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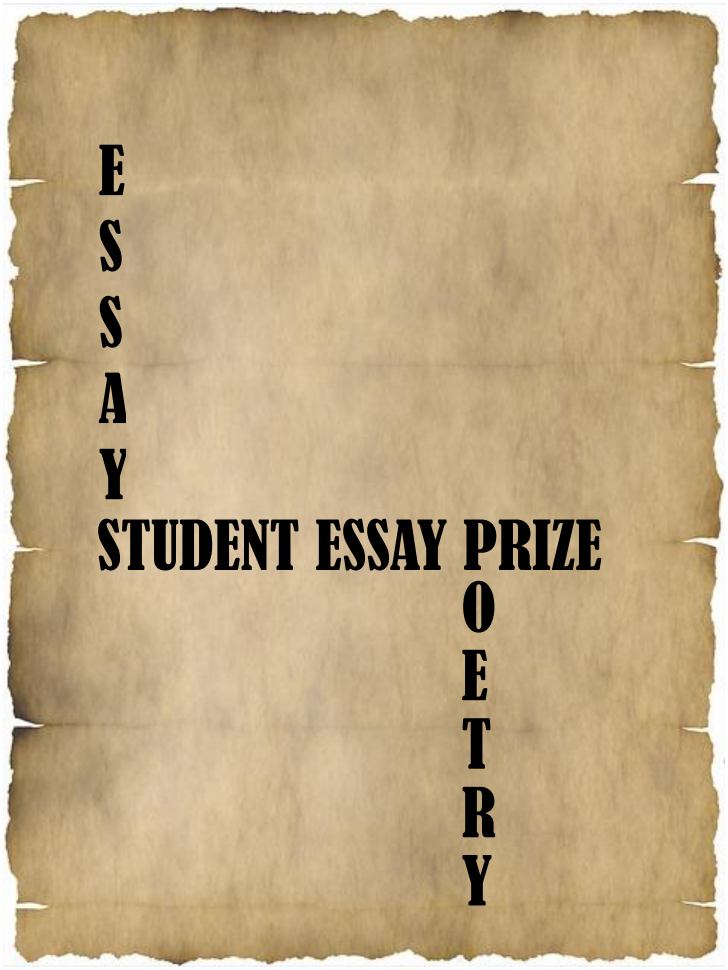

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Dear Readers,

The fourth issue of *FOLIO. A Students' Journal* includes a number of novelties. Not only are we presenting the five best essays written by the students of our Institute, among which you will find the longest paper in the history of both our print and online editions, but also the two best essays submitted last year for the Student Essay Prize Competition. They discuss an intriguing subject: "'Electronic books make specialist departmental libraries obsolete.' Discuss this statement in relation to your own experience at the University of Warsaw".

And that is not all – for the first time in the history of the journal, you will get a chance to acquaint yourselves with our students' more creative side – we give you three times three poems. And our Editorial Staff keeps expanding: we were joined by Dorota Osińska, who is the Assistant Editor responsible for the new section – Miscellanea – dealing with reviews, reports, and creative writing.

If you are considering submitting poetry, a short story, or a more "traditional" essay for publication in our journal, you will have a chance to do so next year. In the meantime, enjoy this issue!

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Employment on Sugar Plantations in Hawaii and Puerto Rico as an Incentive of Social Change in the 19th and 20th Century: the Past and Present Influence of the White Sweetener

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Attention to sugar as a factor shaping various spheres of life began in the 1980s with Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power*, which describes the correlations between sugar, slavery, imperialism and class differences. Ever since its publication in 1985, various studies have been held to establish the importance of sugar in particular countries or regions of the world. Among those places are Hawaii and Puerto Rico, islands located on two opposite sides of the mainland, whose interaction with the US is inextricably linked to sugarcane plantations and their development.

Indeed, it is not an overstatement to say that Hawaii and Puerto Rico have been shaped and influenced by the production of sugar. What is more, the production itself was also a significant stimulus for social change in the 19th and 20th century. As the act of searching employment among plantation workers transformed their respective history, economy and, consequently, social structure, the phenomena such as migration and multiculturalism emerged. Thus, the sweetener contributed to the diversification of the Hawaiian society, whereas in Puerto Rico, it destroyed the previously established social structure and induced mass migration, which limited the island's economic, social and cultural development.

An overview of the social situation before the establishment of sugar plantations is crucial to acknowledge the scale of the changes induced by sugar. In Hawaii, sugarcane was an almost unknown crop until the end of the 18th century, when it was brought to the islands and popularized by Christian missionaries ("Hawai'i: The Legacy of Sugar"). At that time, Hawaii was inhabited by approximately 250 000 people, mostly Native Hawaiians of Polynesian descent. Until the 1840s, the main source of their income was Pacific trade (Schmitt 7; MacLennan 5), then Hawaiians also profited from whaling and the sale of sandalwood (LaCroix 4). They were almost completely isolated from the Western world until the 1830s, when American businessmen became interested in the establishment of sugar mills and plantations on the islands ("Hawai'i: The Legacy of Sugar"). The development of the industry marked the end of a homogenous

society and the Native Hawaiian dominance, as the influx of foreign workers led to the creation of a unique cultural hybrid.

On the contrary, Puerto Rico's indigenous people, the Taíno, had almost disappeared under the Spanish rule centuries earlier, before the introduction and development of sugar plantations. However, the sweetener contributed to yet another change in the island's population. At the end of the 18th century, Puerto Rico's society had been "composed of deserters from the military services, survivors of shipwrecks, colonists en route to the mainland (…); was mainly of European origin and was almost entirely free" (Mintz 276). The cultivation of sugar, initiated in 1815 under the Spanish rule after the *Cédula de Gracias* and later developed by Americans, contributed to the flattening of the social structure. Initially, local slaves were employed, but soon people of all classes were required to work and, consequently, deprived of their personal freedom (277). According to Mintz, "the rise of the plantation system degraded slave and freeman alike", changing the previously rich society into a working mass with few rights (280).

The aforementioned enrichment of the Hawaiian society began in the 1850s, when the plantation owners failed to employ enough workers, as locals were decimated by previously unknown diseases brought by the possessors themselves. In order to address this issue, employment possibilities were advertised and contract labourers were brought from China and Japan (LaCroix 7). The number of the Chinese steadily grew, reaching almost 22,000 people of Chinese origin at the end of the 19th century. At first, they had poor living conditions and their personal rights could not be granted due to a small number of translators. The language barrier was not the only issue, as they "found themselves completely dependent on the plantation for all food, shelter, and medical needs" (MacLennan 133-134). Having finished their contracts, the Chinese moved into towns and formed communities, often intermarrying with the locals and contributing to the first mass diversification of race in Hawaii (Nordyke and Lee 200).

Then, a group of forty Japanese contract workers arrived in the 1860s and formed the second Asian group to permanently settle in Hawaii. Their population increased to more than 61,000 people within the next forty years. The Japanese formed a monoethnic society, refusing to intermarry due to their customs (Nordyke and Matsumoto 163-164), but they still contributed to the enrichment of the budding multicultural society with their traditions, food and beliefs.

In the late 1890s, another wave of immigrants was to arrive. The 1898's annexation of Hawaii by the US led to the industrialization and development of Hawaiian plantations, which now required even more cheap labour force. At the same time, Puerto Rico became American territory after the Spanish-American war.

The plantation owners could easily employ the already-skilled Puerto Ricans whose recently developed sugar infrastructure was destroyed by a hurricane in 1899. The possibility of work in Hawaii attracted the rural population and thus many left their motherland to improve their financial situation. As activist Blasé Souza reports in *Trabajo y Tristeza – Work and Sorrow: The Puerto Ricans of Hawaii 1900-1902*, not only did the businessmen in Hawaii promise work, but they also pledged to provide medical, educational, housing and transportation services (163).

The first Puerto Ricans came to Hawaii on 23 December 1900 after a long and tiresome journey ashore and afloat. Soon, they were employed by plantations. Within a year more than 5,000 Puerto Ricans arrived and settled on the Pacific islands. At first they were religiously discriminated by the Japanese, who ridiculed the Puerto Ricans' reluctance to nudity in the plantation bathhouses stemming from their Catholic faith. The Japanese could not understand the Puerto Ricans' behaviour, so they labeled them as 'dirty' and refused to integrate (Souza 169). Despite the initial difficulties, Puerto Ricans blended into other cultural groups of Hawaii via intermarriage (Souza 171).

High migration rates in Hawaii lasted until the Great Depression, when the sugar industry collapsed and most plantations were closed. However, the immigrants and their families stayed and continued their work in the weakening plantations, which were irrevocably closed in the 1990s. In his podcast *Hawai'i: The Legacy of Sugar*, journalist Al Letson describes a remnant of plantations present in Hawaiian food. Due to the mixing of cultures, the workers created a meal eaten in the fields suiting all, called the Zip Pack. It is composed of ingredients of various origin (fried chicken, teriyaki beef, rice and fish) and to this day it arouses a feeling of nostalgia for a 'better past,' as the former workers come to reunions and enjoy the plantation meal.

This idealization of culture mixing might seem surprising concerning the hardships suffered by workers throughout the existence of sugar plantations, although it might be the sign of the human need to preserve only the positive elements of the past in collective memory. Nevertheless, the plantation era is perceived in positive terms, with the focus on the integration of representatives of various cultures. In the 21st century, Hawaii remains the state with the biggest number of multiracial citizens, as around 24% of its inhabitants have foreign ancestry (Krogstad). The influx of foreign workers and the growth of the population number has undeniably contributed to Hawaii becoming the most inviting and accepting tropical destination in the world.

Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, do not share the Hawaiians' optimistic mindset. They are still deeply influenced by the economic emigration dating back to

the beginning of the 20th century and the collapse of the sugar industry in the 1950s, although its reasons are still a puzzle for various scholars (e.g. Ayala or Bridgman). Puerto Rico might be a US unincorporated territory, but the national government rarely interferes, leaving the population to the local government which imposes laws harmful to its economy (Bridgman et al).

After the closure of plantations, poverty intensified, reaching 46.1% in 2015 ("New Census Data on Puerto Rico"). Most Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland and constitute the second-largest Hispanic group in the US. In 2017, the island was hit by two hurricanes, which destroyed the already weak economy and underdeveloped infrastructure, causing $780 million of losses. Investments are now transferred to the most urgent expenses, as most farms and factories have to be rebuilt (Robles and Ferré-Sadurní). In contrast with Hawaii, whose economy soars due to the development of tourism and the available labour force, Puerto Rico has neither a concrete agenda aimed at economic progress and security nor enough skilled people to transform the political, educational and social situation.

Before the 1980s, few would appreciate the power of sugar as a crucial factor contributing to demographic and social transformation. Without the product, there still would be natural disasters in the Caribbean area and Hawaii would remain a group of tropical islands on the Pacific Ocean, but their respective social structures would differ from the ones in 2017. Had the plantation workers not received prospects of employment, Hawaii might have not become a tropical, multicultural paradise and many Puerto Ricans would have stayed in their homeland, contributing to the improvement of the financial and political situations. The two directions of the development of the former sugar giants derive from historical, economic and social circumstances inseparably linked to sugar production. The examples of Hawaii and Puerto Rico prove that sugar is not a simple sweetener; it is a commodity that has the power to transform the inherent nature of societies.

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The Position of a Governess on the Example of Charlotte Brontë's Life

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The governess was one of the most familiar figures in mid-Victorian life and literature. The 1851 Census revealed that 25,000 women earned their living teaching and caring for other women's children (Poovey 127). Most governesses lived with their employers and were paid a small salary. Yet, an English mid-Victorian governess in a way challenged the society's idealized standards of womanhood. She was a lady, however being forced to work, her social status could no longer be on equal terms with other well-born women. Though the qualified governess differed very little from the typical middle-class lady, her status could not be equivalent to that of her upbringing.

The occurrence of her subordinate position was usually initiated by some unfortunate circumstances which demanded that young women seek a job. The most common reasons were male relative's financial failure or a death which perhaps led to impoverishment (Hughes 147). By becoming a governess a girl was able especially to uphold her position as a lady, though she was obviously not able to exhibit this fact with financial resources:

> [I]f a woman of birth and education found herself in financial distress, and had no relatives who could support her or give her a home, she was justified in seeking the only employment that would not cause her to lose her status. She could find work as a governess. (Peterson 6)

In contrast to other roles such as serving in a shop or working in a factory alongside working-class women the position of governess was usually the only possibility for a woman of having a decent and appropriate professional position.

The upper classes had employed governesses since the Tudor Times. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century employing a governess became a sign of the economic power of the Victorian middle-class father, as were servants and carriages (Peterson 5). Just as the lady of the house employed servants to clean her

house, she paid another woman to raise her children. Hiring a governess became a status symbol.

Moreover, hiring a governess indicated also the extent to which a man's wife was truly a lady of leisure. The function of the mother had traditionally been, among some other housewifely duties, that of teacher of the children. Both boys and girls in the middle-class family begun their education with their mother. Boys were later sent to school or a tutor was hired for them, but girls continued to learn their roles as women from their mothers. Unlike cooking or cleaning, the education of children could not be classified as manual labour. For this reason the employment of a governess was even more a symbol of the movement of wives and mothers from domestic to ornamental functions (Peterson 5).

The woman who lived in a household in order to teach the children and serve as a companion to them as a resident governess (Hughes 37). The position of the governess and the nurse were different and therefore should not be confused with one another. Unlike the governess, the nurse was a member of the servant class and responsible for all the physical and emotional needs of the children during their first four to five years of life.

The responsibilities of the governess were varied, nevertheless, the constant supervision of pupils seemed to have been a common duty of governesses. It kept them busy all day leaving hardly any time for a private life (Peterson 8). As for the youngest pupils, the governess would teach them reading, writing and arithmetic, while coaching the older girls in French, History or Geography. The governess would also be expected to instruct them in key "accomplishments" such as drawing, playing instruments and dancing. Having been taught in the fine arts, the girls, by the ages of seventeen or eighteen, would then be ready for their social debut. The skills were designed and honed, of course, to attract a proper husband in a crowded marriage market. Boys, on the other hand, typically entered a preparatory school at the age of eight, instead of staying under their governess' tutelage. This was in keeping with the Victorian belief that the education of boys was of vital importance, based on their future roles as masters of their own families. Girls had a smaller need for a formal education, since they were destined to get married and their prospects for marriage were based on their personal fortunes and personal appearances as well as gentle manners.

The governess was a beloved figure of the Victorian writers. Like orphans, the governess had to make her own way in the world, travelling alone far from home and finding her own place in an unfriendly environment. Her status as a lady allowed her to live with the members of the upper-class under one roof, but the fact that she worked meant that she also encountered different people and situations which would

have been unavailable for a girl who lived with her parents. The governess was a blank slate onto which all possibilities were open, so that novelists could write any plot that they wanted.

Charlotte and Anne Brontë, who both published novels with governess heroines, used their real-life experiences of the schoolroom. The Brontës themselves were obliged to find means to support themselves when marriage eluded all three girls, and their father's clergyman salary was insufficient to provide for all three daughters. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* was published in 1847 and became a bestseller almost instantly. However, working as a governess was far more unpleasant for Charlotte Bronte and her sister Anne than for Jane Eyre. One might say that Charlotte created on the pages of her novel her dreamed-of workplace and the ideal life she would have loved to live.

Charlotte Brontë, discussing Anne's novel, *Agnes Grey*, with Elizabeth Gaskell, told her:

> None but those who had been in the position of a governess could ever realize the dark side of 'respectable' human nature ... daily giving way to selfishness and ill-temper, till its conduct towards those dependent on it sometimes amount[s] to a tyranny. (Gaskell 186)

Charlotte kept repeating similar assertions describing a governess' life as miserable, finding all her efforts completely vain.

Being a paid employee was particularly hard to bear for Charlotte who grew up in a loving company of her beloved father and siblings. As she used to feel free physically and mentally being at Haworth parsonage or wandering through the moors, she struggled with the feeling of having an oppressed and imprisoned mind while staying at her employers' estate.

Charlotte temporarily sacrificed her longing for freedom and personal fulfilment for her own family's sake and her first "situation" as a governess began in May 1839 (Gerin 141). At an estate named Stonegappe, Charlotte was to care for a young girl and her brother. Brontë had already been working as a teacher at Roe Head, yet the inferior position of governess in a wealthy family was almost intolerable for shy and socially awkward Charlotte. She was ignored by adult family members, though she considered herself not only more than their equal in terms of intelligence and ability but also a potential writer of genius.

Of her lady employer Charlotte wrote:

> Mrs. Sidgwick did not know me. I now begin to find that she does not intend to know me, that she cares nothing in the world about me except to contrive how the greatest possible quantity of labour may be squeezed out of me, and to the end she overwhelms me with oceans of needlework ... I see now more clearly than I have ever done before that a private governess has no existence, is not considered as a living and rational being except as connected with the wearisome duties she has to fulfil. (Shorter: Charlotte Brontë to Emily Jane Brontë, 8th June 1839)

Charlotte's observations were not exceptional as middle class family members consistently attempted to disassociate themselves from classes of inferior position. Yet, the governess inhabited a class of her own in many people's opinion and so society was always uncertain of how to treat her (Huff 2).

> The real discomfort of a governess' position in a private family arises from the fact that it is undefined. She is not a relation, not a guest, not a mistress, not a servant – but something made up of all. No one knows exactly how to treat her. (Peterson 10)

The behaviour of the children used to reflect their parents' attitude and there was often disobedience and even physical cruelty. Brontë was charged too with insolent and rebellious children at Stonegappe. She was expected to enforce the mother's authority, but with no support from her employers' side, she was the victim of her pupils. However, Charlotte did not divulged that her forehead was cut with a stone thrown at her by one of her pupils (Gaskell 187). That gained her some respect from the children. And so when one of the Sidgwick children at dinner one day put his hand in Charlotte's saying, "I love 'ou, Miss Brontë," the mother exclaimed before all the children with indignation, "Love the *governess*, my dear!" (Gaskell 187).

Charlotte Brontë felt the pain of her solitude among strangers away from her home. It was a feeling associated with a governess' life and this picture of a lonely, unhappy governess was immortalized by many nineteenth century painters. Charlotte's months at Stonegappe were rather depressing ones, despite her expensive accommodation and a "holiday" with the family in a residence near the opulent spa resort of Harrowgate.

Brontë's great consolation was the exchange of letters between her and her sister, beginning usually with a tender expression towards Emily:

> Mine bonnie love, I was as glad of your letter as tongue can express ... Write whenever you can. I could like to be at home. I could like to work in a mill. I could like to feel some mental liberty. I could restraint to be taken off. But the holidays will come. *Corragio*! (Gaskell 189)

Charlotte desire was fulfilled and in July 1839 she left Stonegappe. As she wrote to her friend, Ellen Nussey, she never had been so glad to get out of a house in her life (Gerin 151).

Early in 1841 Charlotte arrived at Upperwood House, Rawdon, to care for two quite young children of the White family. Working as nursery governess caring for small children, Charlotte faced new demands - some never-ending calls upon her time and attention. Though her early impressions of her new place were rather optimistic, she suffered still from home-sickness (Gerin 170). Charlotte eventually left the Whites in December 1842 hoping for achieving a new goal – setting up a school. However, this daring project was never realized.

What we can remark now is how much Brontë drew from these experiences as she began to write *Jane Eyre*, including the stone-throwing boy, the feelings of alienation and solitude, and the experience of a well-appointed, comfortable country home in which, like Jane Eyre later, Charlotte from the upper rooms watched people happily enjoying themselves utterly oblivious to her and her internal feelings.

Charlotte's last workplace was in Brussels where she and Emily worked as part-time English teachers at a school led by Mr. and Mrs. Heger. That place also became an inspiration for Charlotte. It is believed that the object of her unhealthy fascination, Mr. Heger, was the model for mysterious, brooding Mr. Rochester from *Jane Eyre*. Brontë went through a difficult time, trying to forget about her platonic love. However, due to her bitter experiences from Belgium, she was able to create a timeless novel which is still considered to be one of the greatest literary achievements of all time.

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Non-Angelic Angels: Reinterpretations of Angels in Dante Gabriel Rossetti *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* and George Frederick Watts' *Death Crowning Innocence*

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Despite their peculiar character, angels have always played an important part in religious beliefs. In Christian tradition, the Scripture provides several instances of angelic encounters, starting from the Old Testament's meeting of Abraham and Angels, Jacob's wrestling with the Angel along with the New Testament famous scene of the Annunciation. However, the problem arises when it comes to the reimagining of angels from religious texts. Precisely because of vague descriptions of angelic appearance, artists were allowed to imagine angels as grand, ethereal and powerful creatures, with impressive wings and flowing robes (Martin 11). In fact, the biblical accounts of angels mostly focused on their functions, namely protecting people, bringing judgement upon God's adversaries and being messengers of God ("Angels (Christianity)").[1] Yet, some of the nineteenth-century British artists decided to reinterpret the classic depictions of angels and present them not as people's companions, enveloped by heavenly light and godly grace. Some of the Victorian representations of angels showed how artists played with the angelic conventions, showing them as either frightening and eroticised messengers of God as in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* (1849–50) or the seemingly terrifying caregiver that provides comfort and consolation as in George Frederick Watts's painting *Death Crowning Innocence* (1886–7).

The depiction of angels in art has been changing throughout the centuries. The most striking element in the early Christian images was the lack of angelic wings. One of the earliest representations can be found in the Catacomb of Priscilla where the angel is portrayed as a man without wings, wearing a long-sleeved tunic, similar to liturgical vestments. The angel is making the oratorical gesture, raising the right arm to speak, in the same manner as the old emperors and rhetors (Buranelli et al. 16). The emergence of angelic wings and halos in the Christian tradition could be

[1] In fact, the very name "Angel" comes from Greek word "aggelos", which is a translation from Hebrew, and it means "a messenger". More about the history of angels in: Melvyn Bragg "Angels". Audio blog post. *In Our Time.*

traced back to the early fifth century. These attributes can be found for instance in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome where angels, protecting the birth of Jesus, are depicted as young men with wings and gleaming halos around their heads who wear white Roman togas (Jones 20). As David Albert Jones notices, from that moment the image of an angel as a man with wings, halos and sometimes harps has become a standard vision of the heavenly messengers (21). Nonetheless, he points out that the representations of angels mirrored the fluctuating progression of the history of Christianity. At first, ancient Christianity did not pay much attention to the presence of angels in the set of beliefs, therefore their depictions were relatively rare. However, this trend changed when in 313 AD emperor Constantine declared Christianity a dominant religion. Thus, it became possible to build grand, high churches with angelic themes in decorations and mosaics, making allusions to the heavenly character of angels. Moreover, the Western medieval art decided to implement more symbols, with less attention to the accurate representations of angels. As a result, the depictions of holy messengers relied mainly on the use of characteristic objects and artefacts that could be associated with a specific angel, such as a sword, key or palm.

In contrast, the Renaissance period rejected the symbolic aspect of God's messengers. With the sixteenth-century humanistic spirit, contemporary artists decided to focus on their realistic representations as young men or children. Nonetheless, the sixteenth century also saw the emergence of the Protestant culture which treated the cult of angels with great suspicion and, for that reason, the angelic art became greatly secularised and devoid of any religious or spiritual aspects. With the emergence of Counter-reformation in the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic Church insisted that the objective of religious art was to evoke a sense of overwhelming awe and the wave of emotions in the believers, hence the re-emergence of deeply spiritual and almost ecstatic images of angels. Obviously, the eighteenth century Enlightenment greatly influenced the religious beliefs thus the appearance of so-called secular angels, known as putti. They were mostly treated as a domestic decoration in the Rococo style, lacking any particular religious content.

However, the nineteenth-century art rediscovered the images of angels with their heavenly properties as a reaction to cruel consequences of the Industrial Revolution where people had to solely rely on their own work and perseverance. The artistic reaction to changes within British culture and society, connecting it with the use of deeply religious imagery could be traced, for instance, in William Blake's works and, later on, in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (Jones 23-29). The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB), as the name suggests, aimed to revive the ideals of art from before the time of Rafael (1483-1520) in order to change the

painting style in British art (Barringer 7). As the opposition to the mainstream Royal Academy of Art, the PRB tried to apply rich, bright colours, flat surfaces and the sincerity of fifteenth-century Italian art. To the shock of the Victorian public, they also tried to introduce a complex set of symbols to the paintings. Yet, what is the most striking element in the Pre-Raphaelite style is a peculiar blend of realism and religion, sacred and profane.

One of the images that reinterpret the religious ideas from the Scripture was Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* ('Behold the servant of the Lord'). The picture depicts the scene of the Annunciation from the Gospel of Luke in which Virgin Mary is visited by Archangel Gabriel with the message that she would give birth to Jesus (Barringer 42). Rossetti, inspired by the early Renaissance artists such as Botticelli (1445-1510) and Fra Angelico (1387-1455), decided to use the traditional motif, but reinterpret the scene in a radical way. Traditionally, the Virgin Mary is presented in a contemplative state, immediately accepting her fate and future burden. However, in Rossetti's painting, Mary is shown as a young, frightened, distressed, and awkward girl in front of a masculine and menacing Archangel Gabriel. This contrast is highlighted by a highly unusual perspective, applied "in order to add a hypnotic charge to the encounter between (…) Angel Gabriel and (…) adolescent figure of the Virgin, modelled from Christina Rossetti" (Barringer 42). Mary is presented in an extremely private situation, rising from the bed and curling in the corner of her room; as a matter of fact, she looks as if roused from sleep. Simultaneously, Archangel Gabriel is standing tall above her and gives her a white lily, which is often associated with either innocence or death. What is interesting, the angel holds the lily in a peculiar way, namely pointing at her bosom, which may imply the very moment of the Annunciation. Both characters are dressed in white, signifying the purity of Mary and the purity of Angel's intentions. Indeed, the angel's role as God's messenger is highlighted by a white dove that marks the presence of the Holy Spirit (Fowle, "Ecce Ancilla Domini! (The Annunciation)").

Despite the application of religious symbolism, Rossetti's angel seems to be the unconventional one. Instead of using a long-haired boyish angel with mighty wings, Rossetti decided to paint a muscular Gabriel without wings or gracefully delicate halo. His face is only visible from a highly shadowed profile. Therefore, the viewer cannot fully decipher the expression on the angel's face (Newman "Drasic Innovations on a Traditional Theme: Rossetti's *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*"). Moreover, because the angel delivers the news standing in front of Mary, the observer can glimpse the outline of the naked body beneath the tunic the angel is wearing (Hołdys 36-42). In other words, there is a conflict between the sacred subject matter and the profane way of presenting the angel. This clash of erotic and religious elements

becomes a dominating trend in Rossetti's general artistic endeavour. In this painting, Rossetti subverts the idea of angelic presence as a calming one, and portrays Archangel Gabriel as the messenger of God that invades the privacy of a young adolescent girl. As a consequence, the Virgin Mary looks as if she was a victim of circumstance so she must accept a huge burden brought upon her by a seemingly soothing angel who appears to be a rather threatening figure.

Another artist that created a both fascinating and conflicting image of the Victorian angel was George Frederick Watts. Throughout his life, he was mostly known for the allegorical paintings such as *Time, Death and Judgement* or *Love and Death*. In spite of being a mainstream painter, Watts tended to play with the typical representations of the grand ideas and place them in the tangled web of everyday dilemmas in the new industrial world. Apart from dealing with the universal notions, in one of his paintings Watts decided to interpret the religious idea in an interesting way. In *Death Crowning Innocence* (1896), Watts depicted the pseudo-angelic figure, who is seemingly dangerous and unpleasant to encounter but fulfils its duty with utmost devotion. The painting shows an angel-like figure, also referred as the Angel of Death, holding a little dead infant and encircles the baby with the majestic dark wings as if protecting the child from any outside dangers. As the nineteenth century commentator and writer Hugh MacMillan noted, the image can "bring the comfort to many a sorely bereaved mother" (MacMillan 246) as the face of the angel is "full of pity and has an expression of intense yearning" (MacMillan 246), thus trying to mirror the feelings of parents who mourn their dead children and provide comfort for them ("Death Crowning Innocence"). Interestingly, the depiction of Death as a soothing angel and even woman-angel breaks with the traditional depiction of death as a threatening and scary. Watts, by mixing the image of death and angel, created the art that would console the nineteenth-century viewers who lost their children. In case of *Death Crowning Innocence*, the winged female angel holds a baby on her lap, suggesting that Death can be treated as a gentle nurse who takes care of the infants and not as a malicious and devouring Lamia.

All in all, the Victorian painters drew inspiration from the religious symbols and traditional Christian depictions of the heavenly messengers. Yet, what made these paintings so interesting and troubling for the audience was the attempts to retell the biblical stories and playing with the long-established conventions of portraying angels in art. In case of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* Archangel Gabriel is presented as a masculine figure who invades the privacy of the young, terrified girl. By creating this kind of narrative in the picture, Rossetti allowed himself to reinterpret the story of the Annunciation and implement the emotional aspect of the Virgin Mary's duty. Similarly, the revision of an angel in George

Frederick Watts's *Death Crowning Innocence* shows that the seemingly threatening idea of death, presented in angelic disguise, becomes a consolatory force. As a matter of fact, it communicates a positive message, namely giving hope and the necessity of coming to terms with the grief connected with the loss of a child. However, one of the questions that could be posed is why specifically angels? It can be argued that because of the prevailing Protestant trend in the Anglican Church that rejected the influence of saints, the Victorians shifted their focus on the other heavenly creatures. That is why the variety of denominations, for instance the Baptisits took interest in so-called angelic studies (Spurgeon 100-111). As the Victorian times were associated with the age of transition in almost every aspect of life, angels became a perfect bridge between people and God that would give a sense companionship in the ever-changing world. Yet, despite fulfilling their traditional duties as the God's servants, the Victorian artists decided to express their complicated attitude towards religion through unconventional depictions in the Victorian paintings.

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The Style of the Prioress and the Wife of Bath: French Borrowings in the Field of Fashion in Chaucer's "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*

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The impact of French on the English language is irrefutable; according to some sources, approximately 45% of the English vocabulary comes from French ("Why Study French?"). Among those there are numerous words connected with fashion that were in use already during the Middle English period. The aim of this essay is to discuss French borrowings used by Geoffrey Chaucer to describe the appearance of two characters: the Prioress and the Wife of Bath in "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*.

Background History

The Battle of Hastings (October 14, 1066), during which King Harold's army was defeated by French-speaking followers of William, Duke of Normandy, marked the beginning of a new period in the history of England, and also that of the English language. This military conquest had not only social, economic, cultural, and political consequences but also linguistic ones. However, the changes did not occur immediately. By the late 11th century, the French speaking foreigners from Normandy represented less than 10% of the English population (Berndt 24).

Yet, quite soon England became a bilingual country. Normans, who settled in England, continued to speak a dialect of French. Their attitude towards the English language was rather indifferent – some understood it, but they did not have to use it for everyday communication. It is worth mentioning that until the 13th century the kings of England did not speak English fluently. French was not only the language of aristocracy, but also of the literature. Consequently, it was considered more prestigious and useful in business than English. At the same time, many members of the clergy made serious attempts to learn English as they realized that was the only way to reach ordinary people and attract them to the Church.

Some years after the Conquest, the English society got used to the situation and the two nations started to interact socially and politically. Instances of mixed marriages were quite frequent, so children were often brought up in a bilingual environment. The French-English bilingualism was no longer connected with purely racial division, but rather with the social one. In general, this phenomenon can be summarized as follows: (a) French was the everyday language of the Norman aristocracy and representatives of the middle class; it was used by the English in dealing with Normans, while (b) English was spoken by the English society on a daily basis on all occasions and Normans used it only in interactions with the native Englishmen.

The loss of Normandy to France in 1204 during King John's reign had a profound impact on the political, social and linguistic situation in England. It was especially difficult for the members of feudal aristocracy, as they had to decide whether they wanted to give up their Norman possessions and stay in England or not. However, the loss of Normandy did not stop the migration of people from the continent. Many of these people were given high state positions or offered church dignities. This caused the arousal of opposition and national feelings in Englishmen and native aristocracy. The outbreak of Barons' War (1258-65) forced the aliens to leave England, and, as a consequence, King Edward I offered all the important state and church offices to the natives. It highly increased patriotism within society and made a significant contribution to the wider use of English. The context for the everyday use of French, even by noblemen, disappeared. By 1300, French had become a foreign language and from then on it was taught and studied at schools or during private lessons. The best evidence for this is the fact that the first phrase book for learning French was written by Gauter de Biblesworth around 1250.

As the interests of England and France were different, soon the antagonistic feelings between the two countries resulted in open military confrontation, which is known as the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). Three remarkable English victories at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and at Agincourt (1415) resulted in the arousal of even more intense feelings of nationalism in English society.

Despite wars and other military conflicts, the process of urbanization of English cities began and the economic situation was improving. Surprisingly though, the socio-economic situation was boosted even more as a consequence of the Black Death (1348-50). The language of a new, now strong middle class had always been English. This contributed to a better perception of the language, which acquired more prestige. After 1250, English became the native language of the nobility and soon after began to be used as the official language of important

documents. By the 14th century, English kings understood English and could speak and use it publicly (Berndt 23-30, Fisiak 61-75).

English also overpowered French as the language for giving instructions in all schools by the year 1385 (Fisiak 76). In the next century, the ability to speak French was considered extraordinary, and only few people knew the language.

French Borrowings into English

Borrowing is the process of taking over words from other languages (Yule 54). For centuries it has been one of the most common sources of new vocabulary in English. When trying to understand the causes of word borrowing in any language, one has to avoid oversimplification – words are not borrowed only when a native language lacks a suitable word or expression. In fact, they are borrowed even more often when a language has its own, native item of the same meaning since the use of words from another language is often a marker of fashion and prestige (Alexander 79, Berndt 57, Fisiak 68).

The Middle English period witnessed a great flood of borrowings from French. Suddenly, French lexical items entered English by the thousands, at least in the written or literary language. Around 20% of words borrowed between 1350 and 1400 were of French origin; slightly over half of Chaucer's vocabulary is not native, but mainly French (Alexander 79). This is not surprising if we take into consideration the fact that French was the official language of the country for at least three centuries after the Norman Conquest.

French borrowings are present in many semantic domains of English. A vast amount of political and law terms is of French origin, cf. *parliament, crown, reign, counsellor, judge, prison, heritage, divorce* and many more. Although *king, queen, knight, lady* and *lord* are native words, most titles were borrowed from French: *emperor, prince, gentleman, duke*. As Normans imposed their military system on England, words connected with war entered the vernacular, e.g. *peace, war, armour, navy, soldier, battle, conquer, warrior*. Also, due to the fact that monastic life was influenced by French clergymen, many words connected with Christian doctrine came from French: *clergy, preacher, confession, faith, prayer, glory*, *virginity, devotion, virtue, salvation*. French items are also found among abstract terms, connected with emotions and personality, e.g. *delight, grief, arrogance, desire, doubt, envy,* those pertaining to literature and science: *art, science, philosophy, romance, story, author, grammar, geometry*, as well as the words connected with trade, cf. *barber, butcher, carpenter, tailor*.

As French was the language used by nobility, words connected with their lifestyle and favourite pastimes were quickly transferred into English. Hence items from the domain of food and cooking, e.g. *to boil, to fry, to roast, to mince*, *flour, sugar, spice, juice, cream*, those related to courtly activities, cf. *falconry, dance, melody, tournament, feast, festival* as well as fashion, including terms of clothing and ornaments. The word *fashion* itself comes from French, as do *cloak, garment, gown, robe, cotton, brooch, jewel, button, lace, fur*, etc.

Still, it is impossible to categorize all borrowings from French as the list of words of that origin is extremely long. Also, numerous items are used on a daily basis, and therefore they are hard to classify into semantic categories, cf. *age, air, beauty, company, example, face, marriage, pencil, to achieve, to arrive, to blame, to change, to deserve, to finish, to fail, to perform* (Berndt 57-63).

Geoffrey Chaucer and *The Canterbury Tales*

Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400) probably would not have become the Father of English literature, as he is often referred to, had it not been for his own father and childhood. He was the son of a wine merchant and therefore had a possibility to meet people from different countries and hear them speak various languages. As a child he became fluent in French. His father decided to place his young son as a page in the aristocratic household of the countess of Ulster, which was believed to be one of the greatest in England. The aim was to prepare Chaucer for a career in the service of the ruling class.

Chaucer's biography would itself be a gripping story to read. Apart from being the first legitimized author and poet to write in the vernacular, he also achieved fame as a philosopher, translator, bureaucrat, prominent diplomat, justice of the peace and knight of the shire. As a member of King Edward's court, he took part in diplomatic missions to Spain, France, and Italy. These journeys, especially those to Italy, had a profound impact on Chaucer's literary development. During his stay in Florence (1378), he had close contact with the works by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, which greatly influenced his own writings (David and Simpson 190).

Chaucer's first major work and original poem is *The Book of the Duchess*, an elegy for Blanche of Lancaster, the first wife of his dear friend, John of Gaunt. Then, influenced by Italian authors, their styles and modes of representation, he composed *The House of Fame*, a dream vision. The next writing, and again a dream vision, was *The Parliament of Fowls* – a description of a birds' meeting on Valentine's Day to choose their mates, and at the same time a metaphor of the

human idea of love and relationships. The tragic love story entitled *Troilus and Criseyde* is Chaucer's longest completed poem. Another poem in the previously mentioned form of a dream vision is the unfinished *Legend of Good Women,* a collection of 10 "legends" about virtuous and courageous women. Besides, Chaucer wrote moral and religious works, which were mainly translations from French, Italian and Latin. His prose translation of *The Consolation of Philosophy* was highly popular during the Middle Ages.

Although he did not live as a commoner, due to his service to the Crown and contact with aristocracy, Chaucer understood that he did not belong to this social class either. His ability to understand both worlds was of utmost importance while writing his major work and one of the most influential works of English literature – *The Canterbury Tales*.

The Canterbury Tales is a collection of stories, 22 of which are complete, built around a frame tale and written mainly in iambic pentameter. Chaucer began writing the tales in 1396, when he was living in Greenwich, where from his windows he might have seen pilgrims travelling towards the shrine of Thomas Becket. The sight and sound of people telling tales to one another to entertain themselves during the journey might have inspired Chaucer to write his stories. Contrary to common belief, there is no evidence that *The Canterbury Tales* were influenced by Boccaccio's *Decameron* (David and Simpson 192). Such collections of stories were popular and widespread in later Middle Ages.

What is unique about Chaucer's text is the speakers, as the pilgrim narrators come from different social classes and have a wide range of occupations. It is unlikely that such a group could ever travel together and that its members would have communicated with each other on relatively equal terms. The tales are not assigned at random; the style, genre, values and plots of each tale correspond to its speaker's character and social status. The tales, in general, have their own logic and each of them could easily stand on its own.

It is evident that *The Canterbury Tales* were very popular in late Medieval England. There are more than eight manuscripts of the poem, but none from Chaucer's lifetime. Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts are believed to be the most faithful ones.

The part of *The Canterbury Tales* that is of particular interest in this essay is the "General Prologue". The aim of this passage is to introduce the pilgrims. The descriptions are very detailed and written in such a way that, although they focus mainly on the appearance and personal achievements, they also present the personalities of the characters. The "General Prologue" can as well be treated as an overview of the late-medieval society – its structure and condition. What makes

Chaucer's prologue exceptional is the narrator, who is not afraid of making judgements or admiring the accomplishments of particular characters.

French Borrowings in the Field of Fashion: The Prioress

The Prioress, the 4th pilgrim introduced in "General Prologue", is described as an elegant and sophisticated woman who knows how to behave at a table and is full of delicateness and sensitiveness.

What is worth noticing is her name – Eglantine. It is a borrowing from Old French *aiglentina.* The word still exists in English and is the name of a species of Eurasian rose with fragrant leaves and flowers (its other name is *sweet briar*).

The description of the Prioress includes seven words of French origin, which belong to the field of fashion. Four of them are adjectives: *simple, coy, tretis, fetis*, and three are nouns: *cloke, coral,* and *brooch*.[1]

(1) *That of hir smiling was ful* ***simple*** *and* ***coy*** (GP, l.119)[2]

The adjective *simple* is an Old French borrowing that entered English in the 12th century. In this line it can be translated as 'humble', but generally it could (and still can) be used to describe modest, plain clothing. The other French adjective used in that line, *coy,* is its synonym. However, unlike the word *simple*, *coy* was rather used to describe a person, now especially a girl or a young woman.

(2) *Hir nose* ***tretis****, hir yen greye as glas,* (GP, l.152)

The word *tretis* is an Old French adjective, typically translated as 'slender, graceful, well-formed'. However, the word itself is no longer used. The spelling of the word given here is present in MS *Cambridge*, whereas in MS *Hengwrt* it is *tretez* and in MS *Ellesmere – tretys*. What is surprising is the fact that in MS *Petworth,* MS *Harleian,* MS *Lansdowne* and MS *Corpus* the Prioress's nose is described with the word *straight*, which is a native word.

[1] The sources for the analysis of all borrowings in both chapters 5 and 6 are *OED Online* and *Middle English Dictionary*.

[2] For brevity's sake, I have assumed a following format of giving reference to the lines in the text of the "General Prologue" and "Pardoner's Tale". (GP, [lines]), in which 'GP' stands for "General Prologue", (PardT, [lines]), in which 'PardT' stands for "Pardoner's Tale". All the quotes have been taken from Chaucer's "General Prologue" and "Pardoner's Tale", cited after *The Norton Anthology of English Literature,* vol.1, 9th ed., 2013.

(3) *Ful* ***fetis*** *was hir* ***cloke****, as I was war;* (GP, l.157)

The adjective *fetis* could be applied both to things and people. In its first sense it denotes 'cleverly fashioned, neat, elegant, well made', whereas in the second 'shapely, handsome, pretty, neat'. Later on, in other texts it was spelt *featous*, but nowadays the word is obsolete. Chaucer also used this word in *The Pardoner's Tale* to describe dancing girls:

(4) *And right anoon thanne comen tombesteres,*
Fetis *and smale, and yonge frutesteres,* (PardT, l.189-90).

The noun *cloke* had the same spelling both in Middle English and Old French. It entered the language c. 1300, although there were several native words with similar meaning, cf. *rift, hackle, reaf, cope* (which are all obsolete). In Modern English and back in Chaucer's times it referred to a type of a loose outdoor garment.

(5) *Of smal* ***coral*** *aboute hir arm she bar*
A paire of bedes, gauded all with greene, (GP, l.158-9)

The word *coral* entered English via Old French in the 14th century. However, it is a word with a bit longer history: in Latin it was known as *corallum*, whereas in Greek it was *korallion/kouralion*.

(6) *An theron heeng a* ***brooch*** *of gold ful sheene,* (GP, l.160)

The noun *brooch* (other forms: *brouche, bruche, bruch*) originally meant 'bodkin' or 'skewer'. As an ornament it was originally used as a safety pin or mounted on one. Later its meaning was broadened to any such ornament as necklace, bracelet, amulet, pendant, and, eventually, narrowed again to the meaning known today. Although there was a native word available with a similar meaning - *preen*, now used chiefly in Scotland and in the regional variants of English in the North, Chaucer used a borrowing in this text.

To sum up, only two from the seven words discussed are obsolete: *tretis* and *fetis*. The words *simple, coy, cloke, coral,* and *brooch* are still used by English speakers. Although English contained words that were synonymous to *cloke, brooch, tretis,* and *fetis*, Chaucer preferred to use French borrowings. Only one

word, *coy*, is used at the end of the line, which suggests that it might have been employed in order to form the rhyme.

French Borrowings in the Field of Fashion: **The Wife of Bath**

The Wife of Bath is presented as a resourceful and courageous woman. Having had five husbands, she is described as an expert on love and relationships. Her appearance and clothes perfectly correspond with her strong personality.

The presentation of the Wife of Bath in the prologue contains six French borrowings in the field of fashion. The words *coverchief, scarlet, bokeler, targe,* and *mantel* are nouns, and there is only one adjective, *moiste*.

(7) *Hir* ***coverchiefs*** *ful fine were of ground* – (GP, l.455)

The noun *coverchief* comes from the Old French *cuevre-chief*. It denotes a woman's headcloth or veil, or a number of cloths worn as a headdress. It could be richly ornamented with jewels. Back in Chaucer's times, there were two native words available for that: *headcloth* and *headrail*; both had been formed within English by compounding. The word *coverchief* has been obsolete since the 16th century, except for its use in historical sense.

(8) *Hir hosen weren of fin* ***scarlet*** *reed,* (GP, l.458)

The word *scarlet* was both a noun and an adjective. In the former function this borrowing from Old French (attested OF forms: *escarlate, -lette, eskerlate*) meant a cloth of scarlet, while as an adjective it carried the sense of red colour.

(9) *Ful straite yteyd, and shoes ful* ***moiste*** *and newe.* (GP, l.459)

The adjective *moiste* (other form: *moste, moyste*) except for meaning 'moist' or 'wet', in the case of shoes translates as 'new' or 'supple'. In this sense the word is considered obsolete.

(10) *Ywimpled wel, and on hir heed an hat*
As brood as is a ***bokeler*** *or a* ***targe****,* (GP, l.472-3)

Although the words *bokeler* (ModE buckler) and *targe* are used only as a simile here, they are worth mentioning. Both are types of small shields. While the

noun *bokeler* is simply a borrowing from Old French (OF forms: *boucler, bucler*) that entered English around 1300, the case of *targe* is more complex. There were two words: *targa* (masculine) and *targe* (feminine) in Old English, but the assumption is that they were reinforced in Middle English by Old French targe (*OED online*).

(11) *A foot* ***mantel*** *aboute hir hipes large,* (GP, l.474)

The history of the word *mantel* is similar to the aforementioned word *targe*. Generally meaning 'a sleeveless cloak', worn especially by women, in this particular example it can be translated as 'a riding skirt'. This word existed in Old English (OE *mentel*) as an early borrowing from Latin *mantellum*, but in Middle English it was reinforced by Old French *mantel*. Note that, bearing in mind its ModE form (*mantle*), this word is an example of the process called metathesis, whereby two sounds were reversed (*mantel* → *mantle*) (Yule 188).

To sum up, four words discussed here are still present in English: *scarlet, bokeler, mantel,* and *targe,* whereas the word *coverchief* is obsolete. The adjective *moiste* is used by English speakers, but no longer in the sense mentioned above. Only the word *targe* is used by Chaucer in a rhyming position. Native synonyms were available for words *coverchief, bokeler, targe,* and *mantel,* but Chaucer preferred to use borrowings. And, as the data show, not only for the sake of rhymes.

Conclusions

The purpose of this essay was to present the problem of English-French bilingualism in the Middle English period, the impact of French on English, and the variety of French borrowings, especially words connected with fashion. After taking a closer look at Geoffrey Chaucer's biography and works, particularly the "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales,* we reach a conclusion that French borrowings were numerous in English during medieval period due to the political and social situation. Moreover, Chaucer willingly used them in the descriptions of the Prioress and the Wife of Bath, their appearance and clothing, even though in several cases he had the possibility to use a native word. This proves that French borrowings were widely used and often replaced native items.

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NSM Exponents of Mental Predicates in French: Translation, Commentary, and Lexical Elaboration of THINK

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I. Introduction

Originated by Anna Wierzbicka, the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a mini-language supposed to correspond "to the shared core of all languages" (Wierzbicka, "Natural Semantic Metalanguage" 1076). Having been jellying for over three decades of cross-linguistic investigations, now the NSM approach "is one of the most well developed, productive, and comprehensive systems of semantic analysis in contemporary linguistics" (Goddard, "Natural Semantic Metalanguage" 1).

Cliff Goddard, a scholar preoccupied with cross-cultural semantics and pragmatics, outlines three major barebones of the NSM project. First of all, it is based on the assumption that "every natural language is adequate" and so is "its own semantic metalanguage". Secondly, every language has a semantic core, which is "non-arbitrary and irreducible", with "a language-like structure", i.e. a mini-lexicon consisting of semantic primes (lexical units with indefinable meanings, e.g. in English 'good', 'bad', 'do', 'happen') and mini-grammar. Third, both the lexicon and grammar of semantic metalanguages are substantially universal (Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 109-110).

A useful tool in cross-linguistic semantic research is a canonical sentence, both in the narrow sense (consisting of only primitives) and in the broader sense (including primitives with a restrained admixture of non-primitives). The NSM theory hypothesizes that canonical sentences, in contrast to other sentences, "can be translated – without loss and/or addition of meaning – into any language whatsoever" (Wierzbicka, *Semantics: Primes and Universals* 30). This hypothesis was a stimulus for linguistic explorations of multiple scholars. One of them is, for example, Andrew Pawley who studied exponents of lexical and semantic primitives in Kalam ("Kalam Exponents of Lexical and Semantic Primitives" 387-421).

The aim of this paper is to examine how NSM deals with French, a Romance language. The study is structured as follows. The first part encompasses a French

translation of 99 canonical sentences, formulated in English. Although French is the official language of 29 countries and 12 dependent entities, the variety applied in the translation is Standard French.

The second part presents a semantic commentary on major difficulties in translating canonical sentences (in the section *Mental Predicates*) into French, in particular problems with six NSM exponents of semantic primes belonging to the said section, namely *penser* (THINK), *savoir* (KNOW), *vouloir* (WANT), *sentir* (FEEL), *voir* (SEE), *entendre* (HEAR).

Basing on the data collected from written sources, I will present allolexy and polysemy of the said semantic primes, as well as possible alternative translations of the canonical sentences. Subsequently, I will discuss the lexical elaboration of the semantic prime THINK. The focus will be on language-specific epistemic verbs and qualifiers. The canonical sentences and their translations chosen as the basis for my analysis are marked with Arabic numerals. The alternative translations are marked with Arabic numerals followed by lowercase letters (e.g. 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 9c). Other canonical sentences, provided by scholars in the past and quoted in this paper for the sake of comparison, are marked with upper case letters (e.g. A, B, C, D, E, F).

I have selected this particular set (*Mental Predicates*) because it is characterized by a comparatively high number of ambiguities, which makes it a compelling subject of study. As for lexical elaboration, I will focus on the semantic prime THINK. The reasons is that it fits perfectly with the previous scholarly discussion, mainly the texts of Anna Wierzbicka, Cliff Goddard, Bert Peeters and Kerry Mullan.

II. Translation of *Canonical Sentences for the NSM Primes* into French

Mental Predicates (Les prédicats mentaux)

1. He thought it was a possum, but I wasn't sure.
   Il pensait que c'était un opossum, mais je n'étais pas sûr.
2. I think she fell asleep, but I don't know.
   Je pense qu'elle s'est endormie, mais je ne sais pas.
3. We know this is bad.
   Nous savons que c'est mal.
4. I don't know where he is now.
   Je ne sais pas où il est maintenant.
5. I want to go to the village (market, beach etc.).
   Je veux aller au village (au marché, à la plage etc.).

6. I want you to do it.
   Je veux que tu le fasses.
7. I don't want you to do it.
   Je ne veux pas que tu le fasses.
8. When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.
   Quand c'est est arrivé (ou: quand j'ai entendu ça), j'ai senti quelque chose de bien/de mal.
9. I feel like this.
   Je me sens comme ça.
10. I saw some people by the river.
    J'ai vu certaines gens près de la rivière.
11. She was singing – I heard it.
    Elle chantait – je l'ai entendu.
12. I saw my dead grandfather in a dream.
    J'ai vu dans un rêve, mon grand-père qui est mort.
13. God hears our prayers.
    Dieu entend nos prières.

Speech (Parole)

14. 'No', I said.
    « Non » : dis-je.
15. 'Ouch/damn', He/she said.
    « Aïe, zut » : dit-il/elle.
16. He said the same.
    Il a dit la même chose.
17. He said something to me, but I didn't hear it.
    Il m'a dit quelque chose, mais je ne l'ai pas entendu.
18. Did he say anything about these people?
    Est-ce qu'il a dit quelque chose sur ces gens ?
19. He said a bad word/some bad words.
    Il a dit un gros mot/de gros mots.
20. Don't say that word! (It's bad)
    Ne dis pas ce mot ! (C'est mal)
21. In language X, the word for 'no' is *wiya*.
    Dans la langue X, le mot 'non' est *wiya*.

Actions, Events, and Movement (Actions, événements et mouvement)

22. What did you do?
    Qu'est-ce que tu as fait ?
23. Do it again!
    Fais-le encore !
24. You did something good/bad.
    Tu as fait quelque chose de bien/de mal.
25. She did something bad to me/you.
    Elle m'a fait du mal./Elle t'a fait du mal.
26. Something good/bad happened to me.
    Quelque chose de bien/de mal m'est arrivé.
27. What happened to you?
    Qu'est-ce qui t'es arrivé ?
28. Something happened in that place.
    Quelque chose est arrivé dans cet endroit.
29. Don't move!
    Ne bouge pas !
30. I was very scared. I couldn't move.
    J'avais très peur. Je ne pouvais pas bouger.

Existence and Life (Existence et vie)

31. (Look!) There are baby birds in that nest.
    (Regarde !) Il y a de petits oiseaux dans ce nid.
32. (Look!) There is someone in the garden.
    (Regarde !) Il y a quelqu'un dans le jardin.
33. There are no [e.g. ghosts].
    Il n'y a pas [p. ex. de fantômes].
34. There are many kinds of nuts/yams/bats.
    Il y a de beaucoup types de noix/d'ignames/de chauves-souris.
35. (In a story of olden days) These people lived for a long time.
    (Dans une histoire d'autrefois) Ces personnes ont vécu longtemps.
36. These two people lived at the same time.
    Ces deux personnes ont vécu en même temps.
37. Turtles live for a long time.
    Les tortues vivent longtemps.
38. Fish live in the sea.
    Les poissons vivent dans la mer.

Similarity (Similarité)

39. He did it like this.
    Il l'a fait comme ça.
40. This is like lilac (or: any plant), but it is not lilac.
    C'est comme du lilas (ou: n'importe quelle plante), mais ce n'est pas du lilas.
41. I am not like other people.
    Je ne suis pas comme les autres.
42. Do it like I am doing it.
    Fais-le comme je le fais.

Time (Temps)

43. When did you do it?
    Quand l'as-tu fait ?
44. At that time, I didn't know anything about it.
    A ce moment (-là), je n'en savais rien.
45. When I did this, I felt something bad.
    Quand je l'ai fait, j'ai senti quelque chose de mal.
46. They live in X now. Before this they lived in Y.
    Ils vivent dans X maintenant. Avant ça, ils ont vécu dans (à, en, au) Y.
47. This happened before you were born.
    Ça s'est produit avant votre naissance.
48. This happened a long time ago.
    Ça s'est produit il y a longtemps.
49. He slept for a long time/for a short time.
    Il a dormi longtemps/peu de temps.

Space (Espace)

50. Where did you do it?
    Où l'as-tu fait ?
51. Where is he now?
    Où est-il maintenant ?
52. It was under/above this other thing.
    C'était au-dessous/au-dessus de cette autre chose.
53. Is it far from here to do that place [e.g. Gundaroo].
    Est-ce que c'est loin de cet endroit [p. ex. Gundaroo].
54. I live near him.
    J'habite près de chez lui.

55. There is an insect inside this.
    Il y a un insecte dedans.
56. I felt the baby move inside me.
    J'ai senti le bébé bouge en moi.

Substantives: who, someone, person, people, what, something, thing (Substantifs: qui, quelqu'un, personne, gens, quoi, quelque chose, chose)

57. Who did it?
    Qui l'a fait ?
58. Someone took it.
    Quelqu'un l'a pris.
59. I saw someone there.
    J'ai vu quelqu'un là-bas.
60. These people are (not) like other people.
    Ces gens (ne) sont (pas) comme les autres.
61. Tigers eat people.
    Les tigres mangent des gens.
62. What happened?
    Qu'est-il arrivé ?
63. Something bad happened.
    Quelque chose de mal est arrivé.
64. This thing is big/small.
    Cette chose est grande/petite.
65. I did something bad.
    J'ai fait quelque chose de mal.

Determiners (Déterminants)

66. Look at this.
    Regarde ça.
67. This is a big/small dog.
    C'est un grand/petit chien.
68. She did the same.
    Elle a fait la même chose.
69. (It was John, but) she thought it was another man.
    (C'était John, mais) elle pensait que c'était un autre homme.
70. They have all died.
    Ils sont tous morts.

71. How many children does she have?
    Combien d'enfants a-t-elle ?
72. Not many people live there.
    Peu de gens vivent ici.
73. Some kinds of fish are not good to eat.
    Certains types de poissons ne sont pas bons à manger.

Evaluators and Descriptors (Evaluateurs et descripteurs)

74. He is a good/bad man (person).
    C'est un bon/méchant (bonne/méchante) homme (personne).
75. This is a good/bad thing.
    C'est une bonne/mauvaise chose.
76. I saw a big/small tree.
    J'ai vu un gros/petit arbre.

Taxonomy, Partonomy (Taxonomie, partonomie)

77. There are three kinds of yam.
    Il y a trois types d'ignames.
78. This is not the same fish, but it is the same kind of fish.
    Ce n'est pas le même poisson, mais c'est le même type de poisson.
79. An axe has a handle.
    Une hache a une poignée.
80. This thing has two parts.
    Cette chose a deux parties.
81. That horse has a long tail.
    Ce cheval a une longue queue.

Augmentor and Intensifier (Augmentateur et intensificateur)

82. (I don't know much about it) I want to know more.
    (Je n'en sais pas beaucoup) Je veux en savoir plus.
83. Tell me more!
    Dis m'en plus !
84. Give me more! [food]
    Donne m'en plus ! [aliments]
85. This dog is bigger than that other dog.
    Ce chien est plus grand que cet autre chien.

86. You said very little.
    Tu as dit très peu.
87. He stood very near me.
    Il restait debout tout près de moi.

Clause Operators (Clause opérateurs)

88. No! I didn't do it (see it, etc.).
    Non! Je ne l'ai pas fait (le vu, etc.).
89. Maybe it will rain tomorrow.
    Peut-être qu'il va pleuvoir demain.
90. (Who broke the pot?) Maybe John did it.
    (Qui a cassé le pot ?) Peut-être que John l'a fait.
91. (Will he come tomorrow?) Maybe, I don't know.
    (Va-t-il venir demain ?) Peut-être, je ne sais pas.

Meta-predicates (Meta-prédicats)

92. I can't go now, but maybe my brother can.
    Je ne peux pas partir maintenant, mais peut-être que mon frère peut.
93. I can't do it now, but I could do it before.
    Je ne peux pas le faire maintenant, mais je pourrais le faire avant.
94. If I could do it, I would do it, but I can't.
    Si je pouvais le faire, je le ferais, mais je ne peux pas.

Interclausual Linkers (Liens interclausaux)

95. He hit me. That's why I am crying.
    Il m'a frappé. C'est pourquoi je pleure.
96. If it rains tomorrow, I won't come.
    S'il pleut demain, je ne viendrai pas.
97. If you do this one more time, I will hit you.
    Si tu le fais encore une fois, je te frapperai.
98. If I had a spear, I would go hunting. But I don't have a spear.
    Si j'avais une lance, j'irais à la chasse. Mais je n'ai pas de lance.
99. If you fight him, you might die.
    Si tu bats avec lui, tu peux mourir.

III. Linguistic semantic commentary on the section *Mental Predicates*

1. Problems with translation: compositional polysemy and allolexy

Canonical sentences involving FEEL

According to Wierzbicka, searching for exponents of FEEL in the world's languages "raises a whole range of very interesting problems" (qtd. in Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 101). Bert Peeters, a French-speaking scholar currently employed, like Cliff Goddard, at the Griffith University in Australia, and other academics collaborating with him share Wierzbicka's opinion and comment on the phenomenon: "the Romance exponents of FEEL are often tied up in sometimes rather intricate patterns of polysemy, with potential consequences for other parts of the metalanguage" ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 101).

The above is also true for French; one of the major problems encountered in translating canonical sentences into French is the polysemous exponent of a semantic prime FEEL, which has generated a great deal of debate among the researchers. A standard English-French dictionary gloss 'feel' as *sentir* ("Feel"). Nevertheless, in 1994, Peeters claimed that using *sentir* in canonical sentences is inappropriate because the expression *sentir quelque chose de bon/de mauvais* ('feel something good/bad'; here illustrated by sentence no. 8) refers "to a good or to a bad smell rather to a good or a bad feeling" ("Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428). Wierzbicka herself suggested to drop SOMETHING (*quelque chose de*) in the canonical context. Yet, as Peeters asserted, it would make the case even more problematic as *Elle sent bon* means 'She smells nice'. "In that case, the 'smell' reading is the only one possible" ("Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428).

Subsequently, Peeters made an attempt to overcome the said difficulty by implementing in the canonical context (*sentir quelque chose de bon/de mauvais*) the reflexive verb *se sentir* instead of *sentir*. Then, however, another problem arose. In this phrase an adverb *bien* and not an adjective *bon* should be used. **Je me sens bon* is an incorrect utterance in French and one ought to say *Je me sens bien* 'I feel good'. Yet, the sentence with *bien* is ambiguous as well because it also means 'I feel well/I'm fine' and its opposite *Je me sens mal* is understood as 'I feel unwell/sick', not as 'I feel bad' (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428).

Thus, the search for a more accurate French exponent for the semantic prime FEEL continued. At that stage, Peeters considered using *éprouver* or *ressentir*, which both require *quelque chose de* before the adjectives *bon* and *mauvais*. Although none of the two verbs takes a subordinate clause, the scholar did not recognize that as a difficulty. Peeters found *éprouver* and *ressentir* appropriate as both refer to the

perception of such feelings as sympathy, love and, on the other side of the pole, rancour, hate, regret, sadness. In other words, good/bad feelings. The problem was which of them fits the canonical context better (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428).

To find the solution, Peeters relied on the authority of Henri Bénac, who asserted that *ressentir* is used when referring either to feelings evoked by outside causes (like in a sentence uttered by Blaise Pascal "*L'âme ressent les passions du corps* 'The soul feels the passions of the body'") or to feelings lasting for a long period of time, e.g. "*ressentir la perte d'un parent proche* 'feel the loss of a close relative'" (qtd in. "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428).

Based on Bénac's interpretation, Peeters concluded that the verb *ressentir* was "too specific"; it does not refer to abstruse or unspecified feelings. As reported by the scholar, the meaning of *ressentir* is unsuitable semantically in the phrase *quelque chose de bon/de mauvais*, which is "intentionally broad" and seems to appear more naturally after the verb *éprouver* (usually used with feelings that the subject did not experience as such) ("Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 428-429).

Éprouver itself is formally complex (from the point of view of morphology). Nonetheless, Peeters did not find that feature as an obstacle in treating the word as an exponent of a semantic prime. As the researcher claimed, "*ressentir* remains clearly related to *sentir*, whereas the link between *éprouver* and *prouver* is purely etymological and has long ceased to be perceived by native speakers, especially when the verb takes on its primitive meaning" (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 429). The researcher then decided that *éprouver*, adequately broad, best conveys the meaning of semantic primitive (prime) FEEL. At the same time, he applied that word in the following sentences (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 429):

A.	*J'*	*éprouve*	*quelque chose*	*de*	*bon/mauvais.*
	I	feel:1SG.PRES	something	LIG	good/bad
	'I feel something good/bad.'				

B.	*J'*	*éprouve*	*quelque chose*	*comme*	*ceci.*
	I	feel:1SG.PRES	something	like	this

'I feel something like this.' The pattern 'X feels something good/bad', appearing in example A, perfectly corresponds with the canonical sentence no. 8

presented in this paper. Therefore, it would be tempting to translate it using *éprouver* as a semantic prime:

(8a) *Quand c' est arrivé (ou: quand j' ai entendu ça),*
when that happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' ai éprouvé quelque chose de bon/mauvais.
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad
'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

The difficulty is that the first sentence presented by Peeters is written in the present simple tense whereas the canonical sentence which is the basis in this paper is formulated in the past simple. In French, in this context one can use both *passé composé* (for a shorter action) and *imparfait* (for a longer action, state). Consequently, the translation might also look like this (but the order should be changed):

(8b) *J' éprouvais quelque chose de bon/mauvais*
I feel:1SG.IMPF something LIG good/bad
quand c' est arrivé (ou: quand j' ai entendu ça).
when that happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
'I felt something good/bad when that happened (or: when I heard that).'

Another observation is that canonical sentence no. 9, in comparison to sentence B, lacks SOMETHING (*quelque chose*), which nevertheless does not seem to affect the meaning in this context. As a consequence, this sentence (no. 9) can be translated as:

(9a) *J' éprouve comme cela.*
I feel:1SG.PRES like this
'I feel like this.'

Yet, in his work published twelve years later, Peeters et al. abandoned the idea that *éprouver* has an advantage over *sentir*. Although he had found the usage of *sentir* awkward in the past, now he considered it more appropriate than *éprouver* (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 101).

Furthermore, Wierzbicka has questioned the appropriateness of *éprouver* in canonical contexts, asserting that this verb is closer to experience rather than to FEEL ("Semantic Primitives Across Languages: A Critical Review" 465). Earlier,

however, Wierzbicka had treated *éprouver* as an equivalent of 'feel' ("Human Emotions: Universal or Culture-Specific?" 590).

Peeters et al. explain that the main problem with finding the French exponent for FEEL has resulted from the wrong choice of exponents for GOOD and BAD in the expression *quelque chose de…* ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 102). In the past, *bon* ('good') and *mauvais* ('bad') were used in the context canonical *quelque chose de bon/mauvais*. The said adjectives in combination with *sentir* associate strongly with a smell. Later, they were replaced in the canonical contexts by the adverbs *bien* and *mal* (*quelque chose de bien/mal*). Peeters et al. provided the following examples of canonical sentences ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 102):

C. *Ces* *gens* *sentent* *la même* *chose*
these people feel:3PL.PRES the same thing
que *moi.*
COMP me
'These people feel the same thing as me.'

D. *Quand* *cela* *est arrivé,* *j'* *ai senti*
when that happen:3SG.PCOMP I feel:1SG.PCOMP
quelque chose *de* *mal.*
something LIG bad
'When this happened, I felt something bad.'

E. *Beaucoup* *de* *gens* *se sentent* *comme* *ça.*
many LIG people feel:3PL.PRES like this
'Many people feel like this.'

Sentir (with an allolex *se sentir*) remains to the present day the official exponent of the semantic prime FEEL (as of March 2015), included in the Chart of French NSM Semantic Primes available on the website of Griffith University (Goddard and Junker). Consequently, in accordance with the researcher's findings, canonical sentences should rather be translated as follows:

(8) *Quand* *c'* *est arrivé* *(ou: quand* *j'* *ai entendu* *ça),*
when this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' *ai senti* *quelque chose* *de* *bien/mal.*
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad

'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

(9) *Je* *me sens* *comme* *ça.*
I feel:1SG.PRES like this
'I feel like this.'

In the light of the above considerations, the most proper translation of FEEL seems to be *sentir* and *se sentir*, and that is what I have chosen. Although *sentir* occurs in sentences no. 8 and 9, one can notice a dissimilarity between its usage in the said examples. In sentence no. 9, it appears as a reflexive verb *se sentir* whereas in sentence no. 8 as a non-reflexive one *sentir*. The creators of the Chart of French NSM Semantic Primes (Goddard and Junker) treat *sentir* and *se sentir* as allolexes, that is diverse "exponents of the same primitive" (Wierzbicka, *Semantics: Primes and Universals* 26), which implies that both forms should be semantically very close, in compliance with Goddard's view that the vocabulary items can be regarded as allolexes if there is no paraphrasable difference in meaning between them ("Natural Semantic Metalanguage" 7).

However, in the case of *se sentir* and *sentir* the issue appears to be more complicated than at first glance. According to the intuition of a native speaker, *se sentir* and *sentir* carry different meaning. *Se sentir* is used while talking about an individual's feelings. *Sentir*, on the other hand, is polysemous; it may mean 'to feel' or 'to smell'.

As regards other possible translations, definitely the form *quelque chose de bon/de mauvais* should be rejected, as it strongly associates with smell rather than feeling. As for alternative verbs, *éprouver* and *ressentir* do not convey the meaning of FEEL because, as has been shown, they are semantically rather inappropriate. *Éprouver* associates with experiencing something, whereas *ressentir* is too specific and does not fit into a broad phrase such as *quelque chose de bien/de mal*. Accordingly, the alternative translations 8a and 8b should be rejected. As of today, it appears that *sentir* and *se sentir* are the best exponents of the semantic prime FEEL.

Yet, there is an alternative translation of sentence no. 8 that could be used successfully, depending on the context and on what the author wants to stress. It has not been considered by scholars who analyzed FEEL in canonical sentences in the present simple tense (A, C, D). It seems that another appropriate translation would be *sentir* used in the tense *imparfait* (not *passé compose*). Yet, the order should be changed:

(8c) *Je sentais* *quelque chose* *de* *bien/mal*
I feel:1SG.IMPF something LIG good/bad
quand c' est arrivé *(ou: quand j' ai entendu* *ça).*
when this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
'I felt something good/bad when that happened (or: when I heard that).'

The difference is very subtle. *Passé composé* stresses the punctuality of an action. The experiencer felt something at this particular time. Conversely, *imparfait* puts emphasis on the feeling itself and implies that it lasted for a longer time. Nonetheless, in my opinion, *passé composé* corresponds better with English past simple than *imparfait*, which is more suitable for sentences where English past continuous is used (e.g. 'I was feeling something good/bad').

It is worth pointing out that the fragment in the brackets might be also translated as *quand j'ai entendu cela* or *quand j'ai entendu ceci* ('when I heard that'):

(8d) *Quand c' est arrivé* *(ou: quand j' ai entendu* *cela),*
when this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' ai senti *quelque chose* *de* *bien/mal.*
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad
'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

(8e) *Quand c' est arrivé* *(ou: quand j' ai entendu* *ceci),*
When this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' ai senti *quelque chose* *de* *bien / mal.*
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad
'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

This change is not strictly connected with the mental predicate but with the determiner *this*. The said alternative versions are formal and thus relatively rarely used in everyday speech whereas *ça* (standing for 'this' or 'that') is widespread. Not only in this context but also in other phrases such as *Ça va?* or *Comment ça va?* ('How are you doing?', 'How are you?').

At the beginning, scholars treated *ceci* as the only exponent of THIS (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 429–430). Later on, *cela* was used with an additional allolex *ce* (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 58). As for now, it is *ça* that is officially preferred in canonical contexts (Goddard and Junker). Yet, Peeters et al. considered it in the past as "too informal for NSM purposes" ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 58).

In my translation (8), I have chosen ÇA because it is currently included in the French Chart of Semantic Primes. However, sentence no. 8 could be translated using *ceci*/*cela* without any loss of meaning. Using *ceci*/*cela* instead of *ça* would be a stylistic and not a semantic change.

The same applies to sentence no. 9 as two alternative translations of this sentence are possible with either CECI or CELA:

(9b)	*Je*	*me sens*	*comme*	*ceci.*
	I	feel:1SG.PRES	like	this
	'I feel like this.'			

(9c)	*Je*	*me sens*	*comme*	*cela.*
	I	feel:1SG.PRES	like	this
	'I feel like this.'			

Canonical sentences involving HEAR

Sentence no. 8, which has been discussed in the previous subsection, contains another polysemous French word *entendre*, quite problematic in translation. As reported by Cliff Goddard, the French exponent of HEAR (*entendre*) has two major meanings: 'to hear' or 'to understand' ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 117). As a consequence, translation of sentence no. 13 seems vague.

Canonical sentence no. 13 with God as a subject is a complicated one. Mainly, in the religious discourse *entendre* might have different meanings and undertones. In this context, its synonym would be *exaucer* 'to fulfill the wish of a prayer'. Furthermore, the sentence resembles a fixed phrase *Que Dieu nous entende!* Its translation 'May God hear you' does not cover the full meaning of the phrase because there is much more to it than just hearing. The French phrase would be uttered in the same situation as the English phrase 'from your lips to God's ears' ("May the prediction or wish you are making come true"). According to a dictionary, this phrase is used "to express appreciation for someone's hope that matters will turn out well. Also, in the form *from your mouth*". The expression is often shortened to 'from your lips' ("From your lips to God's ears").

In order to avoid such ambiguities as illustrated by sentence no.13, we ought to search for another French word which could cover only the basic and standard meaning of *entendre*, i.e. 'hear'. French verb *ouïr* is quite an adequate candidate. At first glance, it appears to be a perfect one as it has only one meaning 'hear'. Also, it perfectly corresponds with the Spanish verb *oír* (official Spanish exponent of HEAR) and it appears in the roots of other closely related French words such as *entrouïr* ('to

hear imperfectly'), *inouï* ('unprecedented, unheard-of'). It also forms a compound word *ouï-dire* ('hearsay').

What speaks in favour of this word is also the fact that it is used in the French name for one of the senses *ouïe* ('hearing'). Thus, the pair *ouïr – ouïe* accurately resembles the English pair *hear – hearing*. The word *ouïe* itself is also used in the fixed expression *avoir l'ouïe fine* ('to have good hearing').

The problem is that *ouïr* is considered as rather obsolete nowadays, same as *entrouïr*. Whereas *inouï* survived, even though its meaning has changed significantly (nowadays it mainly means 'incredible' and it is used in the expression *il est inouï* 'he is amazing'), one can hardly hear *ouïr* in the streets. Today, only *ouïe* and *ouï-dire* are commonly used, with no semantic change.

Nevertheless, the ambiguity of *entendre* is not so explicit in all contexts. A perfect example is sentence no. 11; its French translation *Elle chantait – je l'ai entendu* can be understood only as 'She was singing – I heard it'. Yet, the sentence could be ambiguous if it was not in the tense *passé composé* but in the present tense *présent* or in the past tense *imparfait* for example. The reason is that the pronoun *l'* (a positional variant of either *la* or *le* before a vowel, which may stand both for masculine and feminine nouns) in French, in this context (tense and construction *Complément d'objet direct*: COD), requires agreement of the past participle (*accord du participe passé*). As there is no *e* at the end of *entendu* the reader of the French sentence knows that *l'* stands for 'it'. In the present tense, the sentence would read as *Elle chante – je l'entends*. Then, the sentence could be understood in two ways: as 'She sings – I hear her' or 'She sings – I hear it'.

Peeters et al. presented the following example of a canonical sentence for French ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 105):

F.	*J'*	*ai dit*	*ces*	*mots,*	*mais*	*tu*	*ne*	*les*
	I	say:1SG.PCOMP	these	words	but	you	NEG	3SG.CLIT
	as pas entendus.							
	hear:2SG.PCOMP+not							
	'I said these words, but you didn't hear them.'							

Although the example presents the same syntactic frame as the analyzed canonical sentence no. 11, the first person point of view is less problematic than, as shown, the third person subject, particularly God (no. 13). Therefore, there arises a question: how should 'hear' be translated into French?

The official exponent of semantic prime HEAR is *entendre*. As this semantic prime remains underexplored, researchers, mainly Peeters, have not considered *ouïr*.

Consequently, the sentences should rather be translated using *entendre* even if they are vague. However, I have found that for each sentence there is an alternative translation (not ambiguous) with the use of *ouïr*. The alternative translation eliminates the said problems with polysemy:

(8f) *Quand c' est arrivé (ou: quand j' ai ouï ça),*
when this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' ai senti quelque chose de bien/mal.
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad
'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

(11a) *Elle chantait – je l' ai ouï.*
she sing:3SG.IMPF I 3SG.CLIT hear:1SG.PCOMP
'She was singing – I heard it.'

(13a) *Dieu oit nos prières.*
God hear:3SG.PRES our prayers
'God hears our prayers.'

The alternative French translation (no. 8f) perfectly corresponds with the Spanish example provided by Peeters et al. ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 106):

G. *Cuando oí estas palabras, sentí algo muy malo.*
when hear:1SG.PRET these words feel:1SG.PRET something very bad
'When I heard these words, I felt something very bad.'

As one can notice, establishing a proper French semantic exponent of HEAR is also (like in the case of FEEL) quite problematic. Goddard and Wierzbicka stressed that the universal grammar of the prime HEAR "has not yet been explored in depth" (qtd. in "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 105).

Even though the alternative translations no. 8f, 11a, 13a are by all means grammatically correct and not polysemous, I have decided to translate the canonical sentences using the official exponent of HEAR, that is *entendre*. The reason is strictly pragmatic. In modern French almost nobody uses the verb *ouïr*. And nowadays there

is no unequivocal counterpart of *entendre*. Therefore, I have translated the sentences as follows:

(8) *Quand c' est arrivé (ou: quand j' ai entendu ça),*
when this happen:3SG.PCOMP (or: when I hear:1SG.PCOMP that)
j' ai senti quelque chose de bien / mal.
I feel:1SG.PCOMP something LIG good/bad
'When that happened (or: when I heard that), I felt something good/bad.'

(11) *Elle chantait – je l' ai entendu.*
she sing:3SG.IMPF I 3SG.CLIT hear:1SG.PCOMP
'She was singing – I heard it.'

(13) *Dieu entend nos prières.*
God hear:3SG.PRES our prayers
'God hears our prayers.'

Syntactic frames of THINK and WANT: differences between English and French

It is worth noticing that in French, in contrast to English, 'that' is obligatory in constructions such as 'to think that' [*penser que*] or 'to know that' [*savoir que*] and under no circumstances can it be omitted. As a consequence, the French translation requires *que* in sentences no. 1, 2 and 3, while in the original English versions 'that' is left out. Such omission of 'that' is very common in certain contexts, especially in informal English.

Goddard quotes Thompson and Mulac (1991) who studied two English constructions with the verb 'think': the one with a complementizer and the one without it. As reported by the researchers, 'I think that' functions rather "as an epistemic adverb with respect to a single clause" (Goddard and Karlsson 234). Moreover, the construction 'I think ø' appears more often than 'I think that' and there is a semantic difference between these two. Aijmer argued that 'I think ø' has a "softening" effect: "the tentative *I think* expresses uncertainty (epistemic modality) or softens an assertion which may be too blunt (interactive meaning)" (qtd. in Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 132).

As a consequence, it seems that French translations of 'X thinks ø' in canonical contexts, i.e. *X pense que,* do not fully convey the softening effect of the English version (canonical sentences no. 1, 2). It has stronger undertones, just as the English 'I think that'.

Similarly, English 'want' and French *vouiloir* require different syntactic frames in the canonical sentences. As for English, 'want' needs a preposition 'to' in the construction 'want to do something'. In French, no preposition is used. Both patterns (English and French) are illustrated by canonical sentence no. 5 and its translation:

(5) *Je veux aller au village (au marché, à la plage etc.).*
I want:1SG.PRES go:INF PREP village (PREP market PREP 3SG.CLIT beach etc.).
'I want to go to the village (market, beach etc.).'

In the case of the other sentence (canonical sentence no. 6), an additional element is required in the French version, namely *que* (*that*) as a conjunction in the construction *vouloir que* + *subjonctif* ('subjunctive') rendering the meaning of willingness and desire.

(6) *Je veux que tu le fasses.*
I want:1SG.PRES COMP you 3SG.CLIT do:2SG.PRES.SJV
'I want you to do it.'

(7) *Je ne veux pas que tu le fasses.*
I NEG want:1SG.PRES+not COMP you 3SG.CLIT do:2SG.PRES.SJV
'I don't want you to do it.'

In French, *subjonctif* is also used in constructions expressing doubt, orders, commands, fear, anxiety, enchantment, surprise, indignation, regret, sadness and suffering.

THINK: the choice of tense

Bert Peeters et al. asserted that when the exponent of KNOW refers to the past in canonical sentences, in French *imparfait* should be used. The reason is that *passé composé* changes the meaning from the "mental state" to the "punctual event" ('to find out') (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91). The same applies to THINK, In my opinion, however, an alternative translation of canonical sentence no. 1 with the usage of *passé composé* is possible:

(1a) *Il a pensé que c' était un opossum, mais*
he think:3SG.PCOMP COMP it be:3SG.IMPF an possum but
je n' étais pas sûr.
I NEG be:3SG.IMPF+no sure
'He thought that it was a possum, but I wasn't sure.'

Moreover, the alternative version seems more natural in this context as *passé composé* usually reflects the English past simple tense. *Imparfait* would rather replace past continuous because it implies continuity. However, in my translation I complied with Peeters's recommendations and used *imparfait*. *Penser* is not the only mental predicate that changes its meaning depending on the tense used (either *imparfait* or *passé composé*). This issue will further be elaborated on in the subsequent section (number 2).

KNOW versus THINK

Anna Wierzbicka (qtd. in Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 132-133) distinguished the construction 'I think' (a) from a 'I know' (b):

a. I think Bill wrote it =
I say: I think that Bill wrote it
I don't say more
I don't say: I know this

b. Bill wrote it =
I say: Bill wrote it
I know this.

This distinction is perfectly illustrated by canonical sentence no. 2 in which both 'think' (*penser*) and 'know' (*savoir*) are used:

(2) *Je pense qu' elle s' est endormie, mais*
I think:1SG.PRES COMP she REFL sleep:3SG.PCOMP but
je ne sais pas.
I know:1SG.PRES+not
'I think she fell asleep, but I don't know.'

2. Polysemy (of the semantic primes) not covered in canonical sentences

SEE

In French, as in other Romance languages (Italian, Portuguese, Spanish), there is a distinction between HEAR and SEE. Peeters et al. remark that SEE "is compatible with a locational phrase" ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 105). "Simple substantive complements as well as quasi-substantive THIS are allowed with both SEE and HEAR (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 105). Peeters et al. gave the following example ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 105):

H. *Ces gens ont vu quelque chose dans un endroit pas loin d' ici.*
these people see:3PL.PCOMP something PREP a place not far PREP here
'These people saw something in a place not far from here.'

The canonical sentences analyzed in this paper look like this:

(10) *J' ai vu certaines gens près de la rivière.*
I see:1SG.PCOMP some people by 3SG.CLIT river
'I saw some people by the river.'

(13) *J' ai vu dans un rêve, mon grand-père qui est mort.*
I see:1SG.PCOMP in a dream my grandfather who be:3SG.PRES dead
'I saw my dead grandfather in a dream.'

All these sentences convey the syntactic frame 'see somebody/something'. The said context does not trigger polysemy of the word. Yet, in some contexts *voir* may also mean, among others, 'understand' (e.g. *Je vois ce que vous voulez dire* 'I see what you want to say') or, in religious discourse, 'know as a consequence of being omnipotent' (e.g. *Dieu voit le fond des cœurs, voit toutes choses* 'God sees the bottom of hearts, sees all things'; *La béatitude consiste à voir Dieu* 'Beatitude consists in seeing God') ("Voir").

The first of the additional meanings mentioned above is a proof confirming Goddard's statement that HEAR, SEE or FEEL "often have polysemic extensions

involving THINK" ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 116-117). The researcher gave an example of English 'see' conveying the meaning 'understand' in the context 'I see what you mean' (Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 117). It seems to me that both expressions, i.e. French *Je vois ce que* and English 'I see what', are semantically corresponding.

That link between seeing and thinking might be noticed in everyday conversations. In the French-speaking world, it is very common to end a sentence with a short expression *Tu vois?* ('You see?' in the sense 'Do you understand?') which in the youth slang occurs also in another variant with a shortened second person pronoun *t'* ('ya' instead of *tu* 'you') and *voir* in *passe composé*, that is in *T'as vu*? ('Did ya see it?'). This phrase is overused by certain groups, such as rappers. It was even used as the title of an album of a French hip-hop group called Fatal Bazooka. In everyday life, this expression is found in French toponymy, for instance, in the name of an optical store "T'as vu? Optique" in Montreal, Canada. It can be also used as an exclamation *Tu vois! T'as vu!* Then its meaning changes slightly, expressing indignation.

Interestingly, these expressions are used interchangeably with another fixed expression *Tu sais?* ('You know?'), having its slang variants *T'sais?* or *Tsé?* (both 'ya know'). The Canadian speakers of French in the same situations use another expression *Tsé veut dire?*, which is a contraction of the full phrase *Tu sais ce que je veux dire?* ('Do you know what I want to say?'). Such expressions work as a sort of conversational fillers.

THINK

In French translations of canonical sentences containing the semantic prime THINK only one semantic frame is used, namely *X pense que* ('X thinks that'):

(1) *Il pensait que c' était un opossum,*
he think:3SG.IMPF COMP it be:3SG.IMPF an possum
mais je n' étais pas sûr.
but I NEG be:3SG.IMPF+not sure
'He thought that it was a possum, but I wasn't sure.'

(2) *Je pense qu' elle s' est endormie,*
I think:1SG.PRES COMP she REFL sleep:3SG.PCOMP
mais je ne sais pas.
but I NEG know:1SG.PRES+not
'I think she fell asleep, but I don't know.'

Bert Peeters et al. gave the following examples of canonical sentences with the semantic prime THINK (French version plus English translation) (respectively I and J from "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 426; K, L and M from "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 94):

I.	*Je*	*pensais*	*que*	*c'*	*était*	*un*	*écureuil.*
	I	think:1SG.IMPF	COMP	that	be:3SG.IMPF	a	squirrel
	'I thought it was a squirrel.'						

J.	*Je*	*pense*	*qu'*	*elle*	*l'*	*a mangé.*
	I	think:1SG.PRES	COMP	she	3SG.CLIT	eat:3SG.PCOMP
	'I think she has eaten it.'					

K.	*Beaucoup*	*de*	*gens*	*ne*	*pensent pas*	*à*	*ces*	*choses.*
	many	LIG	people	NEG	think:3PL.PRES+not	PREP	these	things
	'Many people don't think of these things.'							

L.	*Tu*	*penses*	*du*	*bien*	*de*	*moi.*
	You	think:2SG.PRES	PART	good	PREP	me
	'You think good of me.'					

M.	*Je*	*pense*	*que*	*ces*	*choses*	*ont*	*deux*	*parties.*
	I	think:1SG.PRES	COMP	these	things	have:3PL.PRES	two	parts
	'I think that these things have two parts.'							

The first two sentences (coming from "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French") contain the same syntactic structure as sentences no. 1 and 2, i.e. *X pense que* ('X thinks that') whereas examples provided in the work published in 2006 cover three diverse semantic structures of the verb THINK: once again *X pense que* 'X thinks that' (as in 1, 2, I, J, M), *X pense du* ('X thinks good/bad') and *X penser quelque chose à* ('X thinks something of/about').

Therefore, in 2006, Bert Peeters et al. considered as canonical all three in the given context. As was explained: "[THINK] its post-verbal valencies include propositional content (*that P*), topic (*about Y*), manner (*like this*), and direct discourse. There also appears to be a "compound valency option" (*something good / bad about someone / something*" (Goddard qtd. in Peeters et al "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 94).

It should be noticed that translation of English construction 'think about', mentioned by Peeters, is not that simple. There is a distinction between *penser de qqch/qqn* and *penser à qqch/qqn*. The first one means 'to think of sth/sb, about sth/sb' (, used also when stating an opinion) and the second one is more like 'to think about over', 'to consider', 'to have in one's mind'.

French speakers also use a construction *penser faire quelque chose* 'want to do something', 'intend to do something', not included in any of the canonical sentences. Yet, this construction is especially interesting. The reason is that it perfectly corresponds with an analogous Spanish expression *pienso ir* [think:1SG.PRES go:INF], rendered into English as 'I am thinking of going' (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 94). Additionally, Peeters et al. asserted that the said construction is not included in NSM because it is not "semantically simple" ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 94).

Goddard, in turn, underlined that "the THINK verb commonly extends to a meaning akin to English *intend* or *would like to*, i.e., a combination of THINK and WANT" ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 116). In the researcher's view, several languages (i.e. Mandarin, Amharic, Swedish) follow that pattern which can be schematically represented as follows (Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 116):

X thinks to – – =
X thinks: I want to – –
(I will – –)

KNOW

In French there are two words that would be translated into English as 'know', i.e. *connaître* and *savoir*. The former is used in the context of knowing a person or a thing (be acquainted or familiar with, e.g. *Je connais cet endroit* ['I know this place']; *Elle connaît cet homme* ['She knows this man']) whereas the latter is used while talking about knowing something (from studying or from memory, e.g. *Je sais qu'elle est mariée* ['I know (that) she is married']), knowing how to do something (e.g. *Je sais nager* ['I know how to swim' – 'I can swim']; *Je sais comment gagner un combat* ['I know how to win a fight']) or being aware of something, e.g. *Je sais que la terre est ronde* ['I know ('that') the Earth is round']). It is quite different than in English. That is why two consecutive sentences 'I know my enemy. I know how to win a fight', which can be uttered by a sportsman or a knight, would be translated

into French with the usage of two different words *savoir* and *connaître*: *Je <u>connais</u> mon ennemi. Je <u>sais</u> comment gagner un combat.*

The usage of *savoir* in the context of knowing how to do something, as mentioned above, is worth commentary. In English there are two ways of saying that one knows how to swim (either 'I know how to swim', especially in American English; or with the use of auxiliary verb *can*, i.e. 'I can swim', particularly in British English). In French, the most natural way of expressing the ability to swim is *Je sais nager* (literally 'I know swim'). *Je sais comment nager* (*par exemple vite*) is rather less common and it is not interchangeable with *Je sais nager*. The first one is used less frequently and it has a slightly different meaning. It refers to knowing what one should do in order to swim (i.e. what particular movements to make). Therefore, it seems that the construction *savoir + infinitive* is used when we refer to skills (driving, swimming etc.) and *savoir comment + infinitive* is implemented when we want to say that we know in what way or by what means we can accomplish something, in other words what it takes to achieve a certain goal. In the example *Je sais comment gagner un combat* ['I know how to win a fight'], *savoir* indicates that we know what kind of strategy should be used.

As for canonical sentences, *savoir* appears in two of them, covering the meaning 'know something from memory' (4) or 'be aware of the fact' (3):

(3) *Nous* *savons* *que* *c'* *est* *mal.*
we know:1PL.PRES COMP that be:3SG.PRES bad
'We know this is bad.'

(4) *Je* *ne* *sais pas* *où* *il* *est* *maintenant.*
I NEG know:1SG.PRES+not where he be:3SG.PRES now
'I don't know where he is now.'

The usage of *connaître* would be incorrect in these contexts. The debate over *connaître* in NSM has been a lively one. In the past, the researchers rejected it:

> French has *savoir* and *connaître*. In English, one can know (be acquainted or familiar with) a person or a thing, or know something (from memory or from study); one can know how to do something, or know something (be aware of it). *Connaître* is used in the first case, *savoir* in the other three. The only universal use is the last one; *savoir* will normally be followed by a clausal complement or by the substantive *quelque chose* (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 426).

The canonical example at the time was (Peeters, "Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 426):

N.	*Je*	*sais*	*par*	*où*	*il*	*est allé.*
	I	know:1SG.PRES	by	where	he	go:3SG.PCOMP

'I know which way he went.'

However, in later studies, after the Semantic and Lexical Universals (SLU) project, scholars abandoned the idea that *connaître* should be banned from NSM as a semantic prime in favour of *savoir*. As Peeters et al. reported, *connaître* started to be treated as an allolex of *savoir* ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 90). The latter one, recognized as having a wider distribution than *connaître*, was considered "to be the primary exponent" (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 90). Peeters et al. argued that *savoir* is used when referring to "propositional knowledge of the type *know P* or *know that P*, as well as (relatively) unspecified knowledge (which is often underlyingly propositional; e.g. *know something*, *everything*, *nothing*)" ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91). *Connaître*, on the other hand, is used when referring to some kind of "specific knowledge of things, people and places", which is required by NSM (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91). Consequently, Peeters et al. presented the following three examples in the contexts regarded as canonical ("NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91-92):

O.	*Tu*	*ne*	*sais pas*		*que*	*je*	*pense*	*du*
	you	NEG	know:2SG.PRES+not		COMP	I	think:1SG.PRES	PART
	mal		*de*	*toi.*				
	bad		PREP	you				

'You don't know that I think something bad about you.'

U.	*C'*	*est*	*bien*	*de*	*savoir*	*ces*	*choses.*
	it	be:3SG.PRES	good	COMP	know:INF	these	things

'It is good to know these things.'

P.	*Beaucoup*	*des*	*gens*	*connaisent*	*ces*	*deux*	*personnes.*
	many	LIG	people	know:3PL.PRES	these	two	persons

'Many people know these two people.'

Nonetheless, it seems that the idea of treating *connaître* as an allolex of *savoir* has been abandoned again as the newest chart does not include *connaître* (Goddard and Junker). What is more, as shown, *connaître* was not used in the translated canonical sentences, on which this paper is based. However, the syntactic frames for the canonical usage of *savoir* are similar in the analyzed set (4) and in the example O (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91): *X (ne) sait (pas) que* ['X (does not) know that'] and *X (ne) sait (pas) où*. The canonical sentence presented in the scholar's earlier work ("Semantic and Lexical Universals in French" 426) implemented the frame *X sait par où* ('X knows which way').

As for other syntactic frames, according to Peeters et al., there are also constructions not included in the canonical sentences. The first one is what they called "unconfirmed knowledge", which seems not primitive, yet possibly universal, expressed in the syntactic frames 'not know whether P'. They asserted that this expression involves both knowing and thinking: "if person X does not know whether person Y can come, X must have thought about whether or not Y can come, without reaching a conclusion, or without being able to know" (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 90). Other constructions are the already mentioned "*savoir* + infinitive 'know how to [do something]'" and a pattern "*know something about someone/something*" (Peeters et al., "NSM Exponents and Universal Grammar in Romance" 91).

Change of tense – change in meaning

As has been shown in the case of *penser* ('think'), the choice of tense (*passé composé* or *imparfait*) is important in French; it might trigger a significant change of meaning. Yet, this phenomenon concerns two more semantic primes belonging to mental predicates.

Savoir also changes its meaning depending on the tense. In *imparfait*, it means 'knew', for example *Je savais son nom* ('I knew his surname'), *Je savais conduire* ('I knew how to drive') and in *passé composé* 'found out, learned', for instance *J'ai su son nom* ('I found out his surname'), *J'ai su conduire* ('I learned how to drive').

The case of WANT is even more complicated. In *imparfait* it means 'wanted', for example *Je voulais voyager* ('I wanted to travel'), *Je voulais un sandwich* ('I wanted a sandwich') and in *passé composé* 'decided to, tried to', for instance *J'ai voulu voyager mais je n'avais pas d'argent* ('I decided to travel but I did not have money'), *J'ai voulu le finir mais je n'avais pas le temps* ('I tried to finish it but I did not have time'). However, in the negation in *passé composé* it has a third meaning

'refused to', e.g. *Elle m'invite chez elle mais je n'ai pas voulu voyager* ('She invited me but I refused to travel').

IV. Lexical elaboration of the semantic prime THINK

Language specific epistemic verbs

French, as English and numerous other languages, has words with their meanings involving THINK, such as verbs: *oublier* ('forget'), *décider* ('decide'), *comprendre* ('understand'), *résoudre* ('solve'); adjectives: *bon*/*bonne* ('right'), *mauvais*/*faux* ('wrong'), *intelligent* ('smart'), *stupid* ('stupid'), *confus* ('confused'), *prudent* ('careful'); and nouns: *faute* ('mistake'), *idée* ('idea'), *attention* ('attention'), *sens* ('sense') or *raison* ('reason').

As Goddard noticed, "many languages have language-specific specialized verbs of thinking (including many so-called "epistemic verbs"), whose meanings also involve KNOW and/or TRUE, usually in combination with other elements" ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 117). The scholar gave several examples of English verbs, namely: 'believe', 'reckon', 'suppose', 'guess', 'assume', 'suspect' and 'wonder'.

Wierzbicka paid special attention to the first of them because, as she reported, 'believe' plays a greatly significant role in the English-speaking world (qtd. in "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 118). The scholar has analyzed how the verb functions in the English-language discourse, especially in the syntactic frames 'I believe' and 'I believe that'. She also discussed the semantic prime THINK and came to the conclusion that the construction 'I think', in particular without a complementizer 'that', is very frequent in English. Moreover, she presented its distinctive patterns of usage.

French has similar words, corresponding to English vocabulary items (some of them were mentioned in Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 117), namely: *croire* ('believe'), *trouver* ('find', 'think'), *réfléchir* ('reflect'), *se rappeler* ('remember'), *sembler* ('seems'; in the construction *Il me semble que*… 'It seems to me that…'). The question is if they play the same role in the French-speaking world as 'think' or 'believe' do among those who belong to the English-speaking world.

The first researcher to make an attempt to answer that question was Kerry Mullan who conducted a cross-cultural comparative analysis of strategies for expressing opinions in Australian English and in French, focusing on English discourse marker 'I think' and three French expressions *je pense* ('I think'), *je crois* ('I believe, I think'), and *je trouve*, ('I find, I think'). Their distribution in the

analyzed corpus (conversations between Australian and French native speakers) is as follows: 281 occurrences of 'I think', 133 occurrences of *je pense*, 36 occurrences of *je crois*, 59 occurrences of *je trouve* (Mullan, *Expressing Opinions in French and Australian English Discourse* 42).

The researcher found 'I think' and *je crois* to be "predominantly discourse markers" whereas *je trouve* as having "a more semantic role of expressing speaker's opinion" (Mullan, *Expressing Opinions in French and Australian English Discourse* 253). She also compared the Australian English 'I think' with French *je pense*. The outcome suggested that when using 'I think', the speaker wants to express his/her viewpoint. In other words, he/she wills to differentiate between facts and opinions, which is, as the researcher reported, important to Australian English speakers (Mullan, *Expressing Opinions in French and Australian English Discourse*). However, the core meaning of *je pense* lacks this kind of element (distinguishing facts from opinions). The said French construction appears to be used for expressing opinions based on reflection, "where the speaker wishes to positively assert or claim a particular stance towards a proposition" (Mullan, *Expressing Opinions in French and Australian English Discourse* 255). The verb *penser* itself, as Mullan argued, is strongly related to reflection and cogitation. Therefore, the main meaning of *je pense* reflects an intellectual process and intellectualism, which are important for the speakers of French.

Je crois, on the other hand, expresses belief and confidence, often lying in personal opinions and values, and frequently connected with adjustment to culture and education. The last of the mentioned constructions, *je trouve*, is used when expressing an opinion evoked by personal past experience (Mullan, *Expressing Opinions in French and Australian English Discourse* 255).

Language-specific "epistemic qualifiers": adverbs, particles, and interjections

Cliff Goddard defines eponymous "epistemic qualifiers" as "a cover term for various linguistic devices […] for qualifying one's statements, for hedging one's assertions, and for differentiating the strength of one's assent to a proposition" (Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 121). They encompass adverbial phrases, adverbs and particles. French, as English (Goddard, "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 121), has a number of "speaker-oriented" epistemic adverbs such as *probablement* ('probably'), *apparemment* ('apparently'), *vraisemblablement* ('presumably'), *peut-être* ('possibly'), *prétendument* ('supposedly', 'allegedly'), *supposément* ('allegedly').

THINK-related meanings are also displayed as discourse particles and conversational formulas, which refer to the speech or reactions of the addressee (Goddard "Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 122). Their French examples include *C'est vrai!* ('That's true!'), *Bien vu!* ('Good thinking!', 'Good point!'), *Bonne idée!* ('Good idea!'), *C'est ça!* ('That's right!'). According to Goddard, other discourse particles might reveal "cognitive meaning components" ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 122). The scholar mentioned some English examples, including 'wow!' and 'well'. The said vocabulary items presumably contain, as Goddard names them, "mental state components", like "I didn't think this would happen" or "I want to think about this well" ("Thinking Across Languages and Cultures" 122).

The French equivalent of 'well' *eh bien* (with a variant *eh ben*) is used in an array of different situations; it can mark comparison and contrast, express surprise or admiration, hesitation, irritation, or irony. It is also frequently used to emphasize the content that follows it. *Ben* is also used in confirmations and negations as *Ben oui* ('Well, yes') / *Ben non* ('Well, no') to indicate hesitance or to emphasize. For an emphasis, another expression is also used *Mais oui!*/*Mais non!* ('Absolutely!'/'Absolutely not!').

The so-called "cognitive interjections" are also an interesting field of study. As Cliff Goddard submits, they have a semantic component 'I think like this now' and/or 'I now know something' (*Semantic Analysis* 167). English expressions of this kind include: 'Ah-ha!', 'Oh-oh!', 'Gee!', 'Wow!', 'Mhm'. The list can go on and on. French speakers, on the other hand, use *Ouah!*, *Mince alors!* ('Wow!'), *Heu*, *Hum* (both 'hmm'), or *Ça alors!* ('Gee!').

V. Summary

As shown, the section *Mental Predicates* consisting of 13 canonical sentences is very rich; it encompasses six NSM exponents of semantic primes: *penser* (THINK), *savoir* (KNOW), *vouloir* (WANT), *sentir* (FEEL), *voir* (SEE), and *entendre* (HEAR), which were studied by such scholars as Anna Wierzbicka, Cliff Goddard and Bert Peeters.

Sentir and *entendre* seem most problematic in French translation, due to their polysemy. The first one has strong smell connotations. The second one can also mean 'understand' or, in religious discourse, 'fulfill the wish or a prayer'. Therefore, alternative translations are possible, mainly with the usage of *éprouver* (instead of *sentir*; 8a, 8b, 9a) and *ouïr* (instead of *entendre*; 8f, 11a, 13a). Each of them has different undertones. *Éprouver* refers to experiencing something, so I have rejected it for semantic reasons. *Ouïr*, in turn, seems to be a proper translation of HEAR (with

no polysemy). However, I have finally decided not to use it in canonical sentences for pragmatic reasons, mainly because nowadays *ouïr* is considered obsolete.

Another problem faced in translating canonical sentences into French is definitely the use of past tenses, since using *imparfait* or *passé composé* triggers significantly different meanings, especially where primes THINK, KNOW, WANT and FEEL appear in the sentence. Consequently, there are alternative translations of canonical sentences with the above mentioned primes, using *éprouver* 'feel', *sentir* 'feel', *vouloir* 'want' and *penser* 'think' in *imparfait* or *passé composé* (sentences no. 1, 1a, 8, 8c, 8d, 8e).

Also, the use of different semantic frames for THINK and WANT and their French counterparts, is a translation challenge. In French, unlike in English, *que* ('that') cannot be omitted in such constructions as *penser que* ('to think that') or *savoir que* ('to know that'). This is visible in canonical sentences no. 1 and 2,and their French translations. However, in English different syntactic frames change the meaning. According to the scholars, English construction 'I think' without the complementizer 'that' has a "softening" effect because it expresses uncertainty and softens an assertion. As a consequence, it appears that French translations of 'X thinks ø' (i.e. *X pense que* in sentences no. 1 and 2) do not convey the softening effect of the English version.

As far as WANT is concerned, English construction 'want somebody to do something' does not require a conjunction. In French, on the other hand, *que* ('that') is necessary in the corresponding construction *vouloir que* + *subjonctif*. This is illustrated by canonical sentences no. 6 and 7. Yet, this syntactic difference does not carry with it any semantic change.

There are also some other alternative translations (8d, 8e, 9b, 9c) which do not influence the meaning of the sentence. The choice between *ça*, *ceci*, *cela* (as an equivalent of 'this' or 'that') is purely stylistic. *Ça* is definitely less formal than *ceci*, *cela*.

The lexical elaboration of THINK (*penser*) demonstrates that in French there are language specific epistemic verbs whose meanings involve THINK, such as *croire*, *trouver*, *réfléchir*, *rappeler* and *sembler*. Three of them, i.e. *penser*, *croire* and *trouver*, were examined by Kerry Mullan who compared cross-linguistically the Australian English 'I think' with the French constructions *je pense*, *je crois* (expressing belief and confidence) and *je trouve* (expressing opinions rooted in the past). The main difference between 'I think' and *je pense* is that the first expression is used when one wants to distinguish facts from opinions. *Je pense* appears to be deprived of this element.

Last but not least, French, like English, has a wide array of "epistemic qualifiers" connected with thinking, that is adverbs (e.g. *probablement*, *apparement*, *vraisemblement*, *peut-être*, *prétendument*), particles and conversational formulas (e.g. *Bonne idée!*, *C'est vrai!*, *Bien vu!*, *Ben oui*, *Ben non*) as well as cognitive interjections (e.g. *Ouah!*, *Mince alors!*).

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ART	article
CLIT	clitic
COMP	complementizer
IMPF	imperfect
INF	infinitive
LIG	ligature
NEG	negative marker
PCOMP	passé composé
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SJV	subjunctive

List of Semantic Primes in French
(as of March 2015, based on Goddard and Junker)

JE ~ME ~MOI; TU ~TE~TOI; QUELQU'UN; QUELQUE CHOSE ~ CHOSE; CORPS; GENS; TYPE; PARTIE; MOTS; CE ~ ÇA; MÊME; AUTRE; UN; DEUX; BEAUCOUP; TOUT; CERTAINS ~DES ~ DE; PEU; QUAND ~ FOIS ~ QUELQUEFOIS ~ MOMENT; MAINTENANT ; (EN UN) INSTANT; PENDANT) QUELQUE TEMPS; LONGTEMPS; PEU DE TEMPS; AVANT; APRÈS; VOULOIR; NE PAS VOULOIR; SENTIR ~ SE SENTIR; FAIRE; DIRE; SAVOIR; VOIR; ENTENDRE; PENSER; ARRIVER; ÊTRE (QUELQUE PART); VIVRE; MOURIR; IL Y A; ÊTRE (QUELQU'UN QQCH); ÊTRE À (MOI); BOUGER; TOUCHER; DANS; OÙ ~ ENDROIT ~ QUELQUE PART; ICI; AU – DESSUS; AU – DESSOUS; COTÉ; PRÈS; LOIN; NE ... PAS ~DON'T; POUVOIR; PARCE QUE ~ À CAUSE DE; SI ; PEUT - ÊTRE (QUE); COMME ; TRÈS; PLUS ~ N E ... PLUS; PETIT; GRAND; MAL; BIEN; VRAI.

Departmental Libraries and Electronic Books: Unlikely Allies in Times of Transition

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The Information Age brought about by the rise of the Internet has placed a vast repository of human knowledge at our fingertips. This development has been increasingly allowing us to bypass libraries, the long-time gatekeepers of knowledge, and conveniently access information condensed into many diverse forms. Among these are electronic books, or e-books, combining the familiar functionality of traditional books with the flexibility of the digital medium. Their evident utility has been appreciated in various contexts, including the academia, where their increasing adoption among students and researchers alike has left many wondering whether specialist departmental libraries with their long rows of shelves will soon be rendered obsolete.

Personally, I have been pondering this question for several years, particularly upon experiencing (somehow unsettling) relief whenever online resources proved more than satisfactory for my academic needs, effectively sparing me from a trip to the library. At times, this relief was made even more aggravating, as it was precisely the membership in the departmental library that allowed me to access extensive online collections of academic books and journals from the comfort of my own desk.

This unprecedented convenience is often cited as an indicator of superiority of digital books, which for many it might well be. However, the fact that it is so often held up as the conclusive argument when weighing in on the future of academic libraries seems to reduce the switch to the digital medium to a matter of personal preference or catering to laziness. Proponents of traditional books tend to counter this point at a similar level, appealing to the unique experience of handling a well-made book. In this, both sides seem to be focusing on their subjective evaluation of the immediate characteristics of the two media, while failing to address the "big picture" in this debate: the implications of physicality and digitality in the context of library economy.

For centuries, libraries were seen as an embodiment of the intellectual achievements of humanity. Soon after the advent of writing, they became centers of learning and innovation. The written word stored in the world's libraries provided a readily available foundation for further intellectual progress, as thick volumes lining library shelves were gradually populated with knowledge spanning many diverse disciplines. Scholars from each new generation contributed their unique ideas and discoveries, enabling the subsequent generations to "stand on the shoulders of giants" and make even more impressive progress.

Yet today, many people are increasingly turning to the Internet in their intellectual pursuits, which has successfully established itself as the "global library" among academics and non-academics alike. To the dismay of many, and the delight of some, libraries appear to be gradually losing their importance as gateways to knowledge, having dominated the dissemination of ideas for several millennia.

It is not difficult to see why libraries have historically been so indispensable to scientific progress—the physicality of books made centralization desirable, if not inevitable. As long as the achievements of intellectual giants were mostly contained in rather unwieldy physical objects, sharing them with the public entailed the creation of vast spaces that would store and distribute them accordingly. Naturally, books themselves have also benefited from the innovation they enabled. The invention of the printing press has profoundly changed the production and distribution of written texts, as books ceased to be viewed as luxury goods and could since then be afforded by a much larger section of the society. However, compared to the quantum leap from oral tradition to the written word, which made it possible for previously elusive thoughts and ideas to be preserved in an enduring physical form, printing was a quantitative improvement, rather than a qualitative one.

The crucial breakthrough has only come about very recently, when information began to be stored within electronic circuits. As the progressing miniaturization of these circuits allowed a library's worth of data to be contained in a digital storage medium, humanity has come as close to the transcendence of the physical limitations of the written word as it has ever been. In the development of knowledge distribution, the shift from physical to digital appears to be the next monumental step following the transition from oral culture to manuscript culture.

In this landscape, libraries seem to be in a precarious position. Within the academia, this is especially true of relatively small departmental libraries, which might find themselves under pressure to justify their own existence. The prevailing reliance on physical books might force them to compromise in many respects. On

the one hand, providing a sufficient number of copies of the essential titles that are in most demand among students remains a major logistical challenge, with its negative impact often extending to the classroom. On the other hand, supplying the library with individual copies of highly specialized paper-based publications, which, although invaluable in certain contexts, might only be used once over a period of several years, raises the issue of cost-effectiveness. Thus, economies of scale seem to strongly favor large multi-departmental libraries.

Paradoxically, it is precisely greater adoption of electronic books that might help departmental libraries reverse this predicament. The adaptability of the digital medium can allow them to better adjust their collections to the needs of the department while simultaneously saving time and resources. More and more specialist titles, monographs, and cutting-edge research reports are published in the digital form each year, enabling libraries to provide their patrons with relevant positions without regard to restrictions such as a limited number of available copies or a finite amount of shelf space. By acquiring digital publications, they can respond to the demand much faster and gradually build collections that are better suited to accommodate the ever-expanding body of scholarly knowledge in the relevant disciplines.

This should also make it possible to prevent inflation of costs, as increasing the amount of digital resources does not entail a considerable increase in the costs of shelving and maintenance, as is the case with paper books. A similar non-linear relationship holds true for the cost of purchasing access to new digital resources, which can be acquired in large collections spanning thousands of titles at a fraction of the cost of equivalent physical publications. Moreover, e-books can be easily indexed and integrated into library databases, without the need to painstakingly catalog them and track their physical location throughout their entire life cycle. All these benefits translate into much greater economic viability, which might contribute to halting the trend of absorbing departmental libraries into larger entities.

This is not to say that paper books should be banished from academic libraries to make room for the economically superior electronic books. The inherent disparity between resources stored in a physical and digital form makes it possible for the two to coexist and satisfy a wide range of needs. Strangely enough, this striking qualitative difference is often overlooked by those who liken the future of printed books to the condition of manuscripts following the invention of the printing press[1]. However, as long as there are publishing houses willing to print

[1] The two have actually existed side-by-side for many decades. In some areas, manuscript is used to this day (Buringh 119–122).

traditional books and patrons who are inclined to use them, there is no reason to believe that the medium will—or should—disappear from the academia or the public life.

As of 2013, only half of the titles acquired by academic libraries were available in the electronic form, suggesting that the universal availability of digital resources is still a long way off (Walters 202–203). When it is ultimately achieved, it is unlikely that e-books will be able to effectively replace paper books in all contexts, even accounting for their widespread digitization. After all, the very physicality of historically or otherwise important resources is often a valuable subject of academic inquiry.

On the other hand, it is important to note that the potential for improvement presented by the electronic medium is almost unlimited, and we will almost certainly see numerous ingenious functionalities that will make our interaction with e-books even more natural and seamless. While few similar advances can be expected to happen in the area of traditional publishing, it does not warrant dismissing the role that paper books have played in the development of human knowledge throughout the millennia leading up to the rise of the digital medium.

In order to avoid being perceived as mere storehouses of printed resources or entirely vanishing, departmental libraries should continue focusing on providing one of the most valuable services in the academia: helping their patrons access specialist knowledge and utilize it to its full potential. If their mission is to be fulfilled, they must stay responsive to the preferences of the readers, as well as the technological and societal developments taking place outside their walls. This would most likely to mean a greater—though not hurried—adoption of electronic books and adjusting their operations to the requirements of digital distribution. The development of online services that make it easier to find and access digital as well as physical resources is in the best interest of not just the patrons, but also libraries themselves.

Contrary to what some proponents of traditional books might claim, using digital books does not have to be an exercise in isolation. There seems to be no compelling reason why those for whom e-books are the medium of choice would have to be excluded from spaces intended for quiet reading or academic discussions centered around the library. Quite contrary, it might even be necessary to emphasize that electronic books are perfectly welcome in the library environment, preferably by encouraging students to bring their own devices or even lending properly adapted e-readers. If the sense of intellectual community is to be maintained, it should stem from the free exchange of ideas, not the format in which these ideas are expressed.

For many public institutions, the increasing role of the Internet and the digital media in our everyday lives is a reason for major concern, as it might even jeopardize their very existence. However, I would argue that this is not the case for departmental libraries, as the remedy for this problem—which is clearly within their reach—might also prove to be the panacea for many of their other ills. Electronic books release the written word from the restrictions of physicality, offering unparalleled flexibility and enabling libraries to meet diverse academic needs. The strategic adoption of this medium does not have to occur at the expense of paper-based resources, whose unquestionable merits largely derive from the physical form that is lacking in e-books. The harmonious coexistence of the two media presents a chance to ensure the present viability of specialist departmental libraries, while at the same time preparing them for the unpredictable future.

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The Case for Libraries

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It is clear that more and more academic research is being conducted online. Access to academic journals through databases like JSTOR makes essays instantly available to anyone who needs them. Portals in the vein of Google Scholar render the network of quotations and references both clear and easily maneuverable. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin have described the contemporary digital culture as following the double logic of remediation, one of immediacy and hypermediacy (Bolter and Grusin 5). Both aspects apply to the experience of online research: the texts are more directly available than in the past, while at the same time the intertextual character of academic publications is emphasized more than ever before. In spite of all that, it is hard to imagine the disappearance of departmental libraries. Certain books are still impossible to find legally without payment, therefore libraries remain institutions of economic support for students and young scholars. The experience of reading a printed book is still favored by many over having to endure going through a long PDF or EPUB file on a laptop. Yet perhaps the social and symbolic roles of departmental libraries are the most essential since both transcend the pragmatic character of the library as a provider of books. As proven by this author's own department, the students and the faculty of which use its library as an ideal, quiet workplace, but also a site of repose, the purpose of these rooms is much broader than that of a simple book repository. All of this suggests that calling the departmental libraries obsolete is premature.

Students need libraries, because access to electronic books is limited. Course instructors indeed distribute the overwhelming majority of readings by sending out scans of texts through e-mail. Yet whenever a student wants to search for a book on her or his own, she or he is often faced with a dilemma: either pay for a legal electronic copy, or download the file illegally, if only it is available. A good, well-equipped departmental library provides a student with a third option: keep your actions legal, without spending all your resources on books you are not even sure you will use. Film and music industries seem to have conceded to the fact that most of their business was moving online only after the emergence of huge services such as Netflix or Spotify, which allow the user to access their extensive

resources after paying a flat monthly fee. Until a similar service is introduced in the area of academic research, dealing with e-books will be a costly proposition. Of course it would be naïve to assume that students do not look for pirated scans of the books they need, but in this case the library plays the role of discouraging the Internet piracy. A student who finds a legally purchased book in her or his library will not seek it any further. Without the libraries, students would feel even more justified in downloading the illegal PDFs.

Moreover, despite the fact that today's students have already grown up in the era of widespread access to the Internet, there is a strong preference among many of them for reading the texts in print. This author's unofficial and unstructured observation of his or her department's students reveals that a significant number of those who come to the classes with an assigned reading, choose a printed version instead of reading it out of a tablet or a laptop. Remarks that they cannot bring themselves to focus on a text displayed on a computer screen are frequent. Caroline Myrberg and Ninna Wiberg quote a study conducted in Norway by Anne Mangen, Bente R. Walgermo, and Kolbjørn Brønnick that randomly divided the students into two groups, of which each had to read two texts (Myrberg and Wiberg 50). One of the groups was given the texts in print, the other had to read them from a PDF file on a computer screen. The group which read the texts in print scored significantly better in reading comprehension tests than the other one (Mangen et. al. 61–68). The study shows that keeping as many printed books in the academia as it is possible may increase the effectiveness of teaching. From this point of view, any university would do well ensuring that their libraries are getting steady support. Obviously a text may be printed out of an electronic file—but it becomes quite inconvenient whenever a text at hand is that of a longer variety. No literature student will want to print out the whole novel when they have the possibility of checking it out of a library.

Furthermore, the role of the library as a social site in a university department cannot be overemphasized. Corridors can be crowded, loud, and full of acquaintances who will surely interfere with any attempt to get some work done between classes. The convention of keeping quiet in a library ensures that anyone who comes there is guaranteed peaceful, uninterrupted work time, or can simply relax in an unthreatening atmosphere. One could argue that the disappearance of libraries would not have to mean that some other social sphere did not appear, but such a scenario is doubtful. Libraries carry a long tradition of being a safe, peaceful space and quietness does not have to be enforced in them, save in some rare cases. Costs of enforcement of quietness in such a new site would be much higher than those in libraries, where it is usually self-enforced. When they need to, students

crave calm spaces, since they are not likely to find peace in the dormitories or student apartments, therefore libraries prove particularly popular during the examination session or at the time when essay deadlines approach.

All of the preceding arguments have some degree of pragmatism to them. After all, the question of obsolescence has to prompt consideration of the libraries' "usefulness" either within or beyond its role as a provider of books. Yet much of this reflection is framed by the economically determined ideology of practicality and exchange value, which is arguably damaging to the sphere of the higher education today and which pulls our attention away from the very important, symbolic role of the library as the signifier of the departments' status and its ambitions as an institution of education. Martha Nussbaum, in her already seminal 2010 book *Not for Profit. Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* argues that the logic of the university as a provider of workforce for the market has lost sight of the higher education's more important goals, such as that of teaching students to think critically and act consciously as citizens of liberal democracies. Nussbaum suggests that the logic of calculated profit makes us forget other purposes of university education (Nussbaum 1–8). In a way, the call to close the libraries is not too far away from the cyclically recurring call to close the Philosophy Departments in different Polish universities. The argument is often economic: there are not enough students or not enough books checked out, therefore the endeavor does not pay for its own existence. But both calls ignore the fact that Philosophy Departments and libraries alike have tremendous symbolic value. Each of departments makes a certain statement with its library: it states its own autonomy and asserts its ambition to become a space of intellectual pursuit and accumulation of knowledge, some of it abstract and without much use to the market. The disappearance of departmental libraries would be a small step towards acknowledging the fact that higher education is supposed to produce white-collar workers. From this perspective, libraries do not seem relevant, readings can be provided in any possible way, what really matters are the results. But the act of supporting the library is a statement against the logic of calculation and, according to Nussbaum and a number of contemporary thinkers, such statements are sorely needed nowadays.

All in all, in spite of the fact that electronic books have dramatically altered the experience of academic research and distribution of assigned readings at the universities, there are numerous reasons for the departmental libraries to keep existing. On the one hand, they make the access to books more convenient and broader, relieve students from the necessity to pay for the texts they need for research purposes, discourage piracy, and ensure that literature in print remains

available for anyone who needs it in this form. On the other hand, the libraries play several roles which are not directly connected to dissemination of books: they offer a convenient and peaceful working space, serve as a status symbol for their departments, embodying the traditional cultural role of universities as devoted to the pursuit of knowledge. The arrival of new media is often accompanied by the anxiety about the obsolescence of the old ones. Television was to kill both radio and cinema, yet both old media remained strong, even if not unaltered. The Internet was supposed to replace television, yet what is seen is the merging of the two media into a hybrid of online VOD services such as Netflix, Hulu, or Amazon Prime. Printed books and libraries will be fine. They may have to adapt to the new reality shaped by the proliferation of e-books, but they are too important to disappear.

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Edgar Allan Poe

Ravens walked me to the station and saw me off;
They interrogated me what I was so deeply afraid of.
Ravens carried the message of relentless “Nevermore”;
I demanded to know what they had for me in store.

Look at him.
His daunting character is not a scarecrow
but his stare is still a sharp-edged dagger.
May clever Edgar Allan Poe guard me through my endeavors.

Know him.
His word as dark as the deep blue sea
but his thought as tangible as your own knee.
May dear Edgar Allan Poe sing to me his Annabelle Lee.

Desert Sun

The sky is not
At ease.
There's not a sudden
Breeze.
The heavens
Colored atomic tangerine
Of the world's end
Left me wondering.
Above, the bright
Button
Blinds without
Pardon.
Being a wreck,
I have around my neck
A scarf with anchors –
O, how I lack my Hangers
That hold me
Tight
That shape me
Right
That are there every
Night.
Anchors of the silent sea
You are far away from me.
There, the light is soft and tender;
Here, the desert sun is the offender.
The waves might sing a lullaby:
To me, to you, to passer-by.
But there is not a sudden
Breeze.
Look, the sky is not
At ease.

Hanger

You're a hanger that holds
Such formless me;
Empty inside, with sleeves
Flying upon a gust of wind,
Without any structure or purpose.
Your wire or wooden shoulders
Help me to take shape,
And then retake it,
And retake it.
For now, I'm just an item hanging,
Unironed and all wrinkled.
But you hold me firmly,
And maybe one day
I will put myself off the hanger
And walk on my own –
Straightened, buttoned up,
No lines, and the collar high.

Ula Świątek
BA student

BA Eng Lit Year 1

All's lost in the waves and all's lost at sea.
I'm all I ever was and can hope to be:

I've spent one too many a night
on trying to be an erudite; however,
I'm not T.S. Eliot, nor was meant to be,
I haven't even read Dante's "Comedy",
and there's not enough sound in my verse.

Perhaps I'm just missing a Pound or few,
perhaps I should follow a different voice –
Kerouac, how about you?

Oh, I'm not a Beatnik, nor was meant to be,
I've waited in rail yards by the sea:
north coast, south coast, somewhere in the middle
is where I was born and hoped to live;
jumping trains and switching men like gloves,
throwing them around like cards – damned jokers –
drinking wine by the big blue movements
of hit and splash and run to the station
to wait till the storm passes, till my train comes;
but for now the storm of three weeks or more.

I'm shaken to the core –

I'm not Hamlet, nor was meant to be;
I've wasted three movements on trying to see
here, where I should listen to hear.

Here, all's lost in the waves and all's lost at sea;
hear, I'm all I ever was and can hope to be;
come the sunrise comes the recollection
gathered in tranquility – hear here –
I've found myself looking at a reflection
of all that's been and was meant to be
a reflection in a puddle.

Chesterston said, Chersterton quoth
that the rain should be better-loved:

in a puddle all's twice infinity;
in a puddle no voices can drown us;
in a puddle, night lights roam free,
and that's enough, if just for me.

Scene

Fields of colour on spaces brown-black,
grass-blades bent backward and hair blowing back,
murmurs caught in the rustle of leaves,
a girl hiding skin-deep in her sweater-sleeves –
geometry hits the scene at this spot:
blacks and navies ensquare white dots;
stripes stack rectangles of knots on knots,
embracing woolly the figure they'd caught –
a lone perpendicular to horizontal hue,
stepping softly through drops of sunrise dew.

Forefathers' Eve

I'm a romantic, thoroughly decabric,
ten times removed cousin of the macabric.

Now, that the time has come –
our collars done up and our shirts come undone,
the doors've'en blocked and the curtains'en drawn –

quickly, before the roosters cluck!
bring out the lamps and rub them for luck:

all's quiet, all's dark
(nothing to be done)
rise out troubled spirits,
lest you burn in the Sun;

just as the first drop from the candles fell,
the first apparition appears out of hell –
like a well-known wicked creature
climbs out of a well –
and it cries, and it wails, it curses, it calls
within these secured, sacred walls:
'what have I done, what have I done?
Let me perish in the morning Sun;
I want no sacrifice nor meal,
I just want to escape this evil seal'.
But tradition's tradition –
we know by intuition
that a troubled spirit needs its feast
of blood and berries to banish the beast,
and prayers to lit the flame inside
that will the soul to heaven guide.

We chant:
‘-- all’s quiet, all’s dark,
soon come the lark –’
this is the way
to the Almighty we pray
that if he wish, he may
take back to his prey –

specters to an empty scene,
audienced by spleen, spleen, spleen, spleen! –

The spirit moans.
The sound resonates
with my tired bones.
The spirit soars
straight through abyss’ open doors—
Our first deed is done,
our collars done up, and our shirts come undone,

and still we wait for rebellion to come –
to hear the fatalistic drum beating!

/ _ _ / _
/ _ _ / _
_ / _ _ / _
_ / _ _ / _

fatata fatum
level ðe stratum
makede vacare
se nostrum prastaré!

But for now only our hearts are beating,
waiting for spirits to arise
before our weak and weary eyes.

Anees Ratheestharan
BA student

Expect the Expectations

Swirl by the wind, dead me
Floating along its currents;
Beside me a quail struggling and lost
But struggling for what one might wonder.
Struggling to expectations!

In jeopardy was when it saw its twin!
Took a deep look down as it replicated it.
Jumped over the puddle and the enemy is no more
Yet, it lost its only companion
Who knows if a friend or a foe?

I saw a different world, didn't know I can enter,
But the earth has changed its colour?
It's Blue n White!
And the Arouras are frequent at the top,
Even they have changed colours to silver

Still! Reflecting upon this new world I stand in now,
Where the waterfall is brown
And once it reached the bottom it's branches turn green
What a marvellous creation am I in!
A stranger I am for sure to this world!

Phases by Time

Dawn has broken and light has cast
viola's womb has bloomed in vast
Young honeycreepers fool around
through aromas of indigo shrubs
Then blue the sky in glow as arose the Star
over rivers and oceans she bogus the night filled stars.
Bushes over the top of trunks were of Clouds floating above
never had she gloat like man.
And so we turn old waiting to Fall
Pend like the Sun while it sets reviving the two feeble.
Let the intense rage in its heart calm
Thus she not perish herself and rest forever!
To a colourful world bridged by the prism
from the Cold n Dark realm of isms.

Is it worth?

Today, Time and I spent moments together;
Thoughts and Memories joined us later,
I truly felt like waiting for Godot.
Rien à faire!

Our conversation ran like train
each phase like a compartment.
From cradle to me now and further to grave
Haha, with laughter we spoke all day.

Smart them, they knew I had to face
Patience and Gratitude soon,
Hence pouring tranquility in my heart first,
Later guiding me to understanding

So, is it true Rien à faire?
no matter what I'll always be a student to Life.

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