftentimes – the process takes two figurative steps that together make a figurative leap. In such cases, food-related lexical items develop two novel meanings, for example in the case of the evolution of *peach* the chronologically first metaphorical sense to appear encodes the human-specific sense ‘attractive female’, while – secondarily – the other sense through some *totum pro parte* mechanism is restricted in application to a human body part with the emerging sense – ‘female privy part’. The working of this mechanism is observable in the case of *peach* and other lexical items, for example, *apple pie*, *cake*, *bun*, *cookie*, *cupcake*, *candy*, *muffin*, *peach*, *cherry*. All of them have undergone a similar two-step figurative evolution from ‘a female person’ to the sense ‘a female privy part’.

5. Vegetarian Foodsemy: The Sexual, Mental and Behavioural Bents of Fruitsemy and Vegeseemy

In what follows we will act according to the fashions in dieting, hence, basing on English and Polish data, we will delve first into the metaphorical nature of linguistic vegetarianism, that involves eating fruit and vegetables, and try to account for the way fruit names (*fruitsemy*)⁹ and vegetable names (*vegesemy*) are used to render various qualities (or lack of expected and appreciated qualities) of human kind. Let us begin with the analysis of the metaphoricity of the topical nouns *fruit* and *vegetable*, and then we shall pass onto discussing semantic transfers of other *fruit*- and *vegetable*-based formations. Interestingly, as signalled in Górecka-Smolińska (2015), *fruit*-based metaphors in particular oftentimes become slang and colloquial devices to cover the conceptual category of human activity **SEXUALITY**.

To be more specific, the noun *fruit* has been employed since the beginning of the 20th century as the abusive synonym of *homosexual*, especially used in the sense ‘an obviously homosexual male person’¹⁰ (cf. *CNPDSUE*, *DCS* and *RDMSUE*). Another lexical item the metaphorical sense of which is linked to the conceptual category **HOMOSEXUALITY** is the *-er* suffixed derivative *fruiter*, used secondarily in the sense ‘homosexual’, while the adjective *fruity* is currently employed in English in the pejoratively loaded transferred sense ‘sexually suggestive, provocative, amorous and obviously homosexual’. Finally, there is the participle form *fruiting* which serves to convey the general sexually-targeted figurative sense ‘promiscuous behaviour’ (see *CNPDSUE*, *DASCE*, *DCS* and *RDMSUE*).

Likewise, the semantic analysis of the *fruit*-based derived vocabulary items reveals that the senses of many formations are linked to the conceptual domain **HOMOSEXUALITY**. Thus, for example, consider the American English compounds

⁹ The term *fruitsemy* was first used by Górecka-Smolińska (2015).

¹⁰ The *DCS* notes that the transferred sense of *fruit* – ‘a male homosexual’ – originated in American English in the early 20th century from the idea of ‘exotic’ or ‘ripe’ and since then has functioned as a common term of abuse.

fruitbait, whose sense is defined ‘a man who attracts the attention of other men’, *fruitcake*, is used in the pejoratively marked figurative sense ‘a blatantly homosexual man’; *fruit fly* – apparently an elaboration of *fruit* and synonym of *fruitcake* – is employed in the relatively neutral sense ‘a male homosexual’; yet *fruit fly* is correspondingly a negatively loaded metaphor used with reference to a heterosexual woman who befriends homosexual men. Likewise, *fruit loop* is yet another offensive term used with reference to an effeminate homosexual man¹¹, while *fruit hustler*, is evidenced both as the synonym of *homosexual prostitute* or used in the sense ‘a criminal who preys on homosexual victims’ (see Fig. 3).

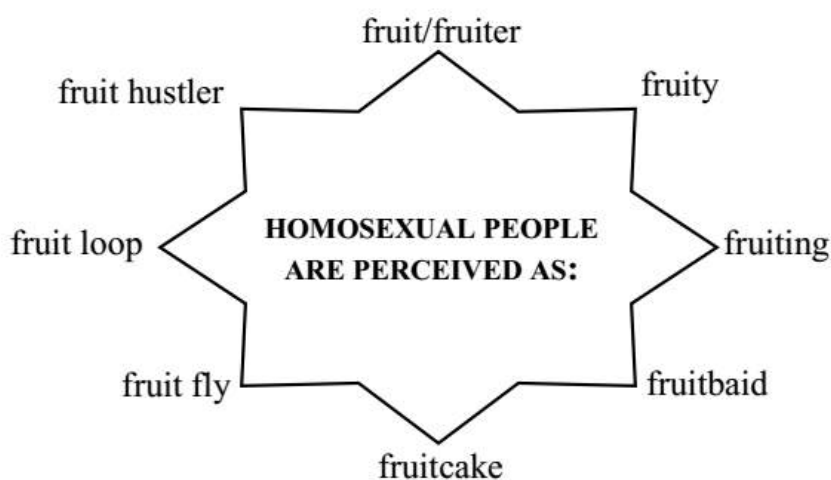


Fig.3. Fruit-based metaphors linked to the conceptual zone **HOMOSEXUALITY**.

In a broad sense of the word, being homosexual frequently means having particular features of character, taste, behaviour and oftentimes appearance, too. When we go back to the spectrum of semantic transfers of English *fruit* we see that – apart from its being linked to the conceptual zone **HOMOSEXUALITY** – the semantics of many *fruit*-derived formations may be said to be linked to certain easily definable locations within the conceptual domain **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR** that involves such attributive elements as <STRANGENESS>, <SILLINESS>, or <STUPIDITY>. For example, *DASCE* points to the use of *fruit* in the sense ‘a strange person’.¹² Moreover, *fruit* – viewed as the clipped form of *fruitcake* – has been present in American English since the latter part of the 20th century

¹¹ According to the *RDMAE*, the phrase *fruit loop* is an amplification of *fruit*, from the brand name of popular breakfast cereal. Furthermore, *Fruit Loop*, spelt with capital letters, serves as the name for an area in Las Vegas where many gay bars and clubs are located. A more specialised meaning is ascribed to the expression *fruit bar* which serves as the name for a bar patronised by homosexuals.

¹² Let us quote, following the *DASCE*, the example testifying the secondary meaning of *fruit* ‘a strange person’: ‘Sam comes on like a *fruit*, but it’s just his sense of humour.’

as the figurative word used with reference to a an eccentric or even mentally unstable person¹³ (see *DASCE*, *DCS* and *RDMAŠUE*). Likewise, today the English collocation *fruit bar* serves as a pejoratively loaded synonym of an *eccentric person* or *loonie*. As far as the semantics of the adjective *fruity* is concerned, *DASCE* informs us about the negatively tinted metaphorical sense ‘silly-acting’.¹⁴ Additionally, *DCS* points to the sense ‘strange or eccentric’ – amply evidenced in American English, especially in the collocation *acting fruity*.

Further, the noun *fruit* has also served as the basis for the formation of several compounds whose transferred senses are targeted at those who suffer from a mental disease, which justifiably may have – and, in fact, it habitually has – certain negative influence on their behavioural patterns or lack of them, and hence the senses of the phrases are linkable to the conceptual sphere **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**. Take, for example, *fruit loop*, used with reference to a psychiatric patient and *fruitbat* employed in Australian English in the pejoratively loaded transferred sense ‘a crazy person’ (cf. *CNPDSUE* and *RDMAŠUE*).¹⁵

Most interestingly, the repertoire of *fruit*-based formations, whose senses metaphorically render the easily definable psychological condition of human beings is paralleled by the figurative productivity of the English lexical item *vegetable*, yet the metaphoricity covers a somewhat different sector of **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**, encoded by such frequently repeating attributive values as <INEXPERIENCED>, <GULLIBLE>, <INACTIVE> <BRAIN-DEAD>. To start with the category headword, according to *CNPDSUE*, *DASCE* and *RDMAŠUE*, in current English *vegetable* serves as food-based label that refers to a person who is mentally and physically incapacitated to a degree that renders the comparison with a plant organism, or – to put it differently – the person is brain-dead.¹⁶ In a likewise manner, the English expression *potato patch* is employed in the figurative sense ‘a group of neurologically depressed patients’ (cf. *CNPDSUE* and *RDMAŠUE*). In turn, the participle *potatoed* has become metaphorically established in the sense ‘sluggish or in a non-responsive state, probably as a result of drug use’ (see *CNPDSUE* and *RDMAŠUE*).¹⁷ At this point, we feel justified to conclude that the transferred senses of the food-related lexical items place them in the sphere of two conceptual

¹³ It seems worth noting that in British English the lexical item *fruit* is present in the colloquial expression *do your fruit*, used in the transferred senses ‘to go mad’ and ‘to lose your temper’. The phrase has probably been suggested by the plural form *bananas*, used in the secondary sense ‘crazy or mad’.

¹⁴ The example quoted after the *DASCE* proves the secondary meaning of *fruity*, that is ‘silly-acting’: ‘He’s a *fruity* guy. Always silly and weird.’

¹⁵ When we compare the inventory of English *fruit*-based metaphors to that of Polish it becomes immediately clear that the number of metaphors derived from the Polish lexical item *owoc* ‘fruit’ is rather limited. Following *ŠJP*, we see that Polish noun *owoc* ‘fruit’ may be employed as the synonym of *result* meaning ‘a consequence, or outcome of certain action’. Moreover, the phrase *zakazany owoc* ‘forbidden fruit’ is used in the transferred sense ‘something tempting, however not attainable due to being forbidden’.

¹⁶ In addition, in Polish there is a noun *warzywo* ‘vegetable’ employed in the similar sense ‘a person who has suffered from a severe neurological disorder and, consequently, is mentally and physically disabled’.

¹⁷ This application may follow as a corollary of the metaphorical use of *potato* employed as the synonym of *marijuana* and *LSD*.

categories, the first of which is the **MENTAL CONDITION** whereas the other is the category of **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**.

Likewise, the metaphorical sense of *veggy/veggie* is connected with the health condition of people, as the diminutive may be used in the transferred sense ‘a comatose patient in a hospital’. Moreover, the sphere of mental condition seems to have provided extralinguistic motivation behind the employment of *fruit ranch* in the figurative sense ‘a mental hospital or a psychiatric ward’, and the compound *vegetable garden*, used with reference to a group of neurologically depressed hospital patients (see *CNPDSUE*).

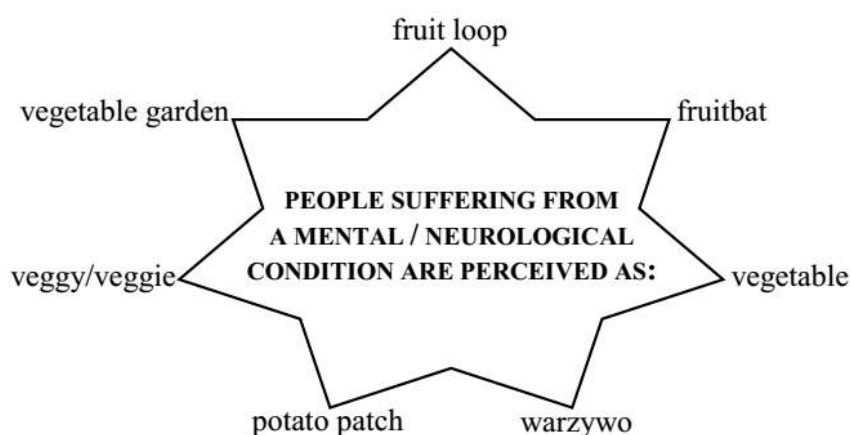


Fig. 4. Mental condition of people visualised in *fruit-* and *vege-*based metaphoric transfers.

The metaphorical human-specific sense ‘a person with an inactive, undemanding lifestyle’ and ‘a person who acts brain-dead’, make a link between the category **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR** and the semantics of the lexical item *vegetable*. The origins of both senses may be sought in the semi-conventional medical sense ‘a person who is mentally and physically incapacitated’ (cf. *CNPDSUE* and *RDMSUE*). As to the diminutive *veggy/veggie*, it is used in the secondary extended sense ‘someone who is tired and exhausted’, hence its metaphorical sense is in line with the capacity of the conceptual category **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**. Similarly, the English adjective *cabbaged* has become the metaphor of a mentally and physically exhausted person.¹⁸ Apart from the various figurative senses linked both to the noun *vegetable*, and the various morphological formations based on it,

¹⁸ In addition to the *vegetable*-based metaphors analysed so far, it is worth pointing to those ones whose sense threads may be linked to the conceptual domain **ADDICTIVE SUBSTANCES**. And so, *DASCE* provides evidence that the noun *vegetable* is employed in Mod.E. in such transferred senses as ‘alcohol intoxicated’ and ‘a person almost totally destroyed by drugs’. Further, *CNPDSUE* and *RDMSUE* inform us about the semantics of the phrasal verb *vegged out*, used in the figurative sense ‘debilitated by drugs or alcohol’.

CNPDSUE, DASCE and DCS draw our attention to the metaphorical usage of the verb *to veg out* meaning 'to be inactive, to relax and do nothing', while the de-verbal adjective *vegged out* is employed in the related sense 'relaxed and inactive'.¹⁹ On a similar tune, in Shakespeare's times *salad* was used in the sense 'inexperienced'. Naturally the time of one's youth is the time when one is at a peak of vigour or most exuberant, but – at the same time – it is the time when one is metaphorically green and literally inexperienced.²⁰

As stressed and evidenced in the foregoing, metaphorical foodsemic transfers are not necessarily conditioned by the sensual experience, but rather the ultimate motivation may be triggered by other factors and conditions, historical, cultural or religious. Let us take a spectacular case of this exemplified by the metaphors of *apple* – that in its primary sense stands for one of the best known and most commonly consumed fruits, that is sensually pleasing in many ways both taste-wise, smell-wise and visually, too. Yet, it is difficult to resist the impression that it was the weakness of the human being illustrated in the Bible that has provided the motivation behind the metaphorical reinterpretation of the semantics of *apple* that resulted in the rise of an axiologically tinted sense, especially when *apple* is used in collocation with such negative adjectives as *bad* or *rotten*, thus yielding *a bad apple* or *a rotten apple* used to intensify the sense 'a bad or corrupt person'.

Obviously, there is yet another shady side of the fruit, this and others, too. Our daily experience shows that one bad thing (apple, plum, strawberry) or person (mean person, corrupt person, dishonest person), may infect and hence spoil or corrupt the (neighbouring) good ones. Normally, rot spreads from one stored specimen of fruit to another, and the evil attitude, thought, behaviour transfers easily to those who are nearby.²¹ Interestingly, not only English employs the concept of apple to encapsulate negative traits of human character and behaviour. In Polish, too, there are expressions whose figurative senses are directly linked to the conceptual domain **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**. Take, for example, the Polish cliché *niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni*, which may be rendered into English as *the apple doesn't fall far from the apple tree*, in which the noun – very much like English *apple* – is used to refer to a non-specified person, and thus the sense is equivalent to that of the English proverb *like mother like daughter*. Significantly, neither in Polish nor in English the clichés are used with reference to those behavioural features that may either be – in one way or another – appreciated or at least tolerated, but rather their scope of reference embraces a variety of behavioural traits that are on the negative side of the evaluative scale. Apart from that, in Polish there is the formation *jabłko niezgody* 'the apple of discord', employed in the transferred sense 'the reason for disagreement'. Likewise, in Polish there is the human-specific picturesque expression *amator kwaśnych jabłek* which literally means 'an

¹⁹ Note also the term *vegetation*, employed in the sense 'relaxation'.

²⁰ The analogy present in the quotation from Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra* is to the greens commonly used to make a salad. In *Anthony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare has Cleopatra speak of: My *salad* days, When I was green in judgement: old in blood, To say as I said then!

²¹ John Northebrooke, in his *Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing [etc.] Are Reproved* published at the end of the 16th century says: A penny naughtily gotten, sayth Chrysostoms, is like a *rotten apple* laid among sounde apples, which will rot all the rest.

amateur of sour apples', which is an equivalent of English *oddball* employed in order to describe someone with strange or weird preferences which are frequently far from being acceptable to others (see *SJP* and *WSFP*).

At the same time, a wide range of English *apple*-based formations whose senses involve such attributive elements as <STUPIDITY> or <DULLNESS>, are also linkable to the conceptual category **HUMAN BEHAVIOUR**. For example, in English slang *apple* is used with reference to a gullible victim of a confidence swindle. The reference to human behaviour is also visible in the semantics of various *apple*-derived compounds, for example, *applehead*, is used as a metaphor that encapsulates the sense 'a dull, stupid person', *apple-knocker* is a synonym of *rustic*, especially used in the sense 'a naïve country yokel', and *apple-polisher* may be used with reference to a flatterer or, more precisely, a person who shamelessly curries favour from those above him (Górecka-Smolińska, 2015, p. 53).

6. Conclusions

It is often repeated by the students of semantic change that each word has its own history, but – it by all means seems – in the realm of semantic diachrony history one has grounds to claim that not infrequently history repeats itself with variations. In other words, one may certainly say that there are certain tendencies and repeating patterns that emerge from the study of the semantic evolution of lexical items in well-defined spheres, here viewed as conceptual categories. We have dealt here only with one type of metaphorisation process that has been labelled as *foodsemy*. In fact, we have narrowed our attention to few well-selected subcategories, namely **EDIBLE MEAT**, **SWEETS**, but also we have dealt with the semantics of a number of *vegetable- fruit*-based formations. We hope to have provided enough evidence to show that those lexical items that are grouped within the category of meat and meat products, and – in particular – the category that has been labelled as **VARIETY MEATS** tend to develop negatively loaded senses related to human stupidity, cowardice, soft-headedness, vulgarly perceived sexuality, failure, poor performance, trouble and general predicament. At the same time, one may speak about certain metaphorical harmony of <SWEETNESS> channelled metaphorical transfers. Somewhat naturally, young attractive females are often conceptually bridged and identified with various types of honey-related, sugar-related and/or sugar containing delicacies. At the same time, fruitiness that is somewhat less openly identified with pleasurable sweetness is the concept that has become the trigger for the rise of many metaphorical transfers that link to the conceptual domain **HOMOSEXUALITY**. In turn, the brainless world of vegetables has become identified with the formidable state of mentally poor or utterly mentally incapacitated human beings. We have attempted to identify and point to some conceptual elements, such as <SWEETNESS>, <VISUAL OPAQUENESS> and <VISUAL INDETERMINATENESS> that may justifiably be felt to condition some of the discussed metaphorical transfers, though many of them lie in obscurity and remain a challenge for future research.

Table of Abbreviations

CNPDSUE	<i>The Concise New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English</i>
DASCE	<i>NTC's Dictionary of American Slang and Colloquial Expressions</i>
DCS	<i>Dictionary of Contemporary Slang</i>
DD	<i>Diner's Dictionary</i>
DFF	<i>Dictionary of False Friends</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
RDMAUSE	<i>The Routledge Dictionary of Modern American Slang and Unconventional English</i>
SJP	<i>Słownik języka polskiego PAN</i>
WSFP	<i>Wielki słownik frazeologiczny PWN z przysłowiami</i>

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Types of the “Emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s Identity in the Children’s Poetic Discourse

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Abstract: This paper aims to interpret the principle of the emotive constructing the poet’s identity on the basis of R.L. Stevenson’s letters (Alps, Highlands, Hyeres, Bournemouth, 1880-1887) and of the poems from *A Child’s Garden of Verses* (Robert Stevenson, 1885). The study focuses on the concept of “identity”, considering the identity of R.L. Stevenson as the children’s poet and on the category of emotiveness. This principle constructing the poet’s identity is presented by referring to the theory of the “I-concept”, the psycho-biological model of emotive event. This article includes the recognition of the types of “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity which are represented in the children’s poetic discourse. The features of actualization of types such as, “childlike”, “wonderer”, “optimist”, lyricist”, “fantasizer”, “ingenuous”, “moralist”, and “dreamer”, are described using linguistic description. This study also presents the quantitative correlation of the types of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity in the children’s poetic discourse and indicates the possibilities for further investigation of identity.

Keywords: identity, principle of constructing, R.L. Stevenson, “emotive-I”, “childlike”, “wonderer”, “optimist”.

1. Introduction

The concept “identity” has interdisciplinary features. It covers the mental, social, cultural, communicative and linguistic spheres. The concept “identity” corresponds to the key priorities of the anthropocentric approach (Pikalova, 2018b, p. 84) so it is one of the vectors of the study of the modern linguistic paradigm.

Contemporary linguistic researches focus on constructed essence of identity. Identity is considered as constructed in discourse (Bamberg, Fina, & Schiffrin, 2011). Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 607) investigate identity as constructed in linguistic interaction on the basis of five principles: the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle, the partialness principle. Following this mechanism of identity construction in discourse, the paper extends on this line of research to identity construction in the poetic discourse.

This paper focuses on the identity of Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), who creates poetry devoted to children. We propose a framework for the analysis of the principle of emotive constructing the poet’s identity. The discussion covers the linguistic analysis of

the illustrative material which became the collection of R.L. Stevenson's poems "A Child's Garden of Verses" (1885) which is regarded as the children's poetic discourse. The aim of this study is to identify the types of "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity.

2. Related Work

2.1. Identity

As McKinlay & McVittie (2011, p. ix) say, the researchers in different areas of knowledge are constantly interested in the question "who are we?" According to dictionary definitions, the concept "identity" is defined as "the sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else" (Crowther & Hornby, 2002, p. 415); "who someone is" (Summers, 2000, p. 706); "the fact of being who a person is" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 869). The researchers have the same opinion in the determination of "identity", claiming that it is "people's concepts" in understanding of "who they are", "what sort of people they are", in which relations they are with other people (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 2).

Gee (1990, p. 18) claims that if people are taking on a certain identity or role, they use language to get recognized, "that is, to build an identity here and now." In Gee's opinion, "making visible and recognizable *who* we are and *what* we are doing" involves not only language but something more. In other words, "recognition" means the collection of "language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places." (Gee, 1999, p. 18). Koller (2012, p. 19) states the same idea and argues that identity is a conceptual structure which covers beliefs, knowledge, norms, values, attitudes, expectations, and emotions, and which consolidates in discourse.

More recent studies have considered identity as a constructed essence. Identity is not stable, "not static", but it is changeable, "never-ending process" (Hozhabrossadat, 2015, p. 195). Language gives a visible form to ways of existence in the world through the formation of "meanings which relate to us in terms of identity" (Evans, 2015, p. 1). In other words, "language both reflects and creates identities" (Fina, 2012, p. 1).

Many researchers state that identity is constructed in discourse (Bamberg, Fina, & Schiffrin, 2011; Versluys, 2007) or in the interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Coupland, 1996; Norris, 2007). We agree that the poet's identity is constructed in the poetic discourse under influence of the socio-cultural conditions, previous experience, "memory of childhood" (Pikalova, 2018d, p. 46), comprising poet's talent, internal stimuli and purposes.

As observed, most of the researchers mentioned above focus upon the constructed nature of "identity". Among the wide range of scientific works on the concept "identity", there are few studies on the mechanisms for constructing identity. Only few scholars are trying to find out the ways of this process. As mentioned above, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose an approach to the construction of identity. In our opinion, the researchers' effort to find out the principles of constructing identity (the emergence, the

positionality the indexicality, the relationality, the partialness principles) appears timely in the aspect of modern scientific researches. As this paper is a part of a broader research project on identity of the children's poet, which discusses the advantages of each of the above-mentioned techniques for constructing identity, we will use these principles, since in most cases they are valid in constructing the identity of the children's poet. In the process of our research on identity of the children's poet, the necessity to extend the boundaries of the mechanisms of identity construction has appeared. The principles of emotive constructing and linguocreative constructing, competence and continuity principles have been reported. This article aims at identifying the principle of the emotive constructing identity of the children's poet.

2.2. Identity of the Children's Poet

Foucault (1998) claims that the author will possess different identities at different times. Different identities appear as a "response to the characteristics of a situation" (Win & Rubin, 1995, p. 3). Discourse explains how people do their activity "to get recognized" as a specific kind of identity "at a specific time and place" (Gee, 1990, p. 155). These statements are also corroborated by Ivanič (1994, p.5), who argues that writers' identities are constructed "not only through what they have said but also through the discourses they have participated in to say it."

In connection to the identity of the poet, "self-concept" (or "I-concept") should also be explained. "Self-concept" is considered as the integrity of somebody's thoughts and feelings in the process of self-determination (Rosenberg, 1986). Rogers (1995) states that the "I-concept" of one's personality is a fundamental component in its structure, it is formed in the process of interaction of the subject with the surrounding social environment, moreover it is conditioned by the existence of previous experience and internal stimuli. Vyigotskiy (1982) describes "self" as a systemic complex organization, which constantly produces in the personality and by this personality in the interaction with others, under the influence of the cultural and social situations. "I-concept" is considered as a generalized person's self-image, as a system of person's attitudes regarding one's own personality (Rubinshteyn, 2002). Thus, the components in the model of "I-concept" have been selected. According to the scientific researches, it is proposed to select the cognitive and affective components in the structure of "self-concept" (Linville, 1986), the cognitive, affective, and motivate ones (Arkhireyeva, 2008, p. 49), or the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of the "I" (Burns, 1986, p. 30). Thus, the historical conceptual presentation, the fundamental basic historical and theoretical-methodological approaches allows us to argue that the establishment of the congruence of the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of the "I" (Burns, 1986, p. 30) is possible due to the ability of the children's poet to identify oneself with the child.

Writers as any masters of art can "come better to know themselves" during the process of creating their literary works by means of "putting their feelings into physical form" (Collingwood, 1958, p. 79). The identity of the poet who writes poetry for children

is determined as the result of self-determination. This process manifests in self-realization of the poet (Pikalova, 2018c, p. 42), specifically in the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of the “I-concept”.

Following the above-mentioned researchers’ viewpoints, we define the identity of the children’s poet as the totality of identifications, which were obtained in childhood, namely the identifications of internal experience. Both the poet’s talent and internal stimuli correspond to the identification of the children’s poet, whose creativity is conditioned by the necessity to write such a kind of poetry which causes the desired emotional response from a small reader. The children’s poet as a subject of discursive activity seems to be immersed in the semantic field of the object-child. Children generate expectations regarding the poet’s mental and speech activity, thereby motivating the mobilization of the potential embodied in the author’s identity.

The children’s poet as “an artist of a word” creates within a certain linguistic culture, assimilating social norms, values ways of the activity of a particular society. He/she offers a picture of the world which is intelligible for child’s consciousness. He/she familiarizes himself/ herself with the proposed picture of the world on the basis of background knowledge, life experience and children’s emotiosphere.

2.3. The Category of Emotiveness

Ancient Greek philosophers (Aristotle, Democritus, Epictetus) talked about the value of poetry in the process of education. In their opinion, poetry covers the experience of learning and culture, promoting the formation of the Greeks’ spirit. Poetry passes knowledge and values, history, culture and traditions through emotion, imagination and feeling. In Paul Valerie’s (1993) diaries, it is written that a poet’s role is not to give the reader his thoughts, but to awaken in the addressee the emotional state that accompanies the thought. This opinion correlates with the fact that children’s poetry is full of emotions, triggering the readers’ expected feelings. The lack of sufficient experience, knowledge and low level of emotional competence (Pikalova, 2012, p. 88) is actualized by the presence of the category of emotiveness in children’s poetic texts. At the same time, the poet aims to help children to learn the surrounding world, to enlarge their knowledge, to shape their emotiosphere and the system of values. Block (2015, p. 162) states that writing poetry leads to the harmony of words and sounds, giving them a form and bringing this harmony to the outside world.

The above statements indicate the necessity to reveal the notion “emotiveness”. Maslova (1991, p.185) considers that emotionality is a psychological characteristic of personality, state, qualities and level of emotional sphere. Emotiveness is a linguistic characteristic of the text as a totality of linguistic means which are capable to produce an emotional effect, in other words, to cause the recipient’s corresponding emotions (Maslova, 1991, p.185). Emotiveness is a conscious, planned demonstration of emotions, a special strategy of the speaker’s behavior, directed to the addressee (Larina, 2003, p. 63). Shakhovskiy, Sorokin and Tomashev (1998, p. 69) state that emotiveness is a

special semantic category, its originality depends on the “creator’s personality”, life experience and emotional mood. In our opinion, emotiveness is a linguistic category through which emotions and feelings are represented in language. Emotiveness actualizes the representation of emotions by the addresser in order to cause the necessary emotional reaction from the addressee. It has an effect on the behaviour of the recipient, indicating the communicative and pragmatic impact on the addresser.

To create poetry for children implies “to reach their hearts, because children live in a different, enchanting world, with their own images and logic. The lines do not have to be exhausted; they must be poured from the depths of the heart: be a bit crazy and fairly” (Chukovskiy, 2005, p. 356). For children, it is necessary to write in a special way – differently than other poems are written. But at the same time it is necessary to save the literary value of children’s poems (Chukovskiy, 2005, p. 357).

Children’s emotions and feelings are still naive, the world of childhood exists outside the laws of an adult world, where the child can enjoy imagination. Children have a sense of surprise, an amazing ability to imagine – all that adults lose and cannot turn back. Deviations from adult thinking, approaching a child in the process of creating poems for children allows the poet to find access to pure emotions of childhood. The above-mentioned arguments confirm the emotive constructing identity of the children’s poet.

2.4. Robert Louis Stevenson as the Author of Children’s Poetry

The English-language children’s poetry of the 19th century is characterized by unusual artistic techniques, nonsense, elements of fantasy in rhymed forms (Pikalova, 2018a, p. 319). Darton and Alderson (1982, pp. 314–315) state that in the 19th century there were few poets who “wrote poetry truly meant for and appreciated by children”. Among these poets there is Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) whose poetic speech has specific linguistic and stylistic features represented in the vivid examples of the children’s poetry. This fact testifies some notable academic interest in different aspects of R.L. Stevenson’s literary heritage.

Different aspects of R.L. Stevenson’s creativity become the subjects of many researches. Despite some “notable academic interventions”, many Stevenson’s texts “have remained critically elusive” (Higgins, 2015, p. 10). The explanation of this phenomenon lies in the variety of literary heritage created by the author. R.L. Stevenson is described as a “literary mystery” in accordance with the genre “localization”, because on the one hand, it is easy to define him as the author who writes in a particular genre, and on the other hand, he constantly circulates among these genres, “playing” with them, “experimenting upon and destabilizing them” (Jaěck, 2011, p.182). In addition, the identity of R.L. Stevenson as the children’s poet has not been extensively studied.

In 1885 R.L. Stevenson published *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, which consists of 67 poems and illustrations. The verses for children were written in Bournemouth. The first title of this collection was *Penny Whistles*.

Maixner (2013, p. 148) describes the poems in R.L. Stevenson’s collection *A*

Child's Garden of Verses as "delight any child", "be read with pleasure", "writing throughout in the person of the child", "the child's thoughts, fancies, pleasures, ambitions". Colley (2004, p. 148) reminds "it is Stevenson's child persona, not Stevenson himself, who speaks the words of the verses". His poems are "about a child of Stevenson's imagination". Higgins (2015, pp. 5-6) considers R.L. Stevenson as a careful poet and characterizes "Stevenson's poetic language" as a hard kind of work at the craft of poetry.

R.L. Stevenson's collection *A Child's Garden of Verses* contains poems about children and childhood. Such impulses as love, talent, mastery, memory, childlikeness, childhood innocence, great desire to create, or hard work stimulated the author to compose verses for children. Modern anthologies of children's poetry contain some of R.L. Stevenson's poems. This fact testifies the popularity of R.L. Stevenson's verses.

Chukovskiy (2005, p. 357) claims that "mastery, virtuosity, technical perfection of poems for children should be at the same level as adult poems. Poetry for young people should be an adult poetry". Rhythmic design, rhymes, sound and figurative expressiveness are the peculiarities of R.L. Stevenson's poetic speech. These features motivate the children's imagination, bring pleasure, stimulate the formation of the children's emotiosphere. It becomes clear that this is possible through the skillful, creative use of such linguistic means that are specific to R.L. Stevenson.

3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The system of views, purposes and values of the identity of the children's poet, which predetermines his/ her uniqueness, certainty, integrity and permanence, form the structure of the author's identity (Pikalova, 2018b, p. 86). The identity of the children's poet appears as a process of the organization of life experience in the individual "I". The personality chooses goals, values, needs, which determine the content of identity, and society adjusts the rules and laws of its existence. Thus, the aspect of the individual "I" of the children's poet is formed as a part of his identity.

Creative personalities can easily identify themselves with other personalities and change roles. In the process of creativity, there is some identification of the author with the creative images. It corresponds to the idea about the congruence of the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of the "I" of the poet's identity, that means the ability of the children's poet to identify oneself with the child. From the other side, "the activity of the children's poet is conditioned by the necessity to create positive guidelines in own poetry to inspire the expected emotional response from a little addressee who owns a low level of emotional competence" (Pikalova, 2012, p. 88). Thus, identifying the poet with the child aims to cause an expected emotional response from the child.

The identity of the children's poet is generated in the process of interaction with the specific cultural and social environment in which the author creates, on the basis of previous experience and under the influence of internal stimuli. The identity of the

children's poet is determined by the creativity that is represented with the help of the speech activity. This practice is reflected through "Image I," in which there are cognitive, affective and behavioral components (these ideas are borrowed from Burns, 1986).

Following Buck's (1986) psycho-biological model, Manuel and Morillas (2002-2001) describe the emotive experience as complex internal events causally connected (distally or proximally) to perceptions, sensations, cognition, dispositions and individual and socio-cultural behaviour. The researchers state that any event, thoughts and sensations can be a reason of an emotive event: a visual or an auditory experience (seeing/ hearing something), a cognitive experience (a thought or a stream of thoughts about something), another emotion (emotions may cause chains of emotions) that can again cause the response to an emotive event.

On the basis of the theory of "I-concept" proposed by Burns (1986), it is required to distinguish the principle of the emotive constructing the poet's identity who creates for children (Pikalova, 2018c, p. 58). In the process of identification, the "emotive-I" of the identity of the children's poet can be modified (Pikalova, 2018c) as follows:

(A) The cognitive component of the "emotive-I" of identity of the children's poet covers knowledge, beliefs, motives, ideas, attitudes towards oneself and towards children. These are the ways of an emotive interpretation of reality represented in the children's poetic discourse.

(B) Affective component indicates the emotional and estimated relation to knowledge and beliefs, to oneself and to children.

(C) Behavioural component is an appropriate response that motivates an emotional influence on the object of discourse (a child). At the same time, it is represented in the author's poetic speech, creating a certain image of the "emotive-I" of the poet's identity.

The model of an emotive event described by Manuel and Morillas (2002-2001, p. 71) is the following:

*a visual experience → a feeling → a thought → a mood → a
behaviour → more feelings, thoughts, actions, moods, and so on*

This serves as the basis for the detection of the components of the "emotive-I" of identity of the children's poet. Following the model presented above, the components of the "emotive-I" of identity of the children's poet can be postulated:

*C / cognition = visual / audio events, experience, knowledge, goals,
motives, etc. → E / emotion = emotions, feelings, experiences → A /
activity = behavioural reaction (poetic activity) as a response to
emotions.*

The research comprises the following stages:

- firstly, 254 letters of R.L. Stevenson for his family and friends written while the author's staying in the Alps, Highlands, Hyeres, Bournemouth, during 1880-1887 (Colvin, 1991) were analyzed to identify how the emotive events from the author's life were described;

- secondly, the components of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity as the children’s poet were observed;
- thirdly, applying linguistic description and continuous sampling, the features of the children’s poetic texts (R.L. Stevenson’s collection of poems *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, which contains 67 verses, and were written in Bournemouth in 1885) were analyzed at all the language levels in order to determine the types of the “emotive-I” of the poet’s identity;
- fourthly, through quantitative analysis we tried to indicate the representative types of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity.

4. Analysis of Results

4.1. R.L. Stevenson’s Emotive Constructing Identity

This section aims at presenting the principle of emotive constructing R.L. Stevenson’s identity as the children’s poet. It is based on the psycho-biological models of emotive events (Buck, 1986), on the theory of “I-concept” (Burns, 1986), and on the approach to distinguishing two semantic models of emotion expressions (Manuel & Morillas, 2002-2001). These two models are the extensionalist model and the cognitive model. The former model is based on the semantic approach which is characterized by the extensional orientation. “Linguistic expressions refer to things out in the world” (Abbott, 1997, p. 130). In other words, the purpose of language is to signify the world. The latter one is rooted in the research of cognitive processes (Langacker, 1991). Among the interpretations of the conceptualization, Langacker (1991, p. 2) notices that it includes emotive experience. The author characterizes the occurrence of cognitive events as the composition of “a given mental experience” (Langacker, 1991, p. 2).

For the representation of the model of “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity, 254 letters of the author (Robert Stevenson, Alps, Highlands, Hyeres, Bournemouth, 1880-1887) and 67 poems from *A Child’s Garden of Verses* (Robert Stevenson, 1885) were analyzed.

In the letter to his nurse Alison Cunningham (La Solitude, Hyeres [summer 1883]), R.L. Stevenson writes about the memories from his childhood, when she was present: “Do you remember, at Warriston, one autumn Sunday, when the beech nuts were on the ground, seeing heaven open? I would like to make a rhyme of that...” (Colvin, 1991, p. 153).

C (cognition) = visual experience from the childhood (“at Warriston, one autumn Sunday, when the beech nuts were on the ground”).

E (emotion) = the emotions stirred by the memories from the author’s childhood. They are also the impetus for the author’s thoughts which stimulate the wish to create the poem about that visual experience (“I would like to make a rhyme of that”).

A (activity) = behavioural reaction (poetic activity) as a response to the emotions caused by visual experience. The result of the author’s reaction is the creation of a poem

“My Treasure” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 49):

“These **nuts**, that I keep in the back of the nest,/ ... / Were gathered in **Autumn by nursie and me...**” (Robert Stevenson, “My Treasure,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

So, schematically, the model of constructing the “emotive-I” can be represented as follows:

C (cognition) $\rightarrow E$ (emotion) $\rightarrow A$ (behavioural reaction as poetic activity).

In another letter to Edmund Gosse (*La solitude, Hyeres-les-Palmiers, Var*, [May 20, 1883]), R.L. Stevenson talks about the strong, cold north-westerly wind which is called “mistral”. The author describes it as hot, comparing with “the devil or a near connection of his.” (Colvin, 1991, p. 136). That is, the “emotive-I” of the poet’s identity may be constructed according to this schema:

C = visual experience (“It is blowing to-day a HOT mistral” from R.L. Stevenson’s letter to Edmund Gosse (*La solitude, Hyeres-les-Palmiers, Var*, [May 20, 1883]) $\rightarrow E$ = the emotions stirred the stimuli for the manifestation of author’s impression $\rightarrow A$ = creating the poem “The Wind” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 28) which is a behavioural response as a result of the emotion.

In one of R.L. Stevenson’s letters to his cousin Henrietta (*La Solitude, Hyeres* [November 1883]), the writer remembers about the days from their childhood at Bridge of Allan which he never forgets. R.L. Stevenson says that much of the sentiment of “A Good Boy” in *Penny Whistles* (the first title of the collection *A Child’s Garden of Verses* which has not been settled) “is taken direct from one evening at B. of A.” (Colvin, 1991, p. 153). In accordance with the proposed model, the components of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity may be described in the following representation format:

C = the author’s memories which are associated with the unforgettable days at Bridge of Allan: “We were all in a buck basket about half-way between the swing and the gate and I can still see the Pirate Squadron heave in sight upon the weather bow.” (R.L. Stevenson’s letter to his cousin Henrietta (*La Solitude, Hyeres* [November 1883])).

E = the emotions stirred by the memories from R.L. Stevenson’s childhood. They stimulate the writer’s thoughts which impress his feelings: “I shall never forget some of the days at Bridge of Allan; they were one golden dream.” (R.L. Stevenson’s letter to his cousin Henrietta (*La Solitude, Hyeres* [November 1883])).

A = the author’s creativity is actualized (“See ‘A Good Boy’ in the *PENNY WHISTLES*.” From R.L. Stevenson’s letter to his cousin Henrietta (*La Solitude, Hyeres* [November 1883])). The behavioural component of the “emotive-I” of the poet’s identity is achieved in the form of his poetic activity. The poem “A Good Boy” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 25) is a behavioural reaction as a response to the emotions stirred by the memories from his childhood.

To conclude, the components of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity comprise visual/ audio events, experience, “memory of childhood”, aims, motives, etc. (cognition), which stir certain emotions. These emotions stimulate the poetic activity

(behaviour) as a response to them. The result of this activity is the author's poetic text created for children.

4.2. The Types of "Emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's Identity

This part presents the results of the analysis of the linguistic features of the 67 children's poems from R.L. Stevenson's collection *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885). Using continuous sampling, the main features of the author's poetic speech were chosen, and the types of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity were represented.

In the poem "My Treasure" from *A Child's Garden of Verses* (Stevenson, 1999, p. 49), several types of the "emotive-I" of the poet's identity are constructed. Firstly, the "optimist", because the author has positive guides and motives, so his poetry is full of optimism. This fact testifies that the poet can easily identify himself with the image he creates – the child who is "happy and optimist" according to the natural essence of childhood (Chukovskiy, 2005, pp. 356–357). Moreover, the dictionary definitions explain "optimism" as a feeling "when you believe good things happen" (Woodford, 2007, p. 496); "a tendency to expect the best possible outcome and to dwell on positive aspects of situation" (Matsumoto, 2009, p. 351); "a tendency to believe that good things will always happen" (Summers, 2000, p. 996).

The verbalization of this type of the "emotive-I" in R.L. Stephenson's poetic speech comprises a wide range of concrete nouns (*nuts, nest, tin soldiers, wood, well, sea, field, grounds, branch of a plane, knife, stone, chisel, handle and blade*), adjectives (*yellow, grey, cold, gold*) and verbs of movement (*keep, lie, gather, make, carry*). In this poem, "optimist" is rendered in the author's poetic speech at the syntactic level using the exclamatory sentence:

"It was nursie who made it, and nursie alone!" (Robert Stevenson, "My Treasure," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

Secondly, in this verse, "wonderer" as another type of the "emotive-I" of the author's identity is represented. A "wonderer" means "someone who is curious about something; someone filled with admiration and awe; a person who uses the mind creatively" (Vocabulary.com. Dictionary). This type is verbalized with the help of graphical technique (word written in capital letters *HOW far away*) and at the syntactic level using the exclamatory sentence:

"how clearly it sounds!" (Robert Stevenson, "My Treasure," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

"Wonder" is also verbalised with the help of stylistic means – repetition, for example:

"This whistle we **made**",

"It was nursie who **made** it",

"a man who was really a carpenter **made**" (Robert Stevenson, "My Treasure," *A Child's Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Much of R.L. Stevenson's poetry, designed for children, is full of optimism, hope, joy and happiness. It testifies to the constructing "optimist" as one of the types of

the “emotive-I” of the author’s identity. Thus, the poem “Happy Thought” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 38) is a vivid example of the representation of “optimism”:

“The world is **so full of a number of things**, / I’m sure we should all be as **happy** as kings.” (Robert Stevenson, “Happy Thought,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

The typical marker of the representation of “optimist” is the adjective *happy*:

“And **all my toys** beside me lay / **To keep me happy** all the day. (Robert Stevenson, “The Land of Counterpane,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“The **happy** hills of hay!” (Robert Stevenson, “The Hayloft,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Verbalization of “optimistic” in R.L. Stevenson’s poetic speech covers a wide range of nouns with specific meanings and verbs on the denotation of movement, which correspond to the natural feature of children – the necessity to move constantly, learning the surrounding world. These linguistic features characterize the objectivity and specificity of the author’s poetic speech:

“We **sailed** along for **days and days**, / And **had** the very best of plays” (Robert Stevenson, “A Good Play,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“I have a little shadow that **goes in and out with me**... And I see him **jump** before me, when I **jump** into my bed...” (Robert Stevenson, “My Shadow,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“... **But I** am safe and **live at home**” (Robert Stevenson, “Foreign Children,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Objectivity and specificity are the main features of children’s poetic discourse. In the poem “Farewell to the farm” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 44), the “optimist” is present in the author’s poetic speech at lexical level using nouns with specific meanings, some of which are repeated (*coach, door, children, hands, chorus, house, garden, field, lawn, gates, pump, stable, tree, swing, fare, ladder, cobwebs, crack, whip*), verbs (*sing, swang upon cling, goes, grow, turn, sing*); at the syntactic level using the exclamatory sentence:

“Good-bye, good-bye, to everything!” (Robert Stevenson, “Farewell to the farm,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

In addition, “optimist”, as a type of the “emotive-I” of R. L. Stevenson’s identity, is verbalised with the help of stylistic means – repetition of the exclamatory sentence, repeated four times in this poem:

The coach is at the door at last;/ The eager children, mounting fast/ And kissing hands, in chorus sing:/ Good-bye, good-bye, to everything! /... Crack goes the whip, and off we go;/ The trees and houses smaller grow;/ Last, round the woody turn we sing:/ Good-bye, good-bye, to everything (Robert Stevenson, “Farewell to the farm,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

Moreover, in this verse, “wonderer” as a type of the “emotive-I” of the author’s identity is represented. In the poetic text of the verse “Farewell to the farm” (Stevenson,

1999, p. 44), a distinct type is verbalized with the help of syntactic constructions with an exclamatory meaning. These constructions begin by appealing to someone / something and they are designed accordingly, “interjection *O* + appeal to someone / something”:

“**O ladder** at the hayloft door, / **O hayloft** where the cobwebs cling” (Robert Stevenson, “Farewell to the farm,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Among the author’s poetic texts there is a considerable number of other examples of the representation of the “wonderer”. It is verbalized with the help of exclamatory syntactic constructions, which begin with the formula “interjection *O* + appeal to someone / something”:

“**O the clean gravel!** / **O the smooth stream!**” (Robert Stevenson, “Looking-glass River,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“Farewell, **O brother, sister, sir!** / **O nice party** around the fire!” (Robert Stevenson, “Good-night,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“**O wind**, a-blowing all day long, / **O wind**, that sings so loud a song!” (Robert Stevenson, “The Wind,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

This technique is one of the typical stylistic means in R.L. Stevenson’s poetic speech. The “wonderer” is also verbalized with exclamatory constructions starting with *What / How*:

“**How a child** wishes / To live down there!” (Robert Stevenson, “Looking-glass River,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“Oh, **what a joy** to clamber there, / Oh, **what a place** for play” (Robert Stevenson, “The Hayloft,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Another example of the representation of the “wonderer” as a type of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity in the children’s poetic discourse is “Summer Sun” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 41). In this poem, a passion for sun, is represented. The poetic text contains a wide range of nouns for naming objects of everyday life, spatial and temporal notions (*empty heaven, the blue and glowing days, dusty attic, garden ground, the bright air* and others) touched by the sun (*great sun*) with its rays (*he showers his rays*). The sun goes (*he goes*) to bring joy to the children (*to please the child*), and as the “gardener of the World” to draw flowers (*to paint the rose*).

Not only the sun stirs the poet’s imagination, but also the moon. This excitement of the “wonderer” could be found in the poem “The Moon” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 35). The moon, which has “a face like the clock in the hall”, is represented by objects, places and living beings (*on streets and fields and harbour quays, birdies asleep in the forks of the trees, the squalling cat and the squeaking mouse, the howling dog by the door of the house* and others), on which it “shines” at night. At the same time, the moon has been represented in the poetic text in contrast with the sun and everything that belongs to the daylight:

“But **all of the things that belong to the day**” (Robert Stevenson, “The Moon,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

If a person is constantly impressed with things that others consider unremarkable

or ordinary, they say that he/she has a childlike sense of wonder (or surprise). It stirs the image of innocence – of being impressed by surprise, as if seeing something for the first time. So, we can say that this person is like a child. This fact suggests that among the types of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity, present in the children’s poetic discourse of the author, there is such a type as “childlike”, that is, innocent, open, trusting, naive as a child.

According to dictionary definitions, “childlike” describes a person who is like a child “in some ways, such as trusting people or behaving in a natural way” (Woodford, 2007, p. 114); or a person who is “having qualities that are typical of a child, especially qualities such as innocence and trust” (Summers, 2000, p. 220); “someone as a childlike when they seem like a child in their character, appearance, or behavior” (McHardy, 1994, p. 215); “childlike connotes simplicity, innocence, and truthfulness” (Garner, 2000, p. 62).

In the poem “Night and Day” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 54), “childlike” is present as a type of the “emotive-I” of the author’s identity. This type is verbalized with the help of concrete nouns and some abstract ones (*day, night, valleys, morning, drum, playmate, allies*), verbs (*cry, come, beat, join*) and exclamatory sentences, for example:

“Up!” they cry”,

“Playmate, join your allies!” (Robert Stevenson, “Night and Day,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

To ask about everything that children see and hear is the natural essence of childhood. Curiosity is represented in R.L. Stevenson’s poetic speech in the form of interrogative sentences, thus the type “childlike” is modified, for example:

“Whenever the wind is high,... **Why** does he gallop and gallop about?” (Robert Stevenson, “Windy Nights,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights);

“**O you** that are so strong and cold, / **O blower**, are you young or old? / Are you a beast of field and tree, / Or just a stronger child than me?” (Robert Stevenson, “The Wind,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Delight in the usual objects of the world, which is verbalized with the help of concrete nouns, makes “childlike” present as a type of the “emotive-I” of the author’s identity. Moreover, one of the features of the children’s poetic discourse is concreteness that is widely represented in R.L. Stevenson’s texts. For example, in the poem “Where Go the Boats?” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 20), the above type is verbalized with the help of concrete nouns – the names of spatial concepts (*river (3), valley, hill*), elements of flora (*trees, leaves*), names of some buildings (*castles, home, mill*), natural materials (*sand*), and some others (*foam, boats, hand, children*), as well as the interrogative structure, which is verbalized not only in the textual space of the poem, but also in the title, for example:

“Where Go the Boats?”,

“Where will all come home?” (Robert Stevenson, “Where Go the Boats?” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

R.L. Stevenson reflects the curiosity of the children to ask questions constantly. He does it skilfully, at the same time clearly and naively. Thus, in R.L. Stevenson’s

children's poems, of "childlike" as a type of the "emotive-I" of identity is verbalized with the help of verbs to denote movement, nouns to denote the objects and phenomena of the world which surround children; qualitative adjectives; exclamatory and interrogative syntactic constructions.

In the analysis we distinguished the "ingenuous" as the type of the "emotive-I" of the poet's identity. "*Ingenuous*" means "showing innocent or childlike simplicity and candidness" or "lacking craft or subtlety." (Merriam Webster Open Dictionary). This type of the "emotive-I" of the author's identity is mostly verbalized in the textual space of the poems, which includes one four-line stanza. The texts of these poems are differentiated by the simplicity of vocabulary, which represents the childish admiration for the surrounding world.

The poem "Rain" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 13) represents the childish admiration to be in the rain pouring in different places and on various objects (*all around, on field and tree, on the umbrellas, on the ships at sea*). In the poem "Auntie's Skirt" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 21) with a sense of childish admiration for the sounds (*a curious sound*) coming from the aunt's skirt when she moves (*moves around*), the author creates a wonderful rhyme with the help of simple sentences.

The poem "Time to Rise" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 39) represents a typical situation when children do not want to wake up in the morning. The poetic text is full of optimistic keynote, covering the dual rhyme scheme (AABB), verbalized with the help of concrete nouns, verbs, appeal, and exclamatory construction:

"A **birdie** with a yellow **bill**/ **Hopped** upon my **window sill**,/ Cocked his shining eye and **said**:/ "Ain't you 'shamed, **you sleepy-head!**" (Robert Stevenson, "Time to Rise," *A Child's Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

"The Swing" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 36) is characterized by a remarkable rhythmic organization (syllabic), a crossed rhyming system (ABAB: *swing* → *thing*, *blue* → *do*, *wall* → *all*, *wide* → *side*, *green* → *again*, *brown* → *down*), and an interrogative syntactic construction at the beginning of the poem which are associated with childish curiosity:

"How do you like to go up in a swing, / Up in the air so blue?" (Robert Stevenson, "The Swing," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

In addition, the above verse embeds an exclamatory syntactic construction as an answer to the above question, for example:

"Oh, I do think it the pleasantest thing/ Ever a child can do!" (Robert Stevenson, "The Swing," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

Moreover, there is an exclamatory sentence in the end of this poem:

"Up in the air I go flying again,/ Up in the air and down!" (Robert Stevenson, "The Swing," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

To all the above linguistic features of the textual space of the verse "The Swing" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 36) it should be added the repetitions (*up in the air* – 4 times), concrete nouns (*swing, river, trees, cattle, garden, roof, child, air, thing*). These features are linguistic and stylistic features of the verbalization of the "ingenuous" as a type of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity.

The “simplicity” of the poetic speech, which is represented in the children’s poems of R.L. Stevenson is the result of the skilful use of linguistic and stylistic means in the process of creating poetic texts for children. The genius of the author is evidenced by the feeling of rhyme and rhythm. Under the hidden “simplicity” of the author’s children’s poetry lies the ability to rhyme everything that is interesting to children, in a form that is clear and understandable to them. It will be appropriate to recall the quote by Leonardo da Vinci: “Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication” (Granat, 2003, p. 225).

Thus, the types of the “emotive-I” present the children’s poetic discourse of R.L. Stevenson are: the “wonderer”, the “childlike”, the “ingenuous”. They share common features. The “wonderer” can be explained as “open, trusting, innocent, naive as a child”. So, it can be assumed the idea that the main feature of the “emotive-I” of the poet’s identity is admiration for ordinary things that are inherent in children. Furthermore, children have a natural sense of optimism which is also one of the main features of R.L. Stevenson’s identity.

Almost all the children enjoy games, because a game activates children’s fantasy, their inexhaustible curiosity and admiration for the surrounding world. In many poems of R.L. Stevenson the children’s world of game is represented. When children are playing they imagine themselves as if they were in the adult world. For example, the poem “My Kingdom” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 47) is a vivid example of such fantasies:

“...I called the little pool a sea;/ The little hills were big to me;/ For I am very small./ I made a boat, I made a town./ I searched the caverns up and down,/ And named them one and all./ And all about was mine, I said,/ The little sparrows overhead,/ The little minnows too./ This was the world and I was king;/ For me the bees came by to sing,/ For me the swallows flew./ I played there were no deeper seas,/ Nor any wider plains than these,/ Nor other kings than me./ At last I heard my mother call/ Out from the house at evenfall,/ To call me home to tea...” (Robert Stevenson, “My Kingdom,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

It is considered that there is the necessity to distinguish the type of “emotive-I” of the author’s identity as a “fantasizer”. Thus, in the poem “My Kingdom” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 47), this type is actualized by the creation of the child’s own world, where the child is a king (*the world and I was king* → *nor other kings than me*) and places that are small in size, where the child plays.

Another example of the actualization of the “fantasizer” as a type of “emotive-I” of identity of R.L. Stevenson is the poem “The Little Land” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 53). The fantasy of the main character, when the tired child stays at home alone, begins to work as soon as the child closes the eyes. Fantasy carries (*to go sailing through the skies, far away*) to the charming, fairy land of play (*pleasant Land of Play, fairy land afar*), where everything is small in size – little people (*Little People*), trees, seas. The author used the graphical method of writing the key words with the capital letter (*Land of Play, Little People*), which corresponds to the nature of children (the main activity of children is a game, despite the fact that they are little, they are the same personalities of society as adults).

In the children's poetic texts of R.L. Stevenson there are a few examples of the manifestation of the type of "emotive-I" as a "dreamer". Children love to dream about what they will do when they become adults. So, in the poem "Looking Forward" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 18) the "dreamer" is represented. It is verbalized in the poetic text using the conditional mood:

"When I am grown to man's estate/ **I shall be** very proud and great" (Robert Stevenson, "Looking Forward," *A Child's Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

R.L. Stevenson's letters testify to his passion for nature. In one of writer's letters to Edmund Gosse (La solitude, Hyeres-les-Palmiers, Var, [May 20, 1883]) R.L. Stevenson writes "If you could see my roses, and my aloes, and my fig-marigolds, and my olives, and my view over a plain, and my view of certain mountains..." (Colvin, 1991, pp. 135-136).

The landscapes seen by the author stir feelings that activate the author's imagination. The poet's imagination turns out to be a kind of peculiar stimulus for the creation of the poetic texts. The lyricism of R.L. Stevenson's poetry covers many of his poems, representing the inner feelings of the author.

So, in the poem "Shadow March" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 43), the lyricism of R.L. Stevenson's poetry is represented by "*the jet-black night*" and its movement in space, like a living creature:

"It **stares** through the window-pane;/ It crawls in the corners, hiding from the light,/ And it **moves** with the moving flame" (Robert Stevenson, "Shadow March," *A Child's Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

Moreover, in this poem lyricism is represented by the feeling of the main character (*'my little heart goes a beating like a drum'*) and night shadows:

'The shadow of the balusters, the shadow of the lamp, / The shadow of the child that goes to bed--/ All the wicked shadows" (Robert Stevenson, "Shadow March," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

The "lyricist" as a type of "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity could be distinguished and it is present in some poems of the collection *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885). Lyricism fills many poems of R.L. Stevenson, but his admiration for the world prevails. Confirmation of this thought lies in R.L. Stevenson's own statements: "Admiration is the only road to excellence" (Colvin, 1991, p. 153). It explains the fact that quite often in the children's poetic texts several types of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity are manifested simultaneously. So, in the poem "The Hayloft" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 41), types such as the "optimist" and the "wonderer" are embedded; or in the poem "A Good Boy" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 25) – the "optimist" and the "lyricist". In the poem "Fairy Bread" (Stevenson, 1999, p. 38) the actions that children can do, are represented:

"Children, you may dine/ On the golden smell of broom/ And the shade of pine" (Robert Stevenson, "Fairy Bread," *A Child's Garden of Verses*).

But at the same time, in the end of the poem there is a certain morality that is verbalized through the conditional mood:

“And when you have eaten well,/ Fairy stories hear and tell.” (Robert Stevenson, “Fairy Bread,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

The poem “System” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 25) presents the image of two children. The former child performs the actions which obedient children should do every day (*get my dinner, be good, get an orange after food*). The latter one is a naughty child, for example:

“The child that is not clean and neat”,

“He is a naughty child” (Robert Stevenson, “System,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

In the poem “Whole Duty of Children” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 13), actions, which should be done, again are represented. In the poetic text, these actions are verbalized with the help of the modal verb *should* and homogeneous parts (*say what’s true, speak when he is spoken to, behave mannerly at table*), the adverb *always* increasing the significance of obligation. The ending of the poem contains a certain morality, which emphasizes that the advice should be followed:

“**At least as far as** he is able” (Robert Stevenson, “Whole Duty of Children,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*).

Even in the title of the poem, the significance of the obligatory actions, which must be done by children (*whole duty*), is verbalized. The author’s position is represented in the end and it is a certain kind of moral guidance.

In the poem “Good and Bad Children” (Stevenson, 1999, p. 32), appealing to children (“*Children, you are very little,*”) the poet emphasizes what children should do. They should grow up not just big but majestic (*to kings and sages*). The author’s piece of advice is verbalized with the help of the modal verb *must*:

“If you would grow great and stately,/ You **must try to walk** sedately./ **You must still be bright and** quiet,/ And content with simple diet;/ And remain, through all bewild’ring,/ Innocent and honest children.” (Robert Stevenson, “Good and Bad Children,” *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, our highlights).

In this case, the obligatory guidance is mitigated by homogeneous phrases (adjective + noun): *happy + hearts, faces, play*, because it contains an optimistic sound. Thus, it is possible to construct the “moralist” as a type of “emotive-I” of the poet’s identity.

It follows from the above that the types of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity, such as the “optimist”, the “wonderer”, the “childlike”, the “ingenuous”, the “fantasizer”, the “dreamer”, the “lyricist”, and the “moralist” can be actualised in the children’s poetic discourse. Table 1 reveals the types of the “emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity in the poems from *A Child’s Garden of Verses* (1885).

Type of the “Emotive-I” of R.L. Stevenson’s identity in the children’s poetic discourse	Title of the poems from <i>A Child’s Garden of Verses</i> (Robert Stevenson, 1885).
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“optimist”	“The Hayloft“, “A Good Boy“, “A Good Play“, “My Shadow“, “Foreign Children“, “The Land of Counterpane“, “The Happy Thought“, “My Treasures“, “Singing“, “Marching Song“, “The Sun’s Travels“, “Block City“, “Autumn Fires“, “To My Name-Child“, “To Any Reader“
“wonderer”	“The Hayloft“, “The Moon“, “Summer Sun“, “Looking-glass River“, “Good-Night“, “Farewell to the Farm“, “The Wind“, “My Treasures“, “The Cow“, “Keepsake Mill“, “Picture-books in Winter“, “Armies in the Fire“, “Nest Eggs“, “The Flowers“, “To Willie and Henrietta“, “To Minnie“, “To My Name-Child“
“childlike”	“Where Go the Boats?“, “The Wind“, “Windy Nights“, “Night and Day“, “Bed in Summer“, “At the Sea-side“, “A Thought“, “Pirate Story“, “The Land of Nod“, “Marching Song“, “My Bed is a Boat“, “In Port“, “My Ship and I“, “The Land of Story-books“, “The Dumb Soldier“, “The Gardener“, “Historical Associations“, “To Willie and Henrietta“, “To Minnie“, “To My Name-Child“
“ingenuous”	“The Swing“, “Rain“, “Auntie’s Skirts“, “Time to Rise“, “To My Mother“
“fantasizer”	“The Little Land“, “My Kingdom“, “Young Night-Thought“, “The Land of Nod“, “The Lamplighter“, “The Unseen Playmate“, “My Ship and I“, “The Dumb Soldier“
“dreamer”	“Looking Forward“, “Travel“
“lyricist”	“A Good Boy“, “Shadow March“, “To Alison Cunningham From Her Boy“, “Bed in Summer“, “Foreign Lands“, “Travel“, “Escape at Bedtime“, “The Lamplighter“, “Keepsake Mill“, “From a Railway Carriage“, “Winter-time“, “In Port“, “Armies in the Fire“, “To Willie and Henrietta“, “To Auntie“, “To Minnie“, “To Any Reader“
“moralist”	“Good and Bad Children“, “System“, “Whole Duty of Children“, “Fairy Bread“,

Table 1. The types of the “emotive-I” of
R.L. Stevenson’s identity in the children’s poetic discourse

The results of the research suggest that R.L. Stevenson’s poetry for children, which is in the collection *A Child’s Garden of Verses* (1885), is a testimony to the author’s skilfulness, talent and genius. It is known that children’s emotions and feelings are naive. The children’s world, which is full of curiosity, openness and optimism, differs from the adult world. The world of childhood comprises activities that are activated in a game that stimulates the work of children’s imagination and fantasy. Approaching the children’s worldview, that is, certain identification of the poet with children in the process of the poetic activity, is one of the ways to cause the desired emotions in children, and simultaneously affect the vulnerable emotiosphere of children with the help of various linguistic and stylistic means, which are verbalized in the author’s poetic speech.

5. Conclusions

To conclude, according to the principle of the emotive constructing identity of the children's poet, the three components (cognitive, affective and behavioural) of the "emotive-I" were verified. The study revealed the model of constructing the "emotive-I" of identity of the children's poet: C (cognition) → E (emotion) → A (behavioural reaction as poetic activity).

The analysis provided an insight into the types of "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity. The ways of the representation of these types in the children's poetic discourse are provided by concrete nouns, verbs of movement, qualitative adjectives, quantitative numerals, simple sentences, imperative constructions, exclamatory and interrogative sentences. The features of the representation of types such as the "optimist", the "wonderer", the "childlike", the "ingenuous", the "fantasizer", the "dreamer", the "lyricist", and the "moralist" were discussed in this study. The obtained data allow to establish the correlation of the types of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity in the children's poetic discourse. The diagram presented below (Figure 1) offers the visual representation of the frequency of the types of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity as the children's poet.

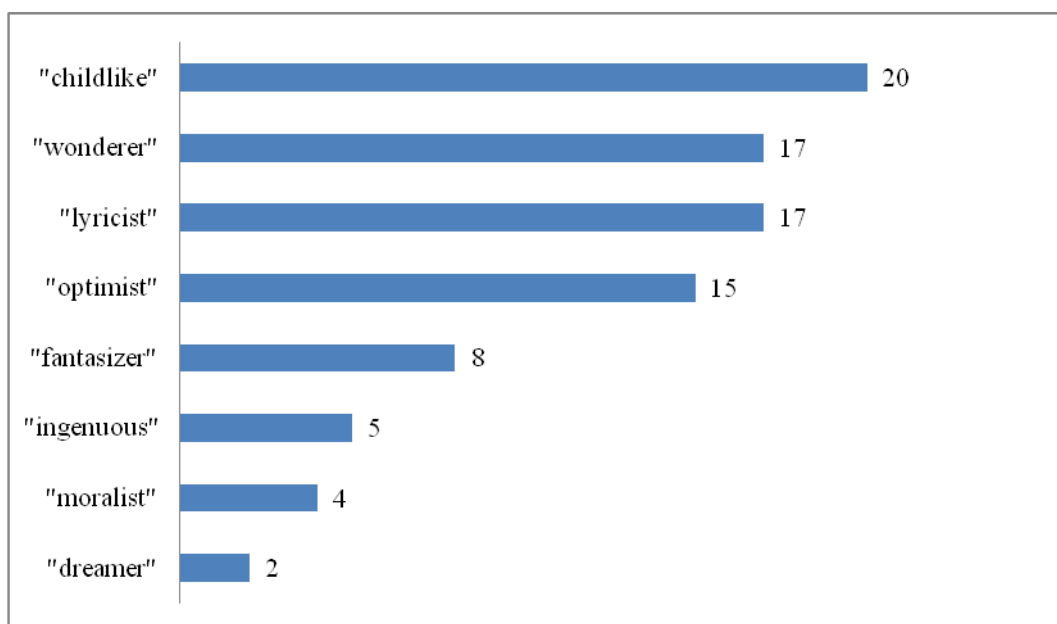


Fig. 1. The types (frequency) of the "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity in the children's poetic discourse

The above diagram reveals that the most typical types of "emotive-I" of R.L. Stevenson's identity are the "childlike", the "wonder", the "lyricist" and the

“optimist”. It corresponds to the characteristics of children’s emotiosphere, namely to be happy, optimist, curious and it aims to stir the expected emotional response from little readers.

Future avenues for investigation can be the research focused on constructing the “emotive-I” of identities of other poets who created poems for children in the nineteenth century which is considered as the origin of the children’s poetry. It will provide a comparative analysis of various types of the “emotive-I” present in the process of constructing authors’ identities in the children’s poetic discourse.

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Efficient Communication through Influencer Marketing

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Abstract: The aim of the article is to study the evolution in communication due to the rise of the influencer as a communicative mediator. It focuses on the fields of marketing communications, advertising, public relations and journalism. Companies have always aimed at attracting new customers while retaining the old. The new millennia has given businesses new digital channels so as to reach their target audience. Through the use of digital media new types of communication have arisen. The structure and tasks of the article are predetermined by its aim: definition and classification of influencers; characteristics of influencer marketing; analysis of its communicative aspects; opportunities how they offer companies to optimize their marketing communication. The article gives examples how influencers communicate with their audience through social networks. Various examples are analyzed on how influencer marketing presents opportunities for evolution in communication.

Keywords: marketing communications, advertising, journalism, social networks, influencers.

1. Introduction

The digital age undoubtedly has changed the way people interact and communicate, thus presenting new opportunities and challenges, as well. “The creation and evolution of the Internet has marked a new era in communications. No other channel of communication has caused such a jolt in traditional media as means of communication while presenting new and unexplored grounds for communication.” (Bondikov, 2016, p.5). With the increasing significance of social networks – from Facebook to Twitter, YouTube and LinkedIn to apps for sharing photos such as Instagram and Snapchat – the opportunities that the digital world offers customers have increased. The persons who constantly keep in touch with their friends, followers, etc. through sharing experiences and emotions inevitably turn into part of the active users and some of them, according to Sheldon & Moss, (2016) into the so-called “social influencers”.

Social media are a “communications hub for clients on one hand and companies on the other, presented by people who are responsible for the marketing, sales, product development, human resources and customer service” (Rusev, 2011, p. 17) Thus digital media and social networks in particular present a platform not only for sharing and making new friends or contacts but they evolve into an instrument that used accordingly could shape people’s interactions and influence their perceptions and favors.

2. Digital Environment and Digital Marketing

2.1. Digital Marketing

At the beginning of the century one of the most revered authors in the field of marketing, Philip Kotler, wrote that: “the forthcoming decade would fully transform marketing” (Kotler, 2000, p. 67). He was not far from the truth since the digital revolution drastically changed and is still shaping the marketing communication; digital marketing was quickly established as an effective means of advertising, public relations, sales promotion and integrated marketing communications. Alongside the well-known banner ads and email marketing Search Engine Optimization and paid search came along as means of reaching the target audience. Due to the increasing use of smartphones nowadays online communication saw the rise of social media, microblogging, mobile advertising, etc. So, it comes as no surprise that digital marketing has turned into “the fastest developing communication” (Tsenkova, 2011, p. 2).

The main advantages of the digital marketing are that it presents companies opportunities for direct dialogue between with customers; swift communication, feedback, attractive design of the marketing message – text, sound, picture, video, or global reach.

2.2. The Power of the Image

“Seventy-nine per cent of people have taken more photographs since they started to use social media; 64 per cent believe that a visual post is more convincing on social media than a text- only post, and 85 per cent prefer visual posts to text- only posts.” (Wang, 2016, p. 57). Because of the use of social media and the popularity of smartphones, our relationship to visual images has reached a level of ubiquity that is historically unprecedented. Moreover, unlike mass media, visual material on social media is produced and circulated in a ‘two- way’ interaction, becoming an essential part of interpersonal communication.

“Visuality, as a central construct of critical thinking in visual culture, assembles social constructions of images that are often invisible to understand the performativity of visual culture in constructing our social worlds. Visual research assisted by digital networks provides a great opportunity for students to analyze the overwhelming image flow of visual culture to construct understandings of their social worlds that inform their roles as image-makers and critical thinkers.” (Knochel, 2013, p. 14).

In a study of digital civic activism in Romania, Camelia Cmeciu and Cristina Coman found an important characteristic of imagery. The study used framing analysis of Facebook posts identifying the verbal and visual framing devices used for the shaping of online communities’ collective identity. “By analyzing the content of two Romanian antifracking online communities during a four-month online protest, this study found that the online communities preferred to use more visual framing devices (more than 60%) than verbal framing devices and that they mainly represented their actions as collective action frames of land struggle, conflict and solidarity.” (Cmeciu & Coman, 2016, p. 25).

2.3. Social Media Marketing

One of the most common forms of online marketing is social media marketing. As part of the marketing mix of a company it aims at boosting the brand's identity, building a positive image and shaping a favorable customer's relationship. Putting efforts in social media, companies have the opportunity to actively maintain dialogues with their target audience thus acquiring valuable knowledge of their needs and desires, as well as gathering ideas of new products or services.

Another positive side is seen in the viral effect of social media where one single message, no matter written, image or both could be spread from several clients to an unlimited number of their friends or followers, thus resembling the effect of a virus. Due to this characteristic of social media the message could reach other potential clients, perform better in search engines or reap free media coverage.

Online or digital marketing is nothing but a sequel of traditional marketing but applied to the new digital medium. The predetermined goals, tasks, etc. are the same but the new digital channel adds new characteristics that put digital on a different step compared to traditional.

One of the main advantages in going digital and using social media marketing is "the shortening and building of strong relationships between brand and customer" (Toms & Begolusheva, 2007, p. 108). According to these authors, the active participation of the client in the communication with the brand gives him a sense of belonging, which according to marketing specialists is essential to high trust and loyalty, being higher than in classical marketing.

A step further, "brands and their markets are no longer created by companies alone but along with their customers." (Solis, 2015, p. 18). Today's online reality sees the role of the customer in developing the business strategy as central and gradually not the influence of the company, but the customer becomes important for the brand's success. In order to reach their goals companies are obliged to treat customers not as clients but as partners whose decisions determine the brand's success.

3. Influencers – Definition, Characteristics, Communication

3.1. Definition

In essence using influencers is not a new marketing instrument – since the 1920s companies have been using celebrities to promote and advertise their own products and services: "Perhaps two of the most famous celebrities of the century, Charlie Chaplin and Babe Ruth promote all kinds of products – from cigarettes to cereals." (Schaefer, 2012, p. 84). Today, however brands do not limit themselves to cooperating only with actors, celebrities or famous musicians who advertise their products. Companies use the characteristics of social media to reach target audiences through social influencers. Using the marketing of influence the term "influencer" appears in 2007 and is related to people who carry authority in social media (Buchenau & Fürtbauer, 2015).

The term „influencer“ is coined from „influence“ which is a term from astrology. Its meaning is pretty close to what we know today and is registered in English by the late 16th century. In influencer marketing context the term broadly denotes a person who through his actions influences people’s opinions or actions. “The status and popularity of the person play a vital role“ (Grabs & Sudhoff, 2013, p. 227).

3.2. Characteristics

Influencers are people who possess four main characteristics (Enke & Borschers, 2018):

- they create content;
- they spread the content;
- they have built a vast amount of connections and possess influence over their fans and followers;
- they have reached a certain level of popularity.

Influencer marketing very much resembles “word of mouth” – both concepts are based on the idea that once a product or service is recommended by someone the probability that a customer would put his/ her trust in it is more likely and thus the chances of purchase rise. One of the key differences between both is that influencers have a greater number of followers leading to a greater audience and more people to spread the message. Trust is essential and the key is to transform it from being directed toward the influencer to the brand.

The concept of the so-called “opinion leaders” and their followers was formed in the 1950s with the hypothesis of the two-stage flow of communication and influence by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955). The basic point was that media messages first reach opinion leaders (the first step), who through interpersonal means (second step) convey them to people of the audience and outsiders. The hypothesis of the two-stage flow of communication is firstly introduced by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1944) in *The People’s choice*, a study conducted in 1940 and published in 1944. It focused on the decision making process during political campaigns. The researchers were seeking empirical proofs for the influence factors of media messages over personal decisions in elections. They found out that the respondents stated personal contact (interpersonal communication) more often than media as being more influential for forming their own opinion.

The much later developed scheme by Roland Burkart is based on this hypothesis and displays the process as follows:

MEDIA -----OPINION LEADERS-----RECIPIENT

Fig. 1. Two-stage flow of communication modified by Burkart (2000)

Burkart (2000) made a shift in the paradigm of communication sciences and the study of media influence. Taking into consideration the role of interpersonal

communication in the communication flow, the researchers reveal that media influence the passive part of the audience not directly but through a buffer – the opinion leaders. Many scientists define the two-stage flow of communication as a “leading subject for researches over the information diffusion and marketing analyses” (Burt, 1999, p. 2) and “it is widely accepted among marketers, who invest time, effort and resources in targeting the most influential people both off and online” (Smith et al., 2007, p. 391).

Katz and Lasersfeld (1955) define opinion leaders as “individuals capable of influencing others in their very environment” and this definition is actual today, as well. Almost the same definition can be found in the social analysis of forming public opinion: “influencers are a small number of individuals who influence over a vast number of people in their social group” (Watts & Dodds, 2007, p. 3).

In the context of influencer marketing it is quite arbitrary if influencers are really such a small number of people as in the latter definition. However, having in mind all the world internet users, influencers really present just a small fraction of the number of online users. Their followers sometimes number a million people just for one influencer profile.

In the literature (Watts & Dodds, 2007; Bukart, 2000), influencers are described as individuals with plenty of social contacts, active communicative behavior and specific knowledge in the thematic area of their interests. These characteristics are particularly appropriate in the field of marketing communication as they describe the perfect user who is capable of convincing other potential users of the qualities of a product or service.

More recent analyses of influencers group their characteristics in two: “personal – such as trust-worthiness, expertise in a field, enthusiasm, etc. and networking – such as connectivity with a large number of users”. (Bakshy, et al., 2011, p. 4). The combination of these qualities enables certain people to influence a vast number of people.

3.3. Communication

In the most common case the joint work between an influencer and a brand is limited in terms of time (Jahnke, 2018). It usually follows a tight schedule with a defined beginning and end of the campaign, goals, tasks and of course, payment on behalf of the company. In order for an influencer to be hired he or she is selected on the following criteria (Jahnke, 2018, p. 8):

- budget – an influencer is not willing to work under a certain limit, so does the company;
- reach – the number of followers an influencer has;
- number of channels – an article for example could be shared through Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, etc.;
- production – defined period for publications or number of pictures, posts a day, etc.;
- schedule and volume – a defined volume of content for a define period of time;
- exclusivity – an influencer is bound not to collaborate with rival brands.

The examined criteria are exemplary but give a sense of what is needed for grounds of negotiation between a brand and an influencer. In Germany, for instance, an influencer with a couple of thousand followers could earn as much as 2000 euros per article, depending on quality, length, topic, etc. (Jahnke, 2018).

Today any internet user could build an audience without him/ her being a celebrity, TV, movie or radio star. Social influencers are changing the marketing paradigm and are working toward defining influencer marketing as a separate discipline of online marketing. A proof can be found in the professionalization of the sector in 2017 when the Influencer Marketing Academy (IMA) was established in Berlin.

“The personal and specialized blogs, websites, portals, etc. are molding a new kind of journalism that sustainably imposes new and specific genre forms. We are faced with a new type of communicative situation that gives birth to specific narratives. They form a relatively new part in the theory of mass communication that could be referred to as reflexive communication or reflexive journalism.” (Monova, 2019, p. 7). The reflexive communication implies creating texts in which the subjective perceptions and emotional experiences become a basic and a leading part of the content part of the text. In reflexive texts a connection of certain social facts with the personal experience and endeavors is vividly formed, thus giving the micro-story a macro-sense and macro-sound.

It is a basic point for influencers to use the first person singular. This is a shift of the accent from the classical journalistic informative discourse to evaluative emotions and experiences. This is a consequence of the newly formed freedom of writing, talking and expressing through the internet.

3.4. Collaboration with influencers

3.4.1. Celebrities

World famous brands have the opportunity to collaborate with celebrities who intensely use social media to build a close relationship with their fans or at least this is what the illusion is. Stars such as Selena Gomez, who is considered among the most influential in social media¹, have more than 150 million followers in Instagram and on daily basis share photos and videos from their life, thus presenting fans and followers with a 24/7 reach. Social media are changing the connection between celebrities and fans from an interpersonal experience such as visiting a concert or a show to an experience that is much more private such as a social media post on Instagram or Twitter. This type of communication is much more influential on fans and followers since they feel more connected with their idols. So, it is a no-brainer that famous brand would intervene and convey an advertising message.

An indisputable opinion leader in the sports sector is the football player Cristiano Ronaldo, who has 170 million followers on Instagram². One of the main

¹ <http://www.zimbio.com/The+50+Most+Influential+Celebrities+Online/articles/MM8-3Qha49b/14+Selena+Gomez>, accessed on May 5, 2019.

² <https://www.statista.com/statistics/421169/most-followers-instagram/>, accessed on May 10, 2019

brands that work with him is Nike having signed a lifetime contract of 1 billion dollars.



Fig. 2. A sponsored post in Cristiano Ronaldo's Instagram profile³

Figure 2 displays a sponsored post from the football player's Instagram profile. The narrative has been carefully thought through. The Forbidden City in Beijing, once a home of emperors, has grown quiet in the presence of the football star. The central composition shows Cristiano in the foreground – ascribing the most important place for the star and in the background is the most visited tourist attraction in China.

The brand has been promoted through the #NikeFootball hashtag. The post generated over eight million likes and over thirty thousand comments. All this is evidential of the influence celebrities have on their followers and the following economic effect for the brands.

3.4.2. Micro-celebrities

Successful celebrities such as Selena Gomez, Cristiano Ronaldo and others usually have contracts with the biggest brands making it impossible for mid-range businesses to collaborate with them. The alternative is working with micro-celebrities – those influencers who have become famous through their shared social media content and have gathered thousands and sometimes millions of followers. Micro-celebrities are defined as: “contemporary online performers, who actively use webcams, video, audio, blogs and social media to increase their popularity among readers, viewers, who they are

³ <https://www.instagram.com/cristiano/?hl=bg>, accessed on May 10, 2019

connected with online – their followers.” (Senft, 2008, p. 25). These could be fashion or culinary bloggers, comedy vloggers with millions of views on Youtube, opinion leaders of various fields with millions of followers on Twitter, etc. who usually use more than just one channel simultaneously.

The main difference between them and the traditional big-time world celebrities is that “the connection between them and their audience is more direct and authentic”. (Buchenau, 2015, p. 68). Micro-celebrities are able to maintain a more active connection with their audience since it is more homogenous and smaller in number thus they are able to get to know them better. There is an indirect ratio to the number of followers an influencer has and his or her engagement. This is exactly what brands are looking for today – a more active and authentic communication with their target audience leading to a higher degree of engagement. If a brand has set a goal not to reach a higher number of followers, who vary in their field of interests, but rather to reach a specific group of people with similar interests, micro-influencers are the right choice of building an authentic and in return a profitable relationship with the brand’s audience. (Buchenau, 2015).



Fig. 3. A sponsored post in Rachel Brathen’s profile⁴

A very good example of a micro-celebrity that has acquired popularity through social media is Rachel Brathen, a yoga instructor from Sweden, who has over 2 million followers on Instagram. She has been gaining popularity since 2013 when she started posting photos of her travels around the world. She works with not so popular brands,

⁴ https://www.instagram.com/yoga_girl/?hl=bg, accessed on May 12, 2019

such as the French eco beauty products EcoTools or the Swedish Gevalia Kaffee. That is because she carefully selects the brands she wants to collaborate with – only those that match with her principles and have been tested by herself. It is possible to build a trustworthy relationship with the brand and their followers, only when the influencer himself/ herself believes in the advertised product..

Figure 3 displays a sponsored post on her profile – a collaboration between her and the American seed company Wonderful Pistachios. The marketing campaign is well visible in the upper right corner and in her weekly podcast Rachel announced that she would donate to a foundation that is working against violence over children. The post has almost 51 thousand likes and 1420 comments showing a high level of follower engagement. Since its creation Brathen's profile has grown into one of the biggest yoga accounts in the world putting her name on the stage among Forbes world's top ten most influential fitness profiles⁵ for 2017.

3.4.3. Micro-influencers

By definition micro-influencers are social media users who have a small amount of followers (Lin et al., 2018). According to them the number varies depending on the region or country – for the USA it is between 10 000 and 100 000 followers and for the smaller countries such as Bulgaria it is between 1000 and 10 000. The main difference between the micro-influencers and celebrities (including micro-celebrities) is in terms of geographical or social follower distance, being larger for the latter (Lin et al., 2018). The shorter the distance, the higher the engagement of both sides – the influencer has a more realistic chance of responding personally to followers' comments and the followers would be able to share and comment social media content more actively.

More and more brands choose to present their products through micro-influencers since this way they are closer to the characteristics of the "ordinary man" and the average user. Collaborating with users with a smaller number of followers allows brands to adapt their message toward a specific target audience. Usually it is regional companies that would prefer to do so, rather than with international celebrities since their products and services are more relevant for users of the area. (Lin et al., 2018)

⁵ <https://www.forbes.com/top-influencers/fitness/#57c88298f690>, accessed on June 10, 2018.



Fig. 4. A sponsored post in mister_fred_berlin Instagram profile⁶

Figure 4 illustrates a collaboration between “Mr Fred”, a graphic designer from Berlin and an influencer with a bit over 8500 followers with the dry cleaning company ZipJet from Berlin. The collaboration is an example of a regional campaign – both of them are from Berlin. The city is written in the post so as to boost it furthermore. The influencer has further integrated the message using his artistic creativity as a graphic designer to display their services for the mobile app. In this case this is a marketing communication integrating advertising and sales promotion since there is a promo code for a 15% discount for new users.

5. Conclusion

Providing a brief insight into the literature on influencers and on the marketing communication from three Instagram profiles, we are able to reveal the characteristics of influencer marketing communication. Relying on online users’ trust in them, digital opinion leaders could offer companies to reach their target audience in a more direct and personalized manner. This is seen as a reasonable alternative to online advertising. The approaches used to convey the brand’s message are very creative and diverse since they use the dynamic evolution of social media. In the process of analysis the work of an influencer was defined as “reflexive journalism” and their message is conveyed from their standpoint and as a personal story. The following conclusion could be made: the variety of roles an influencer has while creating and sharing content; the creative

⁶ https://www.instagram.com/mister_fred_berlin/, accessed on May 14, 2019.

opportunities for telling stories in an intriguing and catchy way so that the audience could be engaged; the thematic variety of content produced by influencers; the crafty combination of various content – text, photos, audio and video; the communication that has an effect of influencing and emotional engagement with the audience. These are all examples of innovative marketing communications and may be integrated in the communication mix of any other organization that strives for success.

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Tradition, Communities and Social Media: How Tradition of Sewing Romanian Blouse Moved from Offline Gatherings to Online Communities

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Abstract: In the modern world, changes are happening with high speed, while traditions and cultural identity of communities are faced with forces that redefine them in many ways. We observe the journey that the tradition of sewing Romanian blouses is having from ancestral village to city life and modern online times. At first, this tradition was part of the mandatory activities that were happening in the Romanian village life back at the beginning of the 20th century, because of the conditions of small communities with homogeneous interests and occupations, and similar time conditions, but with a space limitation in terms of geographical area. Moving to the city, the tradition was lost at the level of common group activity, due to the context of big communities, with a big variety of people and interests, with a bigger space and time limitation, but was somehow re-enacted due to the new context of social media. Despite the existence of heterogeneous communities nowadays, Facebook groups are a perfect opportunity to display Romanian traditions through Facebook groups. In Romania, a special movement began in 2014 when Romanian women started to sew again the Romanian blouses in their homes, and moved the gathering from the village time in the online environment. The purposes of this article are to show how traditions are now subject to a new reinvention due to online communication, to highlight the importance of the active participation of the initiator of the community and its members in the online discussion. They are creating a public discourse that is reshaping an old tradition in new modern ways. Using Beckstein's model of living tradition based on Hobsbawn's theory of invented tradition, I provide an insight into the characteristics of evening gatherings in Romania ("sezatoare") on the Facebook public group of "Semne Cusute in Actiune". Using qualitative content analysis of over 1500 comments, the research defines the main categories of messages that underline its functions, in comparison with the old historic model of evening gathering presented in ethnographic studies. While the economic function is clear in both cases, the social and spiritual functions are different due to the different contexts in which they took place.

Keywords: tradition, living tradition, invented tradition, social media, virtual community, evening gathering, *ia*, Romanian blouse.

1. Introduction

Since 2014, there has been an important movement in the Romanian social media around the traditional products and promotion of Romanian traditions. Since 2012 I have been following the work and activity of "Semne Cusute" (Sewed Signs) that developed

now into a big community of over 29.000 people interested to learn about the tradition of sewing a Romanian Blouse (*ia* – in Romanian). All this started with the occasion of the first International Celebration of Romanian Blouse, on June 21, 2014, when the Facebook group "Semne Cusute in Actiune" (*Sewed Signs in action* – abbreviated from now SCiA) was created with the purpose of helping as many people as possible to sew their own *ia*, as it was done in the traditional Romanian villages.

In this study, I will analyse the ways in which this online behavior can be defined as an invented tradition that is similar with the old ancestral evening gatherings. Using the "living tradition model" developed by Beckstein (2017), based on the work of Hobsbawn, Piper and Payton (apud Beckstein, 2017) and the ethnological definition of the evening gathering, I provided a qualitative content analysis of the messages posted on the Facebook group of "Semne Cusute in Actiune" (SCiA), in order to identify the similarities and differences between the online community and the evening gatherings.

2. Related Work

2.1 The "Living Tradition" Model

We can look at society as a sum of actions and beliefs that were invented and created at a certain time for a specific purpose. "Everything in society and culture begins as an invention. It becomes a tradition when people ignore its origin, inventor and purpose" (Shida, 1999, p.195). Most, if not all, traditions change because of the flow of life and the natural replacement of one aspect that becomes old to another one that is more relevant to the living times. All these are done by other humans who can destroy, re-invent or create new ones according to the needs of a temporal context. "Moreover, people must not only accept the invention as an invention but, at the same time, perceive it as a tradition" (Shida, 1999, p. 195).

Different views upon tradition "have emerged in parallel development with concepts of modernity, nationality, and creativity describing human progress and identity" (Bronner, 1998, p. 48). The author also states that understanding traditions implies understanding the human relationships, from individual to group, society and nation, all these framed in the context of social and historical aspects, of time and space, of the beliefs and opinions about selves and others.

Following the folklorists' perspectives, Bronner (1998) mentions that, in the end, "meaning resides in the ways people express themselves through shared, local knowledge". Bronner considers tradition as a tool for linking the past with continuity and convention in order to express the future activities. Most of the times, tradition is seen by him as the primarily source of basic learning, that is starting from early life and continuing throughout one's life. This is why, in the end, tradition is "for drawing a sense of the self from a social world - that sense of being part of a sequence of generations that many view as desirable for a sense of belonging. Thus being in a tradition suggests being a link in a social chain reaching well back in time." (Bronner, 1998, p. 10)

Tradition, in Shils' perspective, was the basis in order for a society to function that was created by the "need to direct action with things, works, words, and modes of conduct created in the past". (Shils apud Bronner, 1998, p. 43)

Anya Peterson Royce considers that traditions are "expressions less of heritage than of a style", in this way considering that heritage can be considered sometime a burden for new generations. (apud Tuleja, 1997, p.4). According to Tuleja (1997), this definition "allows for an appreciation of personal choice and diachronic change, which tradition – the more traditional term – does not." (Tuleja, 1997, p.4) Thus we can have a broad view in order to include, as well, in the area of traditions practices that "may or may not come trailing ancient glories." (Tuleja, 1997, p. 4)

The authenticity aspect of traditions is an aspect very closely linked with Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of "invented tradition" (1983/ 2000). Their most important finding was that practices and behaviors that are mostly labeled as "primordial, often betray a recent origin – that they have been traditionalized, artificially aged, to serve elite agendas" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, apud Tuleja, 1997, p. 3). Reacting to the fast pace of social change, the invented traditions are in fact "revived customary traditional practices" (Tuleja, 1997) or new ones carefully planned in order to answer to the modern times and to the political objectives.

Understanding this process implies to understand the influences that "social structure has exerted on ritual and ceremony, and to clarify the mutual relation between the inventors of a tradition and its acceptors" (Shida, 1999, p. 195)

The concept of 'invented tradition' refers to a set of regulated practices of a ritual or symbolic nature seeking to "inculcate certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition" (Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 1). Invented traditions are connected "to and build on this past" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, apud Wang, 2017), especially when the old ones are weakened in a society that is faced with rapid transformations. They create the framework for people to create groups according to a specific social context and build on the "social cohesion and collective identities" (Hobsbawm apud Wang, 2017, p. 505).

As Beckstein (2017) states, "traditions are usually understood as 'living' entities that come in overlapping varieties and evolve over time, the socially valuable functions attributed to tradition tend to presuppose invariability in ways of thinking and acting." (Beckstein, 2017, p. 491) Understanding the models defined for tradition is therefore important for tracking its evolution in different contexts. For this, Dittman's definition of tradition is used. A tradition act is called when "a tradent (T) passes on some tradition material (M) to a recipient (R)" (Dittman apud Beckstein, 2017, p. 496). In order to have a tradition we need at least one successful act like this.

In understanding traditions, Beckstein (2017) follows *the static model* that was developed by Pieper, Hobsbawm and Popper (Hobsbawm, 2000, Pieper, 2010, Popper, 1972), in which the tradition material (M) is handed over to the next generations in terms of "causal identity" (Beckstein, 2017, p. 496), in a chain transmission of one-to-one or one-to-many, according to the number of recipients. The material remains the same though, with little variations, in some moderate models, when there was a "replace numerical identity with qualitative identity" (Beckstein, 2017, p. 498).

The living model is presented by Payton with a “criterion for faithful membership in a tradition” (Beckstein, 2017, p. 499), which is requiring that the material of tradition to resemble from one generation to another from qualitative aspect. The limitation of this model is that the material of tradition can change one aspect to another on long periods of time, but in the end the result can differ in a bigger proportion than the original. Beckstein is improving this model, by naming it the “living tradition model”, in order to “to replace the qualitative similarity with equivalence. A tradition act is successful if the set of beliefs, (or customs, etc.) held by recipients/tradents has the same overall point or *prima facie* purpose in the recipients’/tradents’ respective contexts of living.” (Beckstein, 2017, p. 494), so that the material of one tradition (customs, beliefs etc) is accepted to differ from one generation to another, but there is a relation of equivalence rather than similarity or identity.

Beckstein’s model takes into account two aspects that can influence the authenticity of a tradition over a long period of time: how intra/inter generational alterations are perceived and how tradition is considered authentic or not in terms of equivalence (both of them are a subject to major influences in the context of social media, a point which makes the model relevant for us).

This model is taking into consideration the historical circumstances and how the present generation is somehow obliged to “re-create the tradition material in such a way that it (in)forms the ways of thinking and acting of the present generation of recipients in the face of their current context of living” (Beckstein, 2017, p. 502). This opinion could be associated with the reception theory that supports the model of living tradition, because “tradition materials are polysemic, just like texts in the narrow sense of the word; they lack a discrete and objective structure of signification (Eco, 1979; Holub, 1984).” (Holub apud Beckstein, 2017, p. 500). Taking into account the concept of active audience, in which the receiver is creating a meaning out of the message communicated based on their cultural background and he turns from a listener into a person who is internalizing and creating a personal sense, here, the present generation who is handled over a tradition material, create their own version adapted to the new context that they live in. “The process of internalization of a tradition material, therefore, is one of making sense rather than one of listening. Recipients are active interpreters. Recipients necessarily play a co-constitutive role in the creation of meaning by resolving ambiguities and specifying vagueness in some form or another.” (Beckstein, 2017, p.500)

Bronner’s (1998) ‘creative impulse’ follows the argument presented above. Supporting this argument is also what Bronner (1998) is exposing about the creative impulse. If “invention comes from Latin its reflexive form *se invenire*, it means «to show oneself», to put oneself forward as something discovered or revealed” (Bronner apud Tuleja, 1997, p.4), Bronner considers tradition and creativity as interdependent elements. Also Shils’ perspective is enriching this through the fact that “innovations are dependent on traditions in any cultural setting” (Shils apud Bronner, 1998, p. 44). Actually this is the way in which Bronner refers to folklore, namely as “manipulated knowledge.”

The reference to audiences and reception theory is an important aspect in our study since we are going to position tradition and rituals in the social media framework,

where “new media technologies enable a two-way communication, such as mobile phones and the Internet, that make active audience participation endemic to their use” (Butsch, 2016, p. 6)

When discussing about a living tradition we cannot refer to audience as a static and impersonal collective. We are “audiencing frequently – reading, watching, listening, even cheering or shouting at the performers” (Butsch, 2016, p.1), so when it comes to tradition there is an active involvement and participation that implies the individual mental, emotional, even physical process of understanding the meaning and finding one’s own clear reasons for following or choosing the “handling down” process. In the same manner, Bronner is referring to being a follower for a specific tradition, which “means unconsciously following a severe form of cultural authority or choosing from tradition that which one finds appropriate”. (Bronner, 1998)

Following these ideas, there is a question that arises related in defining the criteria for qualitative equivalence between the actual material of tradition and the one that was inherited from other generations. Because we discuss about meaning and purpose and significance that a tradition has, the recipients’ internalization and understanding being subjective and personal. Therefore, how is the qualitative equivalence defined in order to assure the process of transmission of a tradition and not creating a new one? Which are the characteristics of a tradition that are expressing the equivalence? This limitation is important in our study since the promotion of tradition on social platforms can be easily judged as not conforming by some traditionalist voices, therefore this can raise serious debates because of subjectivity.

Despite this limitation, we will follow Beckstein’s model of living tradition (2017), since it is the one that can easily accommodate the new media in our research and the active involvement of social media users.

2.2 Ethnographic View of Evening Gathering

Having established the model of tradition to be used in this study, we looked at the environment where it is transmitted, in the old and new context: evening gathering and online gathering. Various studies (Bot et al., 2008, Amzar et al., 2013) analyse gatherings as forms of structuring the social life without describing in detail the traditions practiced there. Thus we consider that a proper comparison with the online group should be carried out. However, the information provided is useful in order to explain the functions and meanings of this happening from the village life, providing details about the organizational aspect and the folkloristic elements (related to songs and magical practices).

From an ethnographic perspective, an evening gathering is defined as being “a small gathering, from autumn and winter evenings, at which there participate, according to its nature, girls, women, boys and men. Girls and women work for themselves, and the participants discuss different facts from village life, sing almost all the folkloric repertoire, play dramatic and social games. Girls practice magical rituals in order to bring boys to the evening gathering.” (our transl., Bot et al., 2008, p. 7). These gatherings used

to take place in one house, each night until the spring labors started, and "girls, women or old ladies used to spin wool or hemp, crochets socks and jerseys, sew or spin thread" (Bot et al., 2008, p. 8).

Dumitru Amzar et al. (2013), in an attempt to reinforce the need of continuation of the evening gathering, mention that this type of gathering is, in fact, "the village's school. Here the elders used to say their advice, based on their lives, here the blouses were covered with wonderful embroidery, here the flute was singing the longing, the needs and joys of Romanian soul" (our transl., Amzar et al., 2013, p. 27). The school of the village, they say, is in fact the school of life, where values were transmitted directly, and education was a social phenomenon, compared with the school of books, where education is seen as a cultural process, and values are transmitted indirectly. The process of learning in this context is easy and without the pressure and obligation that are to be found in public schools. "In evening gathering nobody was patronizing the others, and they were learning from each other without knowing that they are learning". (our transl., Amzar et al., 2013, p. 28)

"In all situations of life in the village there are transmitted the traditional values from person to person and from generation to generation, because life always brings together the young with the old; but during evening gatherings this process is extremely powerful, as the tradition would have been set for this reason." (our transl., Amzar et al., 2013, p. 163)

Through these evening gatherings in the old ancestral village there were transmitted the spiritual values (tales, proverbs, riddles, shouts, songs, beliefs, practices, superstitions, games and dances) and the practical work values (stirring, sewing) (Amzar et al., 2013).

Bot, Bot and Benga (2008) mention four types of evening gatherings, each of them with its own role: for little girls (12-13 years old), for youngsters, for young women and for old women. The differences are obvious in terms of the activities performed, so that the gathering for youngsters has a more important spiritual and social role (for example, playing games, doing magical rituals and singing songs), while the gathering for young and old women has a more economic role (for saving gas and being more productive in working in group) and a social role in terms of discussing the life of the village more than socializing. The evening gathering for youngsters had an important role in getting to know the potential marriage candidates, so that in this space there was an opportunity for women to expose their abilities in sewing, spinning and singing.

Another important aspect that Bot et al. (2008) identify in their study is the role of the host, who supervises the behaviour of the young and initiates the participants in songs, games and magical practices. In most of the cases under study, the host was the woman of the house, while the man was missing (not to be disturbed by the noise) or was involved in storytelling. Boys and community men had the role of entertaining the atmosphere through stories, anecdotes and legends.

These happenings responded to different needs in the village life, as Amzar et al. Show (2013): the material-objective of economic need, the psychological-subjective need for supporting each other and being more productive, the spiritual need for finding news and folkloric performance. Adding to this, Bot et al. (2008) also mention the social

role of the evening gathering for the local community.

Amzar et al. (2013) also highlight that these gatherings are the place of practicing and transmitting the traditions of sewing, stirring or other ancestral handmade work, the place to make the working blouses, “because the ceremonial blouses is good to work on them alone in the house. Nobody to know about!” (our transl., Amzar et al., 2013, p. 157) But it is also mentioned that this is the place that girls learn how to stir the wool, and later on to sew “some flies (crosses) on pieces of cloth for a puppet blouse” (Amzar et al., 2013).

From a labour point of view (Amzar et al., 2013), an ‘evening gathering’ (*sezatoarea*) is different from a ‘helping gathering’ (*claca*). Firstly, people, mostly women come to work for themselves, staying as long as they want, combining work with playing, singing and games. Secondly, people gather to a villager’s house in order to help him/her to a specific work, staying until the job is done. From a spiritual point of view (Amzar et al., 2013), an evening gathering is in the same line with the wedding and burial rituals, but being more complex than these ones, according to Amzar et al., due to the mixture between “two constitutive elements of social life: economic and spiritual; if a wedding and a burial have a specific fixed ritual composition, the structure of an evening gathering comply to more elastic rules” (our transl., Amzar et al., 2013, p. 101). Bot et al. (2008), observe that an evening gathering is more receptive to the new songs, and games, girls who would come with them being more appreciated by the community. In this way, it is visible the process of enriching the tradition by coming to the evening gathering to share “a new song, a new artistic pattern, a new shouting, a tale, a belief or an unknown custom, in order to to be heard and seen, learnt and spread in all the village.” (Amzar et al., 2013, p.164)

Table 1 provides an overview of the functions and different roles that Amzar et al. (2013) and Bot et al. (2008) identified related to evening gathering in the ancestral village life and the activities related to them.

Offline evening gathering functions and roles (Amzar et al., 2013; Bot et al., 2008)	
Function	Activities
Tradition transmission	Learning to sew Sewing working blouses (Ceremonial blouses were sewed in secret in their home)
Social	Getting to know village members, discussions about village life
Spiritual & Folklore	Games, songs and dances, magic practices, storytelling (tales, proverbs, riddles, shouts), beliefs and superstitions
Economy	Savings, gifts

Tabel 1. Offline evening gathering functions and roles
(Amzar et al., 2013; Bot et al. (2008))

3. Semne Cusute in Actiune (SCiA) – A Brief Presentation

Since 2013 the Romanian Blouse has been annually celebrated at a national and international level. Since then, many initiatives have been taking place related to traditional and folk products (perpetualicons.ro, IIANA, Folclorica, Podoabe traditionale, Comori etnografice, Etnografika, Invie Traditia, Iipedia, to name few of them). From all these initiatives, most of them have mainly had a commercial purpose, while the SCiA community has had the declared message of creating the community to pass the tradition in an authentic way¹.

SCiA started as an online support group, providing patterns and information about materials, but things have gradually started to grow. First, the community members proposed to meet in different places of Romania to sew together. Then, a contest-exhibition was done with the pieces that were created by SCiA members (AIDOMA exhibition) that firstly was at a national level and now it reached an international level (in Europe in 2018, in 2019 the exhibition was held at the Romanian Embassy from Japan).

The community also grew offline and online: *workshops and meetings* (2014), *online shop with materials and kits* (2016), *youtube channel* (2016).

In order to understand the diachronic development of the community, I mention below the online tools² that were used:

- Blog (<http://semne-cusute.blogspot.com>): initiated in July 2012, 3 millions displays, few comments;
- Facebook Page (<https://www.facebook.com/SemneCusute/>): initiated in December 2012, 36.500 likes, some comments;
- Facebook group SCiA (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/224922601040515/>): initiated in March 2014, 29.500 members, many comments;
- Web page (<https://semnecusute.ro/>): initiated in 2014, online shop, no information on displays;
- Youtube (<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCV4mtooORZz1HTQgML3hDnA>): initiated in 2016, 39800 views, 1728 subscribed, 31 videos, comments closed;
- Instagram (www.instagram.com/semne_cusute): initiated in 2018, 571 followers, 11 posts, few comments.

4. Research Objectives, Method and Corpus

When focusing on the Romanian blouse sewing tradition and how this is communicated in social media, we analyzed how the social reality is constructed online (community building, communication between the initiator and members, communication

¹ <https://facebook.com>, accessed on 25.03.2019

² The data were gathered on 19.03.2019.

between members, stories they tell about their experience and about the tradition's history), what meaning is given to different actions (personal research and learning, communication) and to symbols (materials and tools used, pattern and symbols sewed etc) and how these tradition-related actions are similar with the offline manifestations of that specific tradition.

Using a qualitative method, we will employ a symbolic interactionism theoretical framework (Neuman, 2014), which implies that "people transmit and receive symbolic communication when they socially interact, they create perceptions of each other and social settings" (Neuman, 2014, p 91). Analyzing the community members' interaction we can extract how people position themselves related to the group and which the opinion about themselves is, and which their perceptions of their actions are. We found this approach most appropriate for the study of traditions, since the material of tradition that is passed by from one generation to another is the subject of personal subjectivity and understanding. Therefore, the content analysis of the messages that were posted in the community is an instrument to better understand perceptions of its members related to tradition itself, actions and people involved. Our aim is to understand how one's self is perceived in a group, how people transmit and receive symbolic communication when they socially interact.

The advantage is that in social media we have an archive of messages and groups on Facebook are a great source of social constructs built by people freely on a big variety of subjects. The disadvantage is that they are not easily accessible anymore, due to the changes in Facebook policies. We refer at language as an important way to represent how we see and represent the world, observing the messages from social media, putting them in clusters of symbols and meanings. We may interpret how the members of a group shape their online world based on their views of the offline world (Neuman, 2014).

The specific method used was ethnographic content analysis that better supports the process of interpreting documents from "the context (political and economic), medium, logic, content, format and presentation of the material" (Altheide, Schneider, 2013, p. 6), therefore the documents are becoming reflexive representations of social meanings and institutional relations to be studied. This came as an answer to the need to go beyond studying the content of the mass media, by understanding the process, meanings and key messages from the content, by understanding social meanings created by actors, including social contexts, situations, and emotions (Altheide, Schneider, 2013). Therefore, in accomplishing this research, the analysis focused on key messages (including emotions), on documents which the historic development of the community and on participative observation during the workshops in 2015.

For this study, I chose to analyse the Facebook activity in order to see the various aspects of the interaction inside the community (between the initiator and members, and between the SCiA members). Using instruments from Zelist online media³, I could analyze the activity of the Facebook page from the last year (2018 - 2019): 28 posts, fan base of 26522, fan-page interaction 2650 likes, 54 comments and 380 shares. The overall interaction index for the last year was 0,0844. Therefore, these data were not sufficient in

³ www.zelist.ro, accessed 07.04.2019

order to carry out my analysis. Therefore I changed my point of interest to the Facebook public group, that had big limitations of interpretation, because of the new changes of Facebook regarding accessing data.

The research was done manually looking for some keywords (as „ie”, „prima ie”, „claca”, „sezatoare”) that revealed the major directions of discussions:

- the process of sewing (with advice, pictures, videos);
- recalling old memories form personal and community history;
- showing one's own work and final pieces to the community;
- involving the community in different contests and activities;
- place for expressing one's opinions about traditions, Romanian identity and current role of the community.

The corpus under study was, therefore, extremely diverse and rich (in 5 years of activity, with tens of exhibitions and workshops and tens of monthly posts). After these insights, I narrowed the research to the first month within the community, in order to analyze how this community was able to develop. The method used was content analysis in order to understand:

- how social media was used in order to create the discourse around the concept of tradition of sewing;
- the degree to which this phenomenon can be called an "online evening gathering", as a continuation of the ancestral evening gathering from the village.

These questions led to an analysis of the posts in the first month of the group, in March 2014. There were 97 posts (March 20 – 31, 2014), each of them with lots of comments, therefore I narrowed again the research to the first week of the first month, having a corpus of 56 posts with a total of 1178 comments, out of which 242 belonged to the administrator of the group and the initiator (see Table 2). Each post was numbered for each day as *P#_day* and each comment was labeled as being made by *user* or by *admin* (e.g. *P2_25 user* is a comment made by an user in post number 2 on March 25, 2014).

The SCiA community members are people from all over Romania (big, medium and small cities) and also from abroad (California - US, Canada, France), Romanians who left the country several years ago and want to re-learn the tradition.

Facebook group <i>Semne Cusute in Actiune</i> March 2014			
Date	Number of posts	Total comments	Comments admin
20.mar.14	5	227	32
21.mar.14	12	132	40
22.mar.14	6	127	37
23.mar.14	1	22	3
24.mar.14	3	67	21

25.mar.14	7	34	14
26.mar.14	8	241	43
27.mar.14	14	300	51
28.mar.14	15		
29.mar.14	8		
30.mar.14	8		
31.mar.14	10		

Table 2. Number of posts and comments in SCiA (March 2014)

Table 3 provides the coding scheme for the analysis of the messages posted by both the administrator and the members.

Coding category	Themes	Main message
Tradition (technical info)	-Technical information about process of sewing -Characteristics for process and end products - Ceremonies	Learning sewing technique and patterns from different regions of Romania Exposing one's own work in process for all products (some worked in secret, as "the old way")
Authenticity	-People -Places -Values	Defining what is authentic tradition and what is kitsch
	Spirituality (as subcategory from values-authenticity)	Mentioning superstitions, stories and ritual related to sewing process
Heritage		Usable past from personal and community history
Emotions		Feelings shared by members related to the process itself
Community	-Identity -Group -Expert -Learning -Social media	How the group is formed around the expert and initiator, through support for learning and mastering the tradition
Economy		Sharing information about materials

Table 3. Coding book for SCiA online community messages

5. Findings

5.1. Comparison between Evening Gatherings and the SCiA Online Community

Six categories were taken into account to compare evening gatherings and the SCiA online community: organizing details, types of gathering, role of the host, role of participants (women, men). Table 4 shows the differences and the resemblances among offline evening gatherings and SCiA online community.

Offline evening gathering (Amzar et al., 2018; Bot et al., 2008)		SEMNE CUSUTE IN ACTIUNE Online community	
Organizing details		Organizing details	
<u>when</u> : each autumn and winter evening <u>where</u> : one house in the neighbourhood (few streets, according to size of the village) or at local schools Specific roles for women and men Gatherings differentiated based on age Membership is closed for members from local community, with specific abilities of performing the tradition. Active involvement is required.		<u>when</u> : Online 24/7 <u>where</u> : online environment (everywhere) There is no specific role to women and men, no age restrictions. Membership is open, no restriction based on ability or active involvement (silent members also)	
Types of evening gatherings		Types of gatherings	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young girls - Youngsters 	More spiritual and social role	Online	Tradition role Social role Economic role
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young women - Old women 	More economic and social role	Offline	Tradition role Social role Economic role
Role of the host		Role of the host	
Woman	-Supervising the behavior of the young -Initiating in songs, games	Woman (initiator)	-Supervising the common direction of the community - Initiating the group in the process of sewing tradition
Man	Storyteller	No man as host	
Role of the women participants		Role of members (women & men)	

Permanent participants	-Working their own products -Sharing knowledge about tradition	Moderators and top fans Active members	- Working their own products - Sharing knowledge about tradition
		Silent members	No information found
Role of the men participants			
Occasional participants	Walking in groups from one gathering to another		
Way of communicating		Way of communicating	
Oral		Written	Pictures, links, texts, videos

Table 4. Comparison between evening gatherings as described in ethnographic studies and online community on Facebook

Following the “living tradition model” (Beckstein, 2017), we can state that there are qualitative equivalences between these two manifestations since tradition is answering to the main purpose of passing down to next generations the knowledge and skills of sewing Romanian Blouse, using the context of internet environment. Also, adding to the old way, SCiA strengthened the community by organizing offline activities, which brought people together and re-enacting the evening gatherings in modern times.

5.2. Comparison between Evening Gatherings and SCiA Online Community in Terms of Roles and Functions

A comparison between offline ancestral gatherings and online community needs to be done, in order to better understand the categories from content analysis and how they are associated. We used the codebook presented in Table 3 to analyse the messages posted in the online community by the initiator of this community, Ioana Corduneanu (administrator of the group) and by its members as well.

5.2.1. The Tradition Category

As in old times, tradition is explained in details, the online users talk about the materials and stages that need to be followed. The social media posts contain a lot of details about the *technique* of cutting and sewing the blouse and the pattern, while this is

the declared scope of the Facebook group, to support the correct learning and practicing. There are discussed the *phases* of the process (*washing, cutting, sewing, merging parts*) and different *sewing techniques* (*crosses, tehnica pielea gainii, motiv paharele mireului, cusatura zig-zag, cheite*), words that in later development of the community will become hashtags (#cut). There are very clearly mentioned the *instruments* used (*centimeter, thimble, loom, thread, needle*) and the way how experienced members from the community choose them.

The *characteristics* regarding the process of sewing and the characteristics of the final product refer to its *beauty*: “a proud blouse”⁴ (P1_25 admin); “very beautiful, very loved, ie de pomina” (P1_20 admin); “dreamy” (P3_22 user); “a beauty” (P6_22 user, P5_22 user, P1_23 user); “a wonder” (P1_20 user); “wonderful” (P1_26 admin, P1_25 admin); “beautiful things” (P10_21 user); “two beautiful blouses” (P10_21 user); “the most beautiful” (P6_22 user); “its’s perfect” (P9_21 user).

A blouse manually sewed by the community members is „the ideal blouse” (P1_20 admin), that “catches the eyes and the hands of the one who looks” (P1_24 user), becomes a “beautiful story” (P12_21 user), thus becoming „pieces of art” (P6_21 user).

The pattern in work or the drawing that inspires the future blouse is defined through words implying its *beauty* (“beautiful, discreet and elegant” P1_27 admin; “Superb” P12_27 user, P3_26 admin, P5_22 user, P1_23 user, P6_22 user; “the most spectacular” P1_23 admin; “Fabulous” P10_27 user; “Splendid” P1_23 user; “absolutely special” P1_24 user; “surprising” P3_26 admin), through words highlighting one’s *emotion* (“cheerful” P6_22 admin; “something sober” P6_22 user) or through words emphasizing the difficulty of the sewing (“very hard” P6_22 user)

As in the offline gathering, different *celebrations* are mentioned, mainly the International Day of Romanian Blouse, that was set then for the first time on the 21st of June, and also Easter Holiday. The purpose of the mentioning of celebration was to highlight that they set a context of delaying the sewing of the blouse (P3_26 user, P1_27 user) since it is prohibited to sew during religious celebrations.

In all posts members share their work, their status of the blouse and the final image of the product. There are some people working in secret and sharing only the final product. For example, in one case (P8_27.03.2014) the admin said “she sewed her ia after an old pattern. And she worked secretly. As in the past.” Thus it is acknowledged the old tradition, but it is emphasized a new approach according to the times we are living in: “we want to see pictures, pictures. It is an experience to be shared” (P1_20 admin).

5.2.2. The Authenticity Category

There are mentioned different actors who play an important role in promoting an authentic tradition of sewing the Romanian blouse:

- experts in this field: artisans, different associations, shops (Varvara Buzila - P6_22 admin, Adela Petre from Buzau, human heritage - P9_21 admin, Marius

⁴ All the posts were in Romanian and we supplied our translation from each post.

Matei from Timisoara - P5_25 admin, Ioan-Sorin Apan's group from Brasov - P4_20 user)

- museums that are presented either as good examples (Romanian Peasant Museum is one of the places "where you can feel their desire to promote the exhibits" P1_20 user) or as negative examples ("Culture Museum (from Iasi – nOC) is closed for 10 years" P8_26admin) and comparisons are made with big museums of the world ("the ethnographic collection from Metropolitan Museum has those wonderful Romanian costumes" P1_20 user)

Different *places and regions* are mentioned, mostly related to choosing a pattern to sew that has a meaning with the family history ("region where I come from" P4_22 user; "my area" P3_22 user P4_20 user; "pattern specific to my area" P2_22 user; "area where I come from" P6_22 user).

The analysis of the sources of inspiration about the drawings and their authenticity is made in a geographical and historical context, by discussing the Germanic or Slavic influences from different models found on the internet or in product fairs ("flowers are of Slavic influence, from South, it is not a Carpathian influence" P6_22 admin; "the rose on the blouses is, mainly, a clear Slavic influence, especially Bulgarian. As fruits on blouses appear especially at Croatians" P6_22 admin; "the Saxons didn't wear Romanian blouses" P5_25admin; "In Transylvania they did not sew with *altita*, *incret* and *rauri*" P5_25user)

The *authentic* past is remembered from personal and family experiences ("our parents had the luck to catch traditions more authentic than we did" P1_20 user). Old interbelic photo albums are considered to be few authentic sources of inspiration ("D. Comsa's album" P5_25 user; „this is how I saw it was made in old albums" P2_22 admin). There is also a kitsch past and present that are mentioned, related to personal experiences ("it's a general chaos" P6_22 admin; „this⁵ doesn't mean authentic and tradition", kitsch P6_22user, "(...) because of the desire to see the streets without those damn occidental cloths that are making women look masculine" P3_26 user)

Many messages focus on defining what is good and what is wrong in the desire to create in this group an authentic continuation of the tradition ("follow the original colours" P6_27 user; "correct altita" P6_22 admin; "I want a Romanian blouse made of my own hands and I promise to make a good research" P3_26 user).

In this respect, the purpose of the Facebook group „Semne Cusute in Actiune", is stated very clearly by the users, namely that of defending the original and authentic tradition: "the efforts⁶ are of encouraging members to sew traditional blouses" P6_22user; "here we focus on rediscovering and reviving a treasure, parts of history and stories that are not meant to disappear" P2_27 user.

⁵ It refers to a blouse from a shop

⁶ It refers to the efforts of this group.

5.2.3. *The Community Category*

One of the main parts of the analysis focuses on the way in which the virtual community and group identity builds up through posts and comments, and on the way in which the position as an expert that the administrator is taking is helpful or not.

There are many remarks related to the national identity and to the Romanians' view regarding virtues and talents ("You are to be admired. Maybe through this campaign we will learn more than to sew the blouses ourselves, we will learn about history and meaning. Maybe we will learn to respect each other, to love more and to be more united. To remember that we are not a nation of thieves" P3_27 user).

Sewing becomes an attribute of nationality, of the image of being a Romanian woman: "we are proud to be Romanians" P6_25 user; "I believe that every Romanian woman has engraved, in her genetic material, the pattern of a blouse and the way how to sew it" P5_26 user.

The "social cohesion and collective identities" (Hobsbawm apud Wang, 2017, 505) are pointed out here through messages like: "it's encouraged to save the old patterns for blouses through accurate copying" P5_27 user; "there are SciA people who are fond of traditions, who document themselves about this and want to unveil the values" P1_20 user; in this group there are "the ones with the desire to learn, desire for knowledge" P1_20 user. It is very clearly stated the mission of the group: "the efforts of Semne Cusute and of other people from the group are of encouraging sewing traditional Romanian blouses" P6_22 user.

The spirit of the old evening gathering is emphasized through the theme of the virtual group: "virtual gathering (claca)" P1_20 user; "I understand that here is a sort of ... gathering (claca)" P12_21 user). The group is a place to show the process and the result, but also a place to learn the correct tradition ("this group is meant to eliminate the mistakes. So... no offence!" P5_27 user), to support each other ("you are a great adviser" P3_26 user) and to provide a healthy competition ("I was the first and now I am the last... I hope to come in front next week" P3_26 user).

Offline gestures and behaviours are invoked ("knock!knock! can I come?" P1_20 user; "thank you for accept" P2_20 user) or salutes like being in the same room ("Good night!" P6_21 admin; "My dears, Happy New Year and good to have you here" P3_26 user). They are sharing their work as they are sharing the same space ("please show us" P1_20 admin; "Girls, look what I found today" P5_22 user; "I will show you pictures" P9_21 user).

Learning is an important aspect of the group, therefore it is analyzed under the tradition category, because in this context, learning becomes a social activity of the community: through support and active involvement in the social media the group evolves in understanding different patterns and learning the specific techniques of the tradition.

Here we can observe messages of trust and disbelief in one's own powers that receive supportive and encouraging answers ("I have never cut before" P13_27 user; "I am not good at all" P7_21 user; "I am not productive anymore" P9_27 user; "Never say

never” P3_26 user; “I started. Anyway, I won’t quit, I will try” P9_21 user; “I hope to succeed” P5_22 user). There are a lot of messages that express personal courage, patience and determination or invitation towards these attitudes (“I made myself courageous” P13_27 user; “Come on to research!” P3_25 user; “you will quickly learn how to handle” P1_24 admin). This online community is also a place for requesting and offering help (“who can help me?” P6_25 user; “Can you give me a hint” P12_21 user; “Girls, I am in trouble” P1_20 user).

A lot of motivation is offered by the initiator, her messages being extremely important in building a space of trust and support (“really it is simple, you will find all you need, the easiest solution, you already showed you can” P1_20 admin). The members’ answers are alike: “will, hand, heart and eyes will make any needle to be of gold” P1_20 user; “you get used by practice, let your untrained hands to align with will and love and then they will be the most gifted” P1_20 user, “The hand will start working by itself, while the mind will relax and you will be ZEN” P1_24 admin)

The administrator’s knowledge and expertise reveal technical details, but also personal stories and experiences (“my grandmother taught me to sew” P9_27 admin, “after 2 years of daily research and drawing I believe I could make my own pattern, but only for the areas that I studied. I wouldn’t go outside those areas” P11_27 admin)

The personal experience is encouraged to be also shared by the members, so that in the end most of them post messages as “I chose”, “I believe”, “I tried”, “I wouldn’t recommend it”, “personally, I believe”.

Analysing the data, the initiator of the group had 30% of the posts and 20% of the comments from the total of corpus, which means that she leaves enough space for other members to express themselves. This would be the definition of a host from the ancestral evening gathering: to teach other persons and leave the guests to talk. With all this encouragement and advice, the community becomes a place where everyone can learn a new way of sewing “explained with meaning and love” (P1_24 admin) in “7 steps” (P1_24 admin) so that to understand that “the blouse is not a sprint, but a sewing marathon” (P1_24 admin).

5.2.4. The Spirituality Category

As a subtheme of authenticity, spirituality is present in messages from the group by invoking the value of their work, the symbolic meaning of each action and the technique used: “(...) each model that is re-born is enriching us spiritually and gives us hope that we will see other initiatives as well” P4_20 user; “meaning of curling⁷: practical role and symbolic role” P1_24 admin; “blouses were made for entire life and even more.” P13_27 user

Beyond the elements of technique, tradition has a story in which the person that sews becomes a character, and everybody starts to say it through what she is and what she does, thus the sewing action becomes a ritual: “each blouse has its story, each area has

⁷ Curling is a sewing technique.

different elements and colours” P1_23 user; “the cutting was ritualic. Breathe, the next one will be cutting by itself” P6_21 admin; “Indeed it was ritualic....” P21 user; “Silence is golden. Where the blouses stand by themselves, you have to learn to listen to their silence. Light, shadow, volume – cloth architecture. All they can say are some whispers, it’s enough. Silence for the eyes and mind.” P1_26 admin; “What a beauty: to work, admire, love and learn to listen the silence of what you or others worked” P1_26 user; “I wish you to paint beautiful stories on your blouses” P7_27 user; “this tradition is calligraphy on cloth” P1_24 admin.

We also identified superstitions and beliefs related to the process of sewing. For example, a member of the community is telling a superstition that she has in her village, as an answer to different obstacles or when people were not productive: “In my village it was a superstition: girls had to let a lizard to cross their hands and then to say «spotted lizard, teach me how to sew»⁸ in order to gain talent. I did this, as a child. And I sewed, knitted, cutting... Will it be from the lizard or from family heritage? I worked as you do: with kids near me, after they fall asleep... but what a joy I had when I finished a piece. (P5_26 – user)

Beliefs are seldom invoked in the process of sewing (“As Good God wants!” – P3_26 user) or related to the activity on the group (“God bless you for this initiative” P3_26 user) or when portraying the Romanian people (“Romanian are good and honest people, with fear of God” P27 admin).

5.2.5. *The Economy Category*

One of the main functions of this community is the economic one. This function implies to put at the disposal of its members the information regarding the materials needed for creating a Romanian blouse from scratch. This is how the community starts, when the initiator, Ioana Corduneanu, is sharing a list of materials and suppliers. Later on in the development of the community, an online shop will appear to meet the specific requests regarding the colours and the quality of materials.

Even if we are in an online community, its members still prefer to check and test the material in an offline shop (“I wish to touch the material before buying” P3_26 – user; “you can ask samples to see how you can work on it” P7_27 user; “Oh, oh how I miss home and the magazines full of materials from Cluj” P3_26 – user). The community becomes a barometer for what is expensive or cheap (“a little bit too expensive” P7_21 user, “very very expensive” P1_22 user, “cheap” P5_22 user). People are talking about taking care of the materials and making savings, without wasting money (“time saving” P3_26 user, “do not destroy” P4_21 user, “you cannot afford to make a mistake” P1_20 user).

Whether in the past, in the villages women used to come together to save gas while working together, nowadays the saving is transformed in advice on the materials and the budget. The function remains the same, just getting transformed according to modern times.

⁸ The Romanian for this translation is “sulumendrita pestrita, invata-ma sa cos altita”.

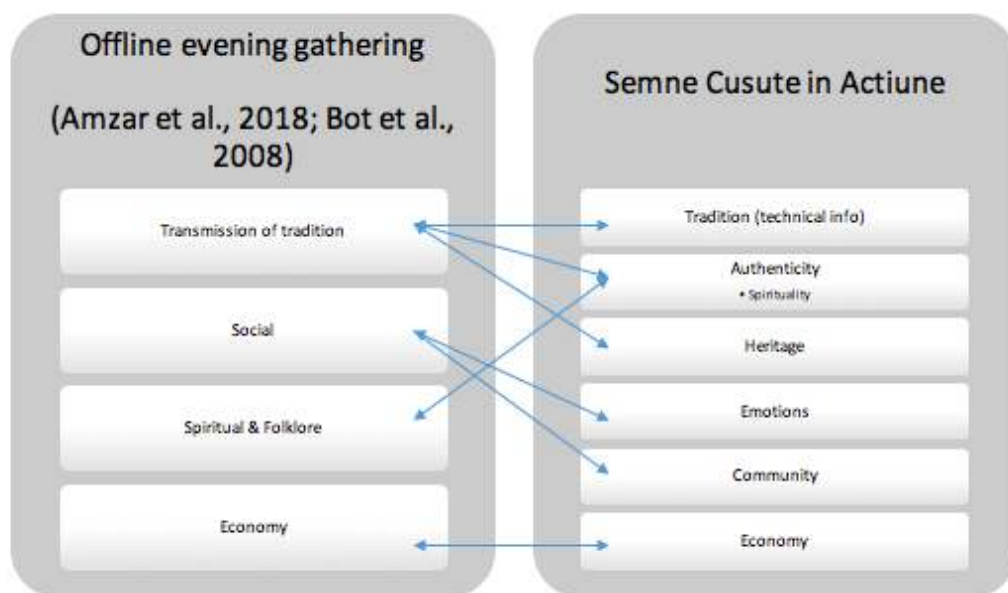


Fig. 1. Roles and functions –
offline evening gatherings versus the online community SCiA

As figure 1 shows, there are a lot of similarities between offline evening gatherings and the online community SCiA. Tradition is passed down to the next generation through advice and practice nowadays as in the past, by taking into account the modern ways of communicating and relating. The online messages, pictures and links can be considered equivalent with the advice that was received in the offline ancestral village gatherings, these changes being part of the modern changes that came in people's life. The social function remained in terms of bringing community together, to be more productive together and to encourage one another. Visiting neighbours, that used to happen in the village, is, somehow, equivalent now with becoming friends on social media and being part of the same group. The economic function for savings is also to be found in present times, messages on how to be wiser and on where to find cheaper materials being equivalent with putting together the resources from the past.

However, in this study on the online community SCiA it was not found an important part of the social function of the evening gathering, namely the folklore aspect (singing songs, playing, storytelling). This is an aspect to be documented further if the offline meetings organized by the online community are slowly incorporating also this part.

6. Conclusions

This research investigated the social media public discourse of the Facebook group *Semne Cusute in Actiune* in order to identify a potential equivalence with the evening gathering that took place in the Romanian ancestral villages.

Using the model of living tradition as it was defined by Beckstein (2017), we consider that the criteria of equivalence are met, so that the model of passing over the tradition of sewing is also suitable for the online media.

On the one hand, in the context of tradition reinventing, this modern model overpasses some limitations of geographical coverage and time limitations, since the internet space is a space for everyone all over the world. On the other hand, this manifestation has lost the spiritual role of rehearsing and disseminating the stories and songs and dances, due to the need for specialisation of the group in order to maintain a focus. A further study should focus on other social media groups that try to revive this part of the Romanian culture and track any interconnections or collaborations in the offline events that take also place in the online community.

If in the ancestral way the sewing tradition was maintained in the village life through evening gatherings where people used to meet and socialise while working, we can say that now, the Facebook group has this function, as an online evening gathering, that overpasses the spatial and time limits, being open to become a place for remembrance, since the archives can contain the written format better than the oral one has done in the past.

With the enormous work that this community is doing, voluntarily, to recover the authentic roots and patterns, the tradition of sewing can have its own online stage of performance, where people can come and go, but not to be forgotten again. As Amzar et al. (2013) claimed, the evening gathering was a place for sharing knowledge in an informal way, with joy and jokes, people coming by their own will and desire to participate, so that the place became a school of life, where everybody was learning from the others without taking notice. We could just associate Amzar et al.'s perspective with the Facebook group and we would get the same meaning and atmosphere but, this time, created online. Although the online environment of Facebook has its main declared purpose of a social function, we can see that while comparing it with offline gatherings, there are aspects that are lost when it comes to performances, or to the social function related to small communities. This could be a further research related to the activities of the community in the offline environment and how much the present happenings are similar or equivalent with the ancestral ones. Therefore, an enlargement of the research in other areas of actions of the community would give a broader insight on the modern phenomenon of traditional sewing Romanian blouses.

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