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# Athens Journal of Philology

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The current issue is the fourth of the eleventh volume of the *Athens Journal of Philology (AJP)*, published by the published by the [Languages & Linguistics Unit](#) and the [Literature Unit](#) of ATINER

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- Submission of Paper: **9 June 2025**

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## **Social *Hamlet*: Time and Culture in the W. Shakespeare's Tragedy**

*By Roman Kritsberg\**

*Sociocultural factors affect language lexis directly contrary to its phonology and grammar structure where such influence is moot. The tragedy Hamlet by Shakespeare, as a specimen of discourse, reflects the various aspects of the social environment ranging from medieval cosmology to pastimes and entertainments. A detailed statistical and semantic analysis of the original Hamlet text (First Folio) has been done by mixed method research. All the items related to the cultural background have been thoroughly gleaned from the text, interpreted, and studied by their semantics, structure, and figures of speech. The research reveals that the most numerous semantic group under consideration refers to 'special areas of activity' (31.75%), which includes such domains, as hawking, hunting, sea, military, pastime (games), theater, law, and arrow shooting. This group is followed by that of cultural references to customs, traditions, realia of the time, and historical events (17.46%). Then in the descending order, go the notions that refer to scientific views of the time (11.9%), those of superstitions (11.11%) and prejudices (10.32%). The group of medieval cosmology and that of religion are less numerous – 9.52% and 7.94% correspondingly. Structurally, communicative units, sentences and sets of those (58.73%), prevail over lexical units (35.71%) and idioms (5.56%). Among figures of speech, animal metaphor, transfer of different human qualities and that from concrete to abstract notions, along with flower symbolism as metonymy are most numerous.*

**Keywords:** *cultural environment, Hamlet, medieval belief, obsolete sense, reference, Shakespeare's language*

### **Introduction**

Bringing to light the relation between language and culture (or society in terms of sociolinguistics) has always been the Holy Grail of researchers. 'Culture' belongs to one of the most complex words in any language. Its definition depends on a science that deals with it – anthropology, sociology, esthetics, semiotics, etc. In the present study, culture, after Eagleton, "... *can be loosely summarized as the complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group ... 'that complex whole', as the anthropologist E.B. Tylor ... puts it ..., 'which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'*" (Eagleton 2000, p. 42). This definition stresses the idea of synchronic cross-cut of the late Tudor England, while 'time' in the study refers to hallmarks of the language in diachronic dimension, different from the present-day English.

The early sociological framing of language goes back to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. (Coulmas 2017, p. 18). The 'strong version' of the Sapir and Whorf's

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theory that language determines the way people think, has not been supported by modern scholars. Labov, e.g., states that "... *the force of social evaluation ... is generally brought to bear upon ... the lexicon and phonetics*" (Labov 2001, p. 28). Indeed, the ways sociocultural factors affect the rigid grammar structures are intricate, if any at all. One can legitimately ask whether there is a connection between the Norman Conquest of England and the change to verb-non-final word order in ME. Or what is the correspondence between the Kurgan burial of Proto-Indo-European, along with the domestic horse and the chariot, ethnic markers of those, on the one hand, and the system of ablaut, a characteristic feature of Indo-European – vocalic alternations accompanied by morphological changes, on the other?

Still, studying the lexicon that reflects the cultural aspects of any given period could spell out the nature of language change and the complexities of interplay between intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors. From this standpoint, *Hamlet* by Shakespeare is a unique specimen of discourse, an encyclopedia of his time, with a bird-eye's view of the pertaining social aspects.

Hence, the research objective of the present study lies in finding out how the social environment of the late Tudor England is reflected in the language of *Hamlet* in semantics, structure, and figures of speech.

The method of discourse analysis, with a combination of macro and micro-analytical approaches (qualitative and quantitative approaches or mixed method research) has been used in the study.

## Literature Review

A complete review of Shakespearean Literature would go far beyond the scope of this paper. Still, there are some relevant sources, which have been tapped into. Thus, the influences of foreign languages on and difference of English in the Bard's works are dealt with in the monograph *Interlinguicity, Internationality, and Shakespeare* (Saenger 2014). In particular, the author's elaboration on the Shakespeare's technique of coining new words and stylistic innovations – tautology, parallelism, repetition, and doubling of terms (Saenger 2014, pp. 97-98) contributes to an insight into the text of *Hamlet*.

The political background of the period is considered in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (Hadfield 2004). Especially, the book reveals how the Shakespeare's plays are informed by contemporary political ideas and events (Hadfield 2004, p. 12), the Bard's use of historical parallels, "... *given his own involvement in the events between 1599 and 1601*" (Hadfield 2004, p. 16), Shakespeare's criticism of court life and behavior (Hadfield 2004, p. 17), the indirect relation of *Hamlet* to contemporary events, as "*Elsinore represents dying Tudor England*" (Hadfield 2004, pp. 87-88).

The Shakespeare's language has been profoundly studied in *Shakespeare and the Arts of Language* (McDonald 2012). Among other things, the author dwells on the role of connotation in figurative language, together with that of figuration in coloring the text, and "... *the difference between the para-phrasable content of a*

statement and the effect of its figuration” (McDonald 2012, pp. 61-70). All that helps understand better the similes of the tragedy.

The book of Hope (Hope 1994) deals with a socio-linguistic study of Shakespeare’s plays. The author brings to light the hallmarks of Shakespeare’s style, as the use of the auxiliary ‘do’, relative markers, the pronouns ‘thou’ and ‘you’.

Numerous dictionaries on various aspects of Shakespeare’s language are also abundant: the informal language of the Bard is presented in the Dictionary of Blake (Blake 2004), the legal language – in the Dictionary of Sokol and Sokol (Sokol B, Sokol M 2004), a Glossary of the Bard’s Plays and Poems – in Shewmaker’s dictionary (Shewmaker 2008).

The playwright’s philosophical ideas are described in the work of Bevington (Bevington 2008). The most relevant to our research are the Shakespeare’s ideas on writing and acting (Bevington 2008, pp. 74-106) and those on religious controversy and issues of faith (Bevington 2008, pp. 106-143), which are reflected in the play (the apparition of the *Ghost*, *Hamlet*’s monolog on acting, etc.).

Shakespeare sources are studied in the Dictionary of Gillespie (Gillespie 2001). De Sousa considers cross-cultural encounters and environment in the Bard’s works (de Sousa 2002), Wells – sexuality in his plays (Wells 2010), Blake – the grammar of Shakespeare’s language (Blake 2002). The hidden language of Shakespeare encoded in symbols is revealed by Asquith (Asquith 2006), and Pearce (Pearce 2010).

The works of ‘old-timers’ – Drake in 1817 (Drake 1969), Johnson in 1765 (Johnson 1958), along with the commentary of Kean (Kean 1859) and Decker (Decker 1843) provide much valuable information on the Bard’s time, regarding customs, traditions, rites, together with peculiarities of the Shakespeare’s language.

## Methodology

As it is known, there are three early editions of the text: First Quarto (Q1) in 1603, Second Quarto (Q2) in 1604-1605, and First Folio (F1 or F) in 1623 (Hattaway 1987). The problem of ‘authentic’ text is avoided in this study. It is established that Q2 and F1 texts are probably superior to Q1, which is shorter and designed for the stage performance. The text F1 with its original spelling has served as material for this research. The F1 text is used by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) for its quotations, as well (Simpson and Weiner 1994). In some rare cases, examples from Q2 were included in the study, they are marked as Q2. Though the original text F1 did not have ‘chapter and verse’ numeration (acts, scenes, lines), this paper follows the usual later practice (used also by the OED) of such numeration for the sake of transparency. Meanings of the lexical items are often taken from the OED and sometimes abridged.

The method procedure is as follows. Firstly, the text of *Hamlet* was thoroughly studied with special reference to the cultural hallmarks, wherefrom the corresponding language units were gleaned. Then all the items were thoroughly analyzed, tapping into various sources – commentaries and works on *Hamlet*. The language units in question were itemized and systematized into the following domains – medieval cosmology; scientific views; religious beliefs; superstitions, customs and traditions;

special areas of human activity (occupations, pastimes, diversions, etc.); prejudices, etc. In turn, these groups were scrutinized to undergo more detailed classification. Thus, special areas of human activities include hawking, hunting, sea, military, pastime (games), theater, law, arrow shooting, etc.; the group of contemporary realia contains those related to customs, traditions, burial and funeral rites, St. Valentine Day, flower symbolism, old songs, political references; superstitions are broken down into apparition of ghosts, the observance of spells and charms, queer customs and faith in omens, etc.

Secondly, the structure of the cultural mentions has been researched. The items were divided into three groups: lexical, communicative (sentences and sets of those), and idioms. Their specifics have been assessed.

Thirdly, figures of speech were considered in the items, which possess them. The most prolific types of metaphor and metonymy were commented on and classified.

## Findings

In the tragedy, 126 direct mentions connected to the cultural (social) environment of the author's time and place are found. The first group to be discussed refers to medieval cosmology. It is known that the medieval views on the Universe were based on geocentric theory of the solar system by Ptolemy that tapped into Aristotle's physics. According to the geocentric theory, the Earth was fixed at the center, deferents were large circles centered on the Earth, and epicycles were small circles whose centers moved around the circumferences of the deferents, with the Sun, Moon, etc. moving around the circumferences of the deferents. The stars were fixed on their spheres and did not rotate on their own, contrary to planets (<http://abyss.uoregon.edu/~js/ast123/lectures/lec02.html>). This group contains 12 cases:

*"When yond same Starre that's Westward from the Pole Had made his course t' illume that part of Heauen ..."* [I.i.42-44].

*"That as the Starre moues not but in his Sphere."* [IV.vii.15].

*"So many iournies may the Sunne and Moone Make vs againe count o're, ere loue be done."* [III.ii.161-162].

*"And thirtie dozen Moones with borrowed sheene, About the World haue times twelue thirties beene."* [III.ii.157-158].

Another example from the text has to do with retrograde motion of planets, when each planet "... *seems to slow down at times, then move in reverse ... before resuming its course*" (<https://www.britannica.com/video/23882/Ptolemy-theory-solar-system>). As from above, the planets were moving on two sets of circle (deferents and epicycles), and this retrograde motion kept the planets in their circular orbits around the Earth (Ibid.). Thus, the *King* implores *Hamlet*:

*"For your intent In going backe to Schoole in Wittenberg, It is most retrograde to our desire."* [I.ii.113]. Here: *retrograde* is used in the obsolete sense introduced by

Shakespeare 'contrary', derived from astronomy ('going contrary to motion of the sign: East to West').

The fixed positions of the stars in the spheres and their structure are reflected in the following quotations:

"Make thy two eyes like Starres, start from their Spheres." [I.v.22-23].

"Doubt thou, the Starres are fire, Doubt, that the Sunne doth moue:" [II.ii.115].

"What is he, whose griefes ... conjure the wandring Starres, and makes them stand ..." [V.i.258, 260].

The soul in medieval astrology, after Plato, was associated with the stars. Souls are made by Demiurge in numbers equal to the stars (Barton 2003, p. 109). Pythagorians and Platonists stressed the astral origin of the human soul (Barton 2003, p. 110). When *Polonius* says to his daughter: "*Lord Hamlet is a Prince out of thy Starre.*" [II.ii.140], he means that they both have different status, and he is out of her reach.

Next two cases refer to the ties between astrology and medicine, which were strong in the Middle Ages. The influence of the planets on the human body was contradictory and controversial (Barton 2003, pp. 185-192). Thus, *Horatio* seeing *the Ghost* exclaims:

"But soft, behold: Loe, where it comes againe: Ile crosse it, though it blast me. Stay Illusion." [I.i.126-127]. Here: *to blast* '(of a malign planet) to exercise its bad influence'.

"The nights are wholesome, then no Planets strike." [I.i.161]. Here: *to strike* '(of a malign planet) to kill (obs.)'

One more extract related to astrology is found in Q2:

"As stars with trains of fire and dewes of blood, Disasters in the sun; and the moist star, Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands, Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse." [I.i.129-132].

Here: *moist star* is the Moon, which was believed to be a source of dew and whose influence on the tides was known since 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE (Barton 2003). Cicero stated that from the Moon come moisture and dew, useful for nourishment of living being and plants (Barton 2003).

The second group under consideration relates to scientific views of that time. Evidently, in some cases it overlaps with that of astrology and erroneous beliefs, since the medieval science bore the birthmarks of both. This set counts 15 items. Firstly, the following should be encapsulated.

In ancient and medieval science, the nature consisted of four elements: earth, water, air, and fire, with each having the corresponding qualities: dry, moist (or humid), cold, and hot. They were thought to match corresponding *humors* (blood – air, black choler – earth, phlegm – water, and choler – fire). The earth was dry and cold, water – moist and cold, air – moist and hot, fire – dry and hot. The combination of those elements was thought to make up these four *humors* (fluids)

in human's body that determined his/her character. In the healthy organism, antagonizing humors were balanced, while an excess of one or more of those caused diseases (Barton 2003, pp. 911-916). Many cases in the group relate in some way to this ground principle, as:

*"Awake the God of Day: and at his warning, Whether in Sea, or Fire, in Earth, or Ayre, Th' extrauagant, and erring Spirit, hyes."* [I.i.153-155].

Another example: *"And since so Neighbour'd to his youth, and humour [=state of mind], That you vouchsafe your rest heere in our Court."* [II.ii.11-12].

Next quotation parachutes from the medieval sense of the word *temper*, along with *temperament* and *complexion*, as 'due combination of the above-mentioned qualities':

*"He tels me my sweet Queene, that he hath found The head and sourse of all your Sonnes distemper [=malaise]."* [II.ii.54-55].

Again: *"The King, sir ... Is in his retyrement, maruellous distemper'd."* [III.ii.307, 309-310].

And: *"Vpon the heate and flame of thy distemper [=state of madness] ..."* [II.iv.124].

Or: *"Mee thinks it is very soultry, and hot for my Complexion."* [V.ii.98-99].

Some vital body organs were considered in the Bard's time as seats of emotions and feelings: *liver* – the hub of love and violent passions, *heart* – the center of vital functions, the seat of life, the life itself; *mind* – the center of intellectual abilities, *bowels* used to stand for 'offspring, descendants'. In the following, *Hamlet* says:

*"But I am Pigeon-Liuer'd, and lacke Gall."* [II.ii.574], here: *pigeon* used in the old sense 'coward'.

The next case – *"And blest are those, Whose Blood and Iudgement are so well co-mingled."* [III.ii.78-79], after Johnson, shows that according to the doctrine of the four humors, *desire* and *confidence* were seated in the blood, judgment in the phlegm, and the due mixture of the humors made a perfect character (Johnson 1958).

Some obsolete senses nowadays bear the birthmarks of medieval views:

*"This is the very extasie [=morbid state, as epilepsy, frenzy] of Loue."* [II.i.102].

Again: *"... blasted with extasie ..."* [III.i.172].

Another example is: *"... the humourous [=peevish] man shall end his part in peace ..."* [II.ii.334-335].

The next small passage shows a wordplay based on old senses of *distempered* and *choler*: *"The King ... maruellous distemper'd [=troubled, vexed] ... rather with choller [=bile, purgation] ... for me to put him to his Purgation, would perhaps plundge him into farre more Choller [=anger, wrath]."* [III.ii.307, 309-310, 312, 314-315].

Another case in point is *spleen* with its obsolete derivative *splenative*. When *Hamlet* comes to fight with *Laertes* at the *Ophelia*'s funeral, he exclaims: "Sir though I am not *Spleenatiue* [=of hot and hasty temper], and rash, Yet haue I something in me dangerous, Which let thy wisenesse feare. Away thy hand." [V.i.265-267]. According to the OED, *spleen* at that time combined the opposite senses – 'the seat of melancholy or morose feelings' with that of 'the seat of laughter or mirth' (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 1858). Then the derivative (now all obsolete senses) emerged: 'merriment', 'caprice, whim', 'fit of temper, passion', 'courage, hot temper', wherefrom the meaning in question developed.

The biggest theme group under consideration can roughly be defined as 'special areas', 40 items (two of them in Q2), which includes such domains, as hawking, hunting, sea, military, pastime (games), theater, law, arrow shooting (single cases are not accounted for). As Drake puts it, hawking was "... during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the most prevalent and fashionable of all amusements" (Drake 1969, p. 255). Being at the peak of its popularity and reputation at that time, it "... descended from the nobility to the gentry and wealthy yeomanry" (Drake 1969, p. 255). This diversion was very costly, and addicts often sacrificed their fortunes. The falconry jargon has left its traces in the tragedy. Thus, *Hamlet* after seeing the *Ghost* of his Father, answers his worried friends: "*Hillo, ho, ho, boy; come bird, come!*" [I.v.118], here: *hillo* was a command used by a falconer to his trained bird to return.

In another example "*But there is Sir an ayrie [=brood] of Children, little Yases, that crye out on the top of question ...*" [II.ii.339-340], *eyas* is 'a little hawk for training'.

One more instance of the same ilk: "*Masters, you are all welcome: wee'l e'ne to't like French Faulconers, flie at any thing we see.*" [II.ii.422-423]. Here, reference is made to the trained French falcons, which as actors like to play any script, are eager to attack any prey.

In the last citation related to hawking: "... if he be now return'd, As checking at his Voyage ..." [IV.vii.69-70], *checking* is 'stopping short the falcon's flight calling it back' (compared to *Hamlet*, who could break his voyage and return to Denmark).

The nature of the next diversion had drastically changed in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. "*All the sport now consists of speed ... the speed of the fleed blood-horse ... a racer*" (Drake 1969, p. 274). The hunting in the enclosures, as parks or forests, had been over. At that time, this pastime became training, preparation for the fatigue of a war, since the sport required much endurance, strength, and courage, as pursuing a stag or a wild boar. The sport exhibited a 'very imposing spectacle', with greyhounds, masters of the game, blasting horns, and other pompous and splendid rituals (Drake 1969, p. 274). In the tragedy, 5 examples related to hunting are found. Thus, *Polonius* comments on the *Hamlet*'s vows to *Ophelia*: "*Springes to catch Woodcocks. I doe know.*" [I.iii.115]. Woodcocks were believed to be an easy game to catch, witless birds. Again, being mortally wounded by *Hamlet*, *Laertes* cries out in agony: "*Why as a Woodcock To mine Sprindge, Osricke, I am iustly kill'd with mine owne Treacherie.*" [V.ii.302-303].

In another episode, *Polonius* suggests to the *King* that he knows the cause of *Hamlet's* distraction: "*And I do thinke, or else this braine of mine Hunts not the traile of Policie, so sure As I haue vs'd to do.*" [II.ii.46-48], where *trail* is 'a course of a pursued animal by its scent'. *Rosencrantz*, in his turn, while assuring *Hamlet* that he managed to bring actors for entertainment, says: "... *wee coated them on the way, and hither are they comming to offer you Seruice.*" [II.ii.317-318], where *coat* is an old hunting term for dog to overtake a game in hare pursuing [=we manage to catch up with the actors and bring them here].

The last instance of hunting terms usage in the tragedy is the episode when the rioters headed by *Laertes* try to break into the *King's* palace, and *Gertrude* observes: "*How cheerefully on the false Traile they cry, Oh this is Counter you false Danish Dogges.*" [IV.v.83-84], with the idea that they are wrong, assuming that *Polonius* was killed by the *King*. Here: *counter* is 'an opposite direction of the game pursuit'.

Theater is another special area, wherefrom some citations originate. Thus, in the Act II when *Hamlet* arranges a performance to help bring to light the *King's* guilt, he gives instructions to the actors, as follows: "*O it offends mee to the Soule, to see a robustious Pery-wig-pated Fellow, teare a Passion to tatters, to verie ragges, to split the eares of the Groundlings: who (for the most part) are capeable of nothing, but inexplicable dumbe shewes ...*" [II.ii.8-12]. *Groundlings* are 'common people used to watch the play as standees', *dumb show* is 'a pantomime light performance that preceded the play'. In the same scene, *Hamlet* requests the 'top' player: "*And let those that play your Clownes, speake no more then is set downe for them.*" [II.ii.37-38], alluding to the practice of free exchange of actors' quips on the stage.

There is another episode, when *Hamlet* rebukes the *Queen* that she married his uncle, comparing the latter to the *vice*: "*A vice of Kings, ... A King of shreds and patches.*" [III.iv.99, 103]. *Vice* was a fool of the old moralities, usually extravagantly dressed and was thought to be a predecessor of Punch.

There are some other references to amusements of that time. Thus, the ruinous practice of gambling (dicing) is shown in *Hamlet's* words to his mother: "*Makes marriage vows as false as Dicers Oathes.*" [III.iv.45-46]. Gambling took its hold in London in the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., the 'vile houses' were planted everywhere, and unfortunate dicers firmly believed that "... *dice were first made of the bones of a witch, and cards of her skin*", but were unable to forsake that pernicious habit (Drake 1969, p. 158).

There is little known about the sports of bowling and tennis in that time, but next three citations relate to those. When *Polonius* gives instructions to *Laertes* on his leave, he observes: "*But doe not dull thy palme, with entertainment Of each vnhatc't, vnflgdg'd Comrade.*" [I.iii.64-65]. *Polonius* probably means *palm-play* 'a game like tennis of that time played with palms'.

In his famous monolog, *Hamlet* exclaims: "*To sleepe, perchance to Dreame; I, there's the rub.*" [III.i.65]. According to the OED, *rub* as 'an obstacle or impediment by which a bowl is hindered in, or diverted from' was frequently used in figurative senses in 16-17<sup>th</sup> cc.' (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 1623).



In another episode, when *Polonius* wants his servant *Reynaldo* to check his son's behavior, he says: "*With windlesses, and with assaies of Bias, By indirections finde directions out.*" [II.i.62-63]. Here: *bias* is 'an oblique line in which a bowl runs' (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 132).

Arrow shooting took up a backseat at the time in question and was in decline: "... *the disuse of archery was so general, that the "Companies of Bowyers and Fletchers" made heavy complaints, and procured a work to be written, in order to place before "the nobility and gentlemen of England," their distress, and deprivation of subsistence, from the neglect of the bow*" (Drake 1969, p. 180). There are 3 quotations in the play, which refer to the practice. When the *King* assigns *Rosencrantz* and *Guildenstern* to spy on *Hamlet*, the latter assures him:

"*And here giue vp our selues, in the full bent.*" [II.ii.30], with the sense 'wholly, as an archer pulling back the arrow and the bowstring to the full bent of the bow'.

Equally: "*They foole me to the top of my bent.*" [III.ii.384].

The last example of the group is self-evident and needs no explanation: "*So that my Arrowes Too slightly timbred for so loud a Winde, Would haue reuerted to my Bow againe, And not where I had arm'd them.*" [IV.vii.23-26].

References to the military sphere comprise 4 citations. Two of them are found in the F1. Thus, when *Hamlet* urges his friends to keep silence about the apparition of *Ghost* of his Father, with the latter crying to them to swear, the *Prince* remarks: "*Well said old Mole, can'st worke i'th' ground so fast? A worthy Pioneer, once more remoue good friends.*" [I.v.181-182], where *pioneer* has an old sense of 'a miner'.

In another instance, *Hamlet* accusing his mother of wrong-doing, tries to bring her to senses: "*If damned Custome haue not braz'd it so, That it is prooffe and bulwarke against Sense.*" [III.iv.37-38], where *proof* is archaic meaning for 'tested armory against shots'.

Another two citations referring to the military sphere are found in the Q2. Thus, sensing that *Rosencrantz* and *Guildenstern* set up a trap for him, *Hamlet* compares himself to a sapper, who would dig deeper tunnels (*mines*) to undermine enemy's constructions, making them blow with their own bomb: "*For 'tis the sport to have the enginer [=sapper] Hoist [=blown] with his own petard [=bomb]; and't shall go hard But I will delve one yard below their mines [=tunnels] And blow them at the moon. O, 'tis most sweet When in one line two crafts directly meet.*" [III.iv.206-210].

Last but not least to the topic, the *King* praises the sincerity of *Rosencrantz* and *Guildenstern* as: "... *whose whisper o'er the world's diameter As level [=aiming good] as the cannon to his blank [=gun's target].*" [IV.i.41-42].

Law terms, in general 13 items, are used in the extract when *Hamlet* sees a lawyer's skull and ponders on the transience of a human life: "... *where be his Quiddits* [arch. 'nicety in arguments'] *now? his Quillets* [=verbal nicety]? *his Cases? his Tenures* [English Law: 'possessions'], *and his Tricks? This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of Land, with his Statutes* [obs. 'a bond by which the creditor had the power of holding the debtor's lands in case of default'], *his Recognizances* [=a bond or obligation to pay a debt], *his Fines* [=the compromise of a fictitious or collusive suit for the possession of land], *his double Vouchers*

[=when a vouchee vouches over], *his Recoueries* [=the fact or procedure of gaining possession of some property by a verdict of a court]: *Is this the fine of his Fines, and the recouery of his Recoueries, to haue his fine Pate full of fine Dirt? will his Vouchers vouch* [obs. 'to guarantee the title to or legal possession of'] *him no more of his Purchases, and double ones too, then the length and breadth of a paire of Indentures* [=a sealed agreement, contract between parties]? *the very Conueyances* [=a written document by which the transference of property is effected] *of his Lands will hardly lye in this Boxe; and must the Inheritor himselfe haue no more?"* [V.i.99-112] *"Is not Parchment* [=legal document] *made of Sheep-skinnes?"* [V.i.114].

Two citations related to the seafaring are found in the play. They are self-explanatory. When *Polonius* urges his son to board a ship he says: *"The winde sits in the shoulder of your saile."* [I.iii.56].

In another place, *Hamlet* asks *Rosencrantz* and *Guiltenstern*: *"Let me see, to withdraw with you, why do you go about to recouer the winde of mee* [=take advantage], *as if you would driue me into a toyle?* [=trap]." [III.ii.313-314].

The next extensive group of cultural references relates to customs, traditions, realia of that time, historical events, etc. This is the umbrella term for very diverse citations, which have to do with an everyday life of the people in the England of Shakespeare, the way they perceive the world and their cognitive response. Altogether, the group contains 22 items.

The famous lines, when the *King* asks *Hamlet*: *"How is it that the Clouds still hang on you?"*, the latter replies: *"Not so my Lord, I am too much i'th' Sun."* [I.ii.66-67] arouses controversy. The researchers differ between wordplay on *son* and *sun* (=you call me hypocritically *son* too often!) and an allusion to a proverbial saying *out of heaven's blessing into a warm sun*, as Johnson did: *"... applied to those who are turned out of house and home to the open weather. It was perhaps first used of men dismissed from an hospital, or house of charity, such as was erected formerly in many places for travellers"* (Johnson 1959), i.e., *Hamlet* is deprived of the throne and cut off with a shilling.

Equally, when a distracted *Ophelia* exclaims: *"Well, God dil'd you. They say the Owle was a Bakers daughter. Lord, wee know what we are, but know not what we may be."* [IV.v.21-23], one cannot get the citation properly without knowing a common legend in Gloucestershire of that time, related by Drake: *"Our Saviour went into a baker's shop where they were baking, and asked for some bread to eat. The mistress of the shop immediately put a piece of dough into the oven to bake for him; but was reprimanded by her daughter, who insisting that the piece of dough was too large, reduced it to a very small size. The dough, however, immediately afterwards began to swell, and presently became of a most enormous size. Whereupon the baker's daughter cried out 'Heugh, heugh, heugh,' which owl-like noise, probably induced our Saviour for her wickedness to transform her into that bird"* (Drake 1969, p. 394).

A different case, referring to politics, is presented by the following two quotations. When *Rosencrantz* assures *Hamlet* that the *King* is disposed towards him, as: *"How can that be, when you haue the voyce of the King himselfe, for your Succession in Denmarke?"* [III.ii.369-370], one should bear in mind that the crown

used to be elective, with regard paid to the recommendation of the predecessor, and preference given to royal blood, which, by degrees, formed hereditary succession.

Another instance of the same kind is when *Hamlet* asked, where he had put the *Polonius*'s slain body, he answers enigmatically that the latter is at supper: "Not where he eats, but where he is eaten, a certaine conuocation of wormes are e'ne at him." [IV.iii.22-24]. A political reference here is mixed with a pun: worm 'insect' versus Worm (city), and diet versus 'assembly' (in German). "*The Diet of Worms of 1521 (German: Reichstag zu Worms) was an imperial diet (a formal deliberative assembly) of the Holy Roman Empire called by Emperor Charles V and conducted in the Imperial Free City of Worms. Martin Luther was summoned to the Diet in order to renounce or reaffirm his views in response to a Papal bull of Pope Leo X*" ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet\\_of\\_Worms](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diet_of_Worms)).

One more citation of the same group is revealed in the last duel between *Hamlet* and *Laertes*, when the King pretends to drop in his drink a large pearl of good quality, union (in fact, some poison): "*The King shal drinke to Hamlets better breath, And in the Cup an vnion shal he throw Richer then that, which foure successiue Kings In Denmarkes Crowne haue worne.*" [V.ii.290-293]. According to the OED, that sense was frequent in the 17<sup>th</sup> c., echoing the story about *Cleopatra* told by *Pliny* (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 2173). The custom of dropping and swallowing a pearl in a drink was common in the court as a compliment to a high guest, since pearls were believed to possess an exhilarating quality.

Next quotations are self-evident and need only brief comment. When *Hamlet* instructs the actors before the performance, he says: "*Speake the Speech I pray you, as I pronounc'd it to you trippingly on the Tongue: But if you mouth it, as many of your Players do, I had as lieu the Town-Cryer had spoke my Lines.*" [III.ii.1-4]. Here is an allusion to town-criers, who used to be the chief means of communication between the ruling classes and common people with their stentorian voices.

When *Polonius* instructs *Ophelia* not to take *Hamlet*'s courting [=tenders] too seriously, he makes a pun: "*Tender* [=behave] *your selfe more dearly; Or not to crack the winde of the poore Phrase* [=to use the phrase too often], *Roaming it thus, you'l tender* [=make] *me a foole.*" [I.iii.116-118]. Here, the idiom *to crack a wind* 'to overwork a horse so it became winded' refers to everyday life.

In another episode, when *Hamlet* pretends to be mad and *Ophelia* tries to appeal to his senses, he exclaims: "*Get thee to a Nunnerie. Why would'st thou be a breeder of Sinners? I am my selfe indifferent honest, but yet I could accuse me of such things.*" [III.i.131-132]. In the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., *nunnery* acquired a bad sense 'a house of ill fame, a bawdy house'. In the same piece, *Hamlet* mocks *Ophelia* saying: "*I haue heard of your painting too wel enough. God has giuen you one pace, and you make your selfe another: you gidge you amble and you lispe.*" [III.i.153-155]. Evidently, here is a satire on affected manners of that time (*paint* 'use much makeup', and *lisp*).

In the next passage, a mad *Ophelia* raves: "*How should I your true loue know from another one? By his Cockle hat and staffe, and his Sandal shoone.*" [IV.v.23-26]. Here: *cockle hat* 'a hat with a scallop shell stuck in, worn by pilgrims as a

sign of their wandering to St. James shrine in Spain' (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 280). This is a historical realia of that time.

Two more customs are reflected in the tragedy: St. Valentine Day and burial. Thus, the distracted *Ophelia* sings: "*To morrow is Saint Valentines day, all in the morning betime, And I a Maid at your Window, to be your Valentine. Then vp he rose, & don'd his clothes, & dupt the chamber dore, Let in the Maid, that out a Maid, neuer departed more.*" [IV.v.47-54]. There were two ways of securing the proper Valentine in the next year at that time: "... either in drawing lots on Valentine-eve, or in considering the first person whom you met early on the following morning, as the destined object ... in the second there was usually some little contrivance adopted, in order that the favoured object, when such existed, might be the first seen" (Drake 1969, p. 326).

Funeral rites and burial were, as ever, very important at that superstitious time. Thus, the graves of deceased were decorated with garlands and greens, and strewn with flowers. It was the sign of soul's immortality and resurrection of the body. The herbs should be cut down (not plucked up), to revive again at the next season, like the body at the resurrection (Drake 1969, p. 240). Again, mad *Ophelia* while singing, refers to those rites: "*White his Shrow'd as the Mountaine Snow ... He is dead and gone Lady, he is dead and gone, At his head a grasse-greene Turfe, at his heeles a stone.*" [IV.v.29-32]; "... Larded [obs. 'strewn'] with sweet Flowers: Which bewept to the graue did not go, With true-loue showres." [IV.v.37-39]; "... They bore him bare fac'd on the Beer, Hey non nony, nony, hey nony: And on his graue raines many a teare, Fare you well my Doue" [IV.v.174-177]. Drake observes on the burial rites: "... virginity was held in great estimation; insomuch that those which died in that state were rewarded, at their deaths, with a garland or crown on their heads, denoting their triumphant victory over the lusts of the flesh" (Drake 1969, p. 240). At the *Ophelia's* burial, the Priest says: "*Shardes, Flints, and Peebles, should be throwne on her: Yet heere she is allowed her Virgin Rites [=crants, German word for 'garlands'], Her Maiden strewments, and the bringing home Of Bell and Buriall.*" [V.i.229-232]. *Stremments* here is 'scattering flowers over the graves'.

Flower symbolism is reflected in the *Ophelia's* song: "*There's Rosemary, that's for Remembraunce. Pray loue remember: and there is Paconcies [pansies], that's for Thoughts ... There's Fennell for you, and Columbines: ther's Rew for you, and heere's some for me. Wee may call it Herbe-Grace a Sundaies: Oh you must weare your Rew with a difference. There's a Daysie, I would giue you some Violets, but they wither'd all when my Father dyed.*" [IV.v.184-185, 187-191]. Rosemary was believed to boost the memory and was carried both at weddings and funerals. "*It was also considered the emblem of fidelity in lovers; and at weddings it was usual to dip the rosemary in the cup, and drink to the health of the new married couple*" (Kean 1958, p. 211). *fennel* was a symbol of flattery, *columbine*, 'a thankless flower' stood for forsaken lovers, *a daisy* was a warning to maids not to trust their lovers, *violets* meant faithfulness, and *rew* is probably *ruth*, archaic for 'sorrow' (Kean 1958, p. 211). In another place, *Hamlet* quotes a piece of *Claudius's* letter, who conjures the English to put *Hamlet* to death, if those value the good relations with him: "*As loue betweene them, as the Palme should*

*flourish, As Peace should still her wheaten Garland weare, And stand a Comma [=break, pause] 'twene their amities.*" [V.ii.43-45]. Here: *Palm* is a symbol of understanding, and *Garland* is a symbol of prosperity and a mark of distinction.

This group also contains two old songs, apparently used by the Bard in his tragedy. When a mad *Ophelia* bewails her imaginary lover, she uses the part of old song, as Kean puts it (Kean 1958): "*And will he not come againe, And will he not come againe: No, no, he is dead, go to thy Death-bed, He neuer wil come againe. His Beard as white as Snow, All Flaxen was his Pole: He is gone, he is gone, and we cast away mone Gramercy on his Soule.*" [IV.v.210-219]. In another place, when two *Clowns* are digging a grave for *Ophelia*, one of them sings: "*In youth when I did loue, did loue, me thought it was very sweete: To contract O the time for a my behoue, O me thought there was nothing meete ... But Age with his stealing steps hath caught me in his clutch: And hath shipped me intill the Land, as if I had neuer beene such ... A Pickhaxe and a Spade, a Spade, for and a shrowding-Sheete: O a Pit of Clay for to be made, for such a Guest is meete.*" [V.i.62-65, 71-74, 93-96]. Kean states that "*The three stanzas sung here by the Grave-Digger, are extracted, with a slight variation, from a little poem called The Aged Lover renounceth Love, written by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded in 1547. The song is to be found in Dr. Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*" (Kean 1958).

Religious issues take backseat in the tragedy, only 10 items have been found. Perhaps, it is due to sensitivity of the subject in the time when the English Reformation had been forcefully imposed on the country by Henry VIII and the Roman Catholic Church was outlawed. Asquith, for example, argues that Shakespeare was a secret Catholic and empathized with Catholicism (Asquith 2006). Pearce carries the idea to extremes, claiming that the whole *Hamlet* is a hidden protest against suppression of the good old religion (Pearce 2010). The first case is when *Hamlet* pretends to be mad and *Polonius* (trying to size him up) asks the *Prince*, who he is, and *Hamlet* replies: "*Excellent, excellent well: y'are a Fishmonger.*" [II.ii.189]. Kean explains here that this phrase was well understood in Shakespeare's time and enjoyed by the audience. It was "... applicable to the Papists, who in Queen Elizabeth's time were esteemed enemies to the Government. Hence the proverbial phrase of 'He's an honest man and eats no fish'; to signify he's a friend to the Government and a Protestant" (Kean 1958).

Another telling example is when *Rosencrantz* asks *Hamlet*: "*My Lord, you once did loue me.*" [III.ii.329], the latter replies: "*So I do still, by these pickers and stealers [=hands].*" [III.ii.330]. *Hamlet* here mocks the Church catechism: "*My duty towards my Neighbour, is ... To keep my hands from picking and stealing*" (<http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/Catechism.htm>).

Three more quotations indirectly related to religion include the words *libertine*, *liberal*, *liberty* of quite an opprobrious connotation. It is due to the fact that *libertine* was 'the name given to certain antinomian sects of the early sixteenth century', with the derivative idea 'unrestrained, abandoned to dissolute, licentious behavior' (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 967). Thus, *Ophelia* urges his brother *Laertes* to behave properly in France: "*Shew me the steepe and thorny way to Heauen; Whilst like a puft and recklesse Libertine Himselfe, the Primrose path of*

*dalliance reads, And reaks [reck 'consider'] not his owne reade [rede 'counsel']*.” [I.iii.50-53].

In another place, when *Polonius* orders his servant *Reynaldo* to spy on his son in France to assess his behavior, he says: “*But Sir, such wanton, wild, and vsuall slips, As are Companions noted and most knowne To youth and liberty.*” [II.i.23-25]. Lastly, the *Queen* announces *Ophelia*’s death by saying: “*There with fantasticke Garlands did she come, Of Crow-flowers, Nettles, Daysies, and long Purples, That liberall Shepheards giue a grosser name; But our cold Maids doe Dead Mens Fingers call them.*” [IV.vii.193-196].

The final direct citation of this group refers to the episode, when *Hamlet* mocks his *Mother* for forgetting his *Father* so quickly after his death: “*Nay then let the Diuel weare blacke, for Ile haue a suite of Sables. Oh Heauens! dye two moneths ago, and not forgotten yet? Then there's hope, a great mans Memorie, may out-liue his life halfe a yeare: But byrlady he must builde Churches then:*” [III.ii.127-131]. Kane explains here: “A suit trimmed with sables was in our author's own time the richest dress worn by men in England. By the Statute of Apparel, 24 Henry VIII. , it is ordained, that none under the degree of an Earl may use sables” and later Kane mentions that benefactors of society, people who built churches should be “recorded by means of the feast day on which the patron saints and founders of churches were commemorated in every parish” (Kean 1958).

Some religious references on the discourse level are explained in the Bevington’s work (Bevington 2008, pp. 106-143). Three of them relate to the first *Hamlet*’s encounter with the *Ghost* of his *Father*. The *Ghost* says: “*My hower is almost come, When I to sulphurous and tormenting Flames Must render vp my selfe.*” [I.v.4-6], and later: “*I am thy Fathers Spirit, Doom'd for a certaine terme to walke the night; And for the day confin'd to fast in Fiers, Till the foule crimes done in my dayes of Nature Are burnt and purg'd away?*” [I.v.13-17]. Bevington mentions here: “... the *Ghost* appears to have spent the time since his untimely death in a place known in Roman Catholic belief as Purgatory ... a place of spiritual purging and purification” (Bevington 2008, pp. 112-113). At the same encounter, the *Ghost* explains the reason of his suffering in the theologian language: “*Thus was I, sleeping, by a Brothers hand, Of Life, of Crowne, and Queene at once dispatcht [=bereaved, deprived]; Cut off euen in the Blossomes of my Sinne, Vnhouzzled, disappointed, vnnaneld, No reckoning made, but sent to my account With all my imperfections on my head;*” [I.v.73-78]. Bevington writes: “‘Unhousled’ means ‘without having received the holy sacrament; ‘housel’ is a name for the consecrated elements in the mass to be kept in a housel box ... , ‘disappointed’ is ‘unprepared and unfurnished spiritually for the last journey’, ‘unaneled’ is ‘without having received the sacrament of extreme unction’, while to ‘anele’ means to ‘administer the last anointing extreme unction to the dying’ (Bevington 2008, pp. 111-112). The words, “... used by the *Ghost* have a distinctly Catholic flavor” (Bevington 2008, p. 112).

The last indirect reference to religion is made in the tragedy when *Hamlet* resists the temptation to kill *Claudius* while he was praying. Bevington explains that he does not want to kill the perpetrator at his prayer to inflict on the murderer “... a worse fate than if he were to die on his knees imploring God for help”

(Bevington 2008, p. 115): “Now might I do it pat, now he is praying, And now Ile doo't, and so he goes to Heauen, And so am I reueng'd: that would be scann'd [=pass judgment] A Villaine killes my Father, and for that I his foule Sonne, do this same Villaine send To heauen. Oh this is hyre and Sallery [=reward], not Reuenge.

He tooke my Father grossely, full of bread [=alive and healthy], With all his Crimes broad blowne, as fresh as May, And how his Audit stands, who knowes, saue Heauen: But in our circumstance and course of thought 'Tis heauie with him: and am I then reueng'd, To take him in the purging of his Soule, When he is fit and season'd for his passage?” [III.iii.78-90].

The next cultural group to be examined refers to superstitions, as a general term, and contains 14 items. As Drake puts it “*The popular creed, during the age of Shakspeare, was perhaps more extended and systematised than in any preceding or subsequent period of our history. For this effect we are indebted, in a great measure, to the credulity and superstition of James the First, the publication of whose Demonology rendered a profession in the belief of sorcery and witchcraft a matter of fashion and even of interest*” (Drake 1969, p. 314). Many various credulities of the time wrapped in the name of the ‘science’ reigned over every aspect of everyday life. Superstitious rites; traditions, and beliefs; apparition of ghosts, goblins, fairies, etc.; the observance of spells and charms; queer customs, ceremonies, creeds, and faith in omens; the false doctrine of sympathetic indications and cures are but an incomplete inventory of the popular delusions in that time (Drake 1969, pp. 314-400).

Examples of those kinds are abundant in the play. Ghosts and other fancied evil creatures were supposed to walk at night and at dawn to leave the mortal world, as the Ghost of the Hamlet’s father: “*It lifted vp it head, and did addresse It selfe to motion, like as it would speake: But euen then, the Morning Cocke crew lowd; And at the sound it shrunk in hast away, And vanisht from our sight.*” [I.ii.228-232].

Among other similar cases are: “*It was about to speake, when the Cocke crew.*” [I.i.162]. “*The Cocke that is the Trumpet to the day, ... Awake the God of Day: and at his warning, Whether in Sea, or Fire, in Earth, or Ayre, Th' extrauagant, and erring Spirit, hys To his Confine.*” [I.i.165, 167-170].

“*The Bird of Dawning singeth all night long: And then (they say) no Spirit can walke abroad, ... No Faiery talkes, nor Witch hath power to Charme.*” [I.i.175-176, 178].

Another common Elizabethan belief was that only a scholar with the knowledge of Latin could exorcise a spirit, as in the following, when Marcellus urges Horatio: “*Thou art a Scholler; speake to it Horatio.*” [I.i.53]. The following example also needs clarification: “*Or, if thou hast vp-hoarded in thy life Extorted Treasure in the wombe of Earth,(For which, they say, you Spirits oft walke in death).*” [I.i.148-150]. Decker explains in *Knight’s Conjuring*: “... if any of them [=rich people, knights] had (in th’ daies of his abomination and idolatry to money) bound the spirit of gold by any charmes in caues [=caves], or in iron fetters vnder the ground, they should for their soules quiet, (which questionlesse would whine vp and down) if not for the good of their children, release it to set vp their decay’d estates” (Decker 1843, p. 33).

Some examples within this group refer to medieval beliefs about animals. The following quotations clearly reveal those false associations:

"And each particular haire to stand an end Like Quilles vpon the fretfull Porpentine." [I.v.25-26]. Porcupines were formerly believed to dart or shoot their spines at enemy (a symbol of irascibility). In another place, answering to the King's "How fares our Cosin Hamlet?", Hamlet says: "Excellent I faith, of the Camelions dish: I eate the Ayre promise-cramm'd, you cannot feed Capons so." [III.ii.93-95]. Chameleons at that time were thought to eat on air.

When *Osric* hurries to the King to tell him that *Hamlet* will take the wager, *Horatio* observes: "This Lapwing runs away with the shell on his head." [V.ii.185-186], after the belief that a newly-hatched lapwing runs with a shell on his head.

*Laertes* opening his arms for the King exclaims: "And like the kinde Life-rend'ring Politician [=pelican], Repast them with my blood." [IV.v.147-148], after the false belief that the pelican should feed its young with its heart's blood.

The next example shows another superstition that the tears of the wounded stag are so precious that they should be used for medical purposes. When the King abruptly left the play, *Hamlet* staging to check his guilt observes: "Why let the stricken Deere go weepe." [III.ii.280]. In another work *As You Like It*, Shakespeare speaks of "... big round tears cours'd one another down his innocent nose in piteous chase." [II.i.38]. The similar image is found in the 13<sup>th</sup> Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion* (Kean 1958).

Sorcery and witchcraft takes a back seat in *Hamlet* comparing with *Macbeth* where its hallmarks are abundant. Still, when *Hamlet* sets up a play to trap the King, one of the Actors says: "Thou mixture ranke, of Midnight Weeds collected, With Hecats Ban, thrice blasted, thrice infected." [III.ii.266-267], here: *Hecate*, Greek goddess of underworld, and the weeds collected at midnight are believed to have her strongest curse [=ban]. The next lines show the opposite: "... no Cataplasme so rare, Collected from all Simples that haue Vnder the Moone, can saue the thing from death." [IV.vii.142-144]. Here: *simples* [=medical herbs] have the best curing effect when collected at night under the Moon.

One more important group of items is underrepresented in *Hamlet*, compared to other Shakespeare's work. It deals with prejudices of every kind, especially those of gender and race, 13 items. In the middle-age Christian male-dominated world, language reflected bias against women. Thus, when *Rosencrantz* and *Guildestern* are trying to find out *Hamlet's* intentions, the following talks ensues: "Guild. Happy, in that we are not ouer-happy: on Fortunes Cap, we are not the very Button Ham. Nor the Soales of her Shoo? Rosin. Neither my Lord. Ham. Then you liue about her waste, or in the middle of her fauour? Guil. Faith, her priuates, we private Ham. In the secret parts of Fortune? Oh, most true: she is a Strumpet." [II.ii.243-251]. Apart from that Fortune is *She* and *Strumpet*, this passage abounds in double entendres: not to live high [=on Fortunes Cap], but somewhere in the middle, around her waist, in the secret parts of Fortune; *privates* as 'parts' and *private* as 'favorite' [nonce usage of the Bard, now obsolete]. Again, further: "Out, out, thou strumpet, Fortune!" [II.ii.502], and: "That they are not a Pipe for Fortunes finger. To sound what stop she please." [III.ii.71-72].



In another place, *Hamlet* deliberately mocks *Ophelia* by saying: “*I could interpret betweene you and your loue: if I could see the Puppets dallying.*” [III.ii.246-247]. This complex metaphor needs explanation. First, *Hamlet* refers to the puppet show, where the master [=interpreter] speaks the dialog *dallying* [=flirting, making fun], implicating that she is a doll [another sense of the word *puppet*] in other hands. Then, he insinuates that *Ophelia* has a lover with whom she is having an affair. Last but not least, as Kean puts it “*The puppets dallying are here made to signify to the agitations of Ophelia's bosom*” (Kean 1958).

Moreover, there is an episode, when *Hamlet* accuses *Queen Gertrude*, his Mother, of betraying the memory of his Father by hastily marrying his uncle: “*Such an Act That blurres the grace and blush of Modestie, Cals Vertue Hypocrite, takes off the Rose From the faire forehead of an innocent loue, And makes a blister there.*” [III.iv.47-51]. The allusion here is made to prostitutes, who at that time were branded with hot iron.

One more female gender denigration is as follows: “*If thou canst mutine [=to rebel] in a Matrons bones, To flaming youth, let Vertue be as waxe. And melt in her owne fire.*” [III.iv.91-93]. Here: *Vertue* is a female, and as soft as wax.

There is an instance of race prejudices in the tragedy. *Hamlet* considers joining the actors' troupe: “*... if the rest of my Fortunes turne Turke with me ...*” [III.ii.272-273]. The denigrating association of Turkish people as savage, barbarian, and cruel is found here. Another prejudice in the language of that time, which still hold good nowadays, as well, is against people of the countryside. When *Hamlet* says: “*Now I am alone. Oh what a Rogue and Pesant slaue am I?*” [II.ii.558-559], he reproaches himself for being undecided.

It may be considered as one of the language universals, since there is an analogical semantic development in a series of words from the sense of ‘rustic, country dweller’ to that of ‘term of abuse, low fellow, rascal’: *chuff* ‘rustic’ & ‘rude, coarse, churlish fellow’; *boor* ‘farmer, countryman’ & ‘rude, ill-bred fellow’; *villain* ‘villager, a peasant’ & ‘criminal, trouble-shooter, term of opprobrium’; *clown* ‘countryman, rustic, peasant’ & ‘ill-bred man, fool’; *churl* ‘tenant in pure villeinage, serf’ & ‘rude, low-bred fellow’; *carl* ‘husbandman, countryman’ & ‘term of opprobrium’; *rustic* ‘countryman, peasant’ & ‘boorish person’. *Farmer* as well has derivative meaning ‘an ignorant rustic; a stupid or gauche person’ (Simpson and Weiner 1994, p. 569).

The quantitative results of the semantic groups are summarized in the Table 1.

**Table 1.** *Quantitative Results of the Semantic Groups*

№	Semantic group	Number of items	Percentage %
1	The total sum	126	100
2	Special areas of activity, including hawking, hunting, sea-faring, military, pastime (games), theater, law, arrow shooting	40	31.75
3	Customs, traditions, realia of the time, historical events	22	17.46
4	Scientific views of the time	15	11.9
5	Superstitions	14	11.11
6	Prejudices	13	10.32
7	Medieval cosmology	12	9.52
8	Religion	10	7.94

Apart from the semantic grouping, the structure of language units under consideration has been assessed in the research. All items were divided into three classes by their structure: lexical units (words and word combinations), phraseological units (idioms), and communicative units (sentences and beyond, i.e., sets of sentences). It is known that idioms belong to a border-line case between lexical and communicative units; their status is controversial and not considered in this paper.

The analysis revealed that the first lexical class contains 45 items (13 of them are the law terms used in one *Hamlet's* monolog) – 35.71%. The examples of the first group are: *extasie* 'morbid state, epilepsy, frenzy' [II.i.102]; *distemper'd* 'troubled, vexed' [III.ii.307]; *groundlings* 'common people used to watch the play as standees' [II.ii.8-12]; *libertine* 'unrestrained, abandoned to dissolute, licentious behavior' [I.iii.51]; the law terms, explained above [V.i.99-112, 114], etc.

The second class of idioms related to the cultural hallmarks is the least numerous – 7 items (5.56%). The examples of those are as follows: *in the full bent* 'wholly, as an archer pulling back the arrow and the bowstring to the full bent of the bow' [II.ii.30]; *to the top of my bent* [III.ii.384]; *as level as the cannon to his blank* 'be sincere, as aiming at gun's target' [IV.i.42]; *pickers and stealers* 'hands (the Church catechism)' [III.ii.330], etc.

The cultural references in the tragedy, which are expressed as sentences and sets of those (communicative units), constitute the bulk of the material – 74 items (58.73%). Mostly, they have the structure of a composite sentence, as the example explained above: "*The King shal drinke to Hamlets better breath, And in the Cup an vnion shal he throw Richer then that, which foure successiue Kings In Denmarkes Crowne haue worne.*" [V.ii.290-293].

The quantitative results of the structure are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2.** *Quantitative Results of the Structure*

№	Type of structure	Number of items	Percentage %
1	The total sum	126	100
2	Communicative units: sentences and sets of sentences	74	58.73
3	Lexical units: words and word combinations	45	35.71
4	Phraseological units (idioms)	7	5.56

The third aspect of the present study deals with figurative language of the units. Figures of speech were revealed in 54 items of 126 – 42.26%, among them 16 cases of metonymy and 38 cases of metaphor.

The most current case of metonymy is contingency, based on the flower symbolism in the *Ophelia*'s monolog (8 items), as stated above [IV.v.184-185, 187-191]. The transfer or association can be expressed here as 'flower' into 'emotion', that is 'concrete' into 'abstract'. E.g. *Rosemary* into 'remembrance', *Fennell* [=fennel] into 'flattery', *Rew* [=rue] into 'sorrow', *Violet* – 'faithfulness', *palme* [=palm] – 'understanding', etc. In four more cases, the contingency in metonymy is grounded on the relation 'place of the referent' into 'referent itself', though it goes about erroneous beliefs. Thus, *spleen* was believed to be 'the seat of melancholy or morose feeling' is used in the sense 'morose, melancholic' [V.i.265], as above. In *Pigeon-Liuer'd* [=pigeon-livered] [II.ii.574] as 'coward', metonymy is combined with metaphor: liver was thought to be the hub of passions and emotion (metonymy: place into emotion), along with 'having passion or force like a pigeon' (animal metaphor). In the words *libertine* [I.iii.51], *liberal* [IV.ii.195], and *liberty* [II.i.25] (see above), it is synecdoche, part of the whole that makes the change: from 'names of certain sects of the early sixteenth century, with the derivative idea 'unrestrained, abandoned' to 'dissolute, licentious behavior or a person'.

The quantitative results on the types of metonymy are presented in the Table 3.

**Table 3.** *Quantitative Results on the Types of Metonymy*

№	Types of metonymy	Number of items	Percentage %
1	The total sum	16	100
2	Flower symbolism	8	50
3	Place for referent	4	25
4	Synecdoche	3	18.75
5	Other	1	6.25

As for metaphorical transfer, the most current type is an animal metaphor – 15 cases, as *woodcock* [I.iii.115] and [V.ii.302] from 'animal' into 'stupid person'; *eyas* 'a little hawk for training' into 'young actors' [II.ii.339]; *porpentine* [I.v.25] from 'porcupine' into 'an irascible person'; *Camelions* [III.ii.93] from 'chameleon' to 'a person who eats on air', as *Hamlet* says he is fed-up with empty promises; *lapwing* [V.ii.185] from 'animal' to 'a running person', when *Hamlet* calls so *Osric*, who hurries to the *King* to tell him that *Hamlet* will take the wager, etc.

Transfer of different human qualities (personal, occupational, behavioral, etc.) forms ground for comparative association in 10 cases. Here conventionally, it is called 'human to human'. When *Hamlet*, e.g. says that the Fortune "*turne Turke with me ...*" [III.ii.273], he compares a Turkish man to a barbarian, savage person. Equally, rebuking himself as "... *Rogue and Pesant ...*" [II.ii.559], he compares a country dweller to an unworthy person. Calling the *Ghost* of Father a *Pioner* [=pioneer] in the old sense of a 'miner' [I.v.182], the *Prince* stresses the idea how quickly the *Ghost* can move under the ground. Or calling *Polonius* a *Fishmonger* 'a fish-seller' [II.ii.189], *Hamlet* means a 'Catholic, esteemed enemy to the Government'. Comparing his *Father* to *Claudius*, *Hamlet* calls the latter "A *King of shreds and patches.*" [III.iv.103], here the transfer is from the sense 'fool, clown' to that of an 'unworthy person'.

In 7 cases metaphor is based upon the changes from concrete to abstract notions, as in *rub* – "... *there's the rub.*" [III.i.65]: from the notion 'bump in the bowl course' to that of 'obstacle, impediment'. Other examples of that kind are *bias* from 'an oblique line in which a bowl runs' [II.i.63] to 'immoral behavior'; and "... *prooffe and bulwarke against Sense.*" [III.iv.37-38], with *proof* as a 'tested armory against shots' into 'something that protects a person from hardship'.

Four cases are personification, as when *Polonius* urges his son to board a ship (see above) he says: "*The winde sits in the shoulder of your saile.*" [I.iii.56]. There are some borderline cases. When *Fortune* is *she* and compared to *Strumpet* [II.ii.243-251, 502], this simile may be regarded as both personification and change from abstract to concrete notions.

The quantitative results on the types of metaphor are presented in the Table 4.

**Table 4.** *Quantitative Results on the Types of Metaphor*

№	Types of metaphor	Number of items	Percentage %
1	The total sum	38	100
2	Animal metaphor	15	39.47
3	Transfer of different human qualities (human to human)	10	26.32
4	Transfer from concrete to abstract notions	7	18.42
5	Personification	4	10.53
6	Others	2	5.26

The quantitative results on the figures of speech in general are summarized up in the Table 5.

**Table 5.** *Quantitative Results on the Figures of Speech in General*

№	Figures of speech	Number of items possessing figures of speech	Percentage %
1	The total sum	54	100
2	Animal metaphor	15	27.78
3	Transfer of different human qualities, as human to human (metaphor)	10	18.52
4	Flower symbolism (metonymy)	8	14.81
5	Transfer from concrete to abstract notions (metaphor)	7	12.96
6	Place for referent (metonymy)	4	7.41
7	Personification (metaphor)	4	7.41
8	Synecdoche (metonymy)	3	5.56
9	Others	3 (metaphor – 2, metonymy – 1)	5.56

As it is evident from the findings, in the items with figures of speech metaphor prevails over metonymy – 38 (70.37%) and 16 (29.63%) correspondingly.

### Discussion and Conclusion

Thus, summing up the study results, the most prolific sociocultural semantic group in *Hamlet* relates to various human activities (31.75%); followed by those referred to customs, traditions, realia, historical references (17.46%); scientific views of that time (11.9%); superstitions (11.11%); prejudices (10.32%); medieval cosmology (9.52%); and religion (7.94%).

The research shows that the lexis related to everyday life of the people (their activities, traditions, customs, superstitions, and prejudices) dominates that of abstract notions (religion, cosmology, science). The findings should be taken with caution and not be carried too far. Language units, which reflect cultural hallmarks, depend on many actors in the play. First, findings are valid for one tragedy *Hamlet* taken in isolation. To get complete statistical data on the issue, the whole corpus of Shakespeare's works must be studied.

Secondly, the expression of cultural realia varies in the course of time, for one thing, and from play to play, for another. Thus, the tumultuous period of the late 16<sup>th</sup> early 17<sup>th</sup> cc. was marked by such momentous events, as destroying the Spanish Armada, the death of Queen Elisabeth, the accession of James to the English throne, Gunpowder Plot, complicated relations between monarchy and church, along with those between England and Scotland, the King James Bible project from 1604 through 1611 (with its enormous influence on the English culture), turbulent political changes, to name but a few factors, which shaped the shifting cultural landscape of the period with corresponding expression in language and literature.

Cultural references also depend on the ideas and content of plays. Thus, issues of sex and gender are mostly addressed in the romantic comedies Shakespeare wrote

in the 1590s, as *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, etc., along with *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest*. The practice of witchcraft provides a powerful material for *Macbeth*. Shakespeare's ideas on politics and political theory are manifested in his English history plays (*Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Richard II*, *King John*, etc.). Religious issues, as Bevington put it, are grappled with in *King John* and *Henry VIII* (Bevington 2008, p. 119). Such plays, as *Julius Caesar*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Titus Andronicus* contain many historical mentions of the corresponding times. Whereabouts other than English are shown in the Bard's *Othello*, *Merchant of Venice*, etc.

Characters' description and particular situations add more weight to the choice of cultural mentions. Thus, instructing the actors before the play, *Hamlet* uses a lot of theater lexicon. On the other hand, military terms are often used by warriors and kings, as by *Claudius*, *Macbeth*, etc. Royal court and hereditary issues are vivid in the historical plays, as in *King Lear*, *Titus Andronicus*, etc.

Religious references are quite modest in the material and worth some consideration. There is no arguing over the enormous role of religion in all life spheres at that time, since the science era had not been ushered yet. In our study, only direct mentions related to cultural realia have been accounted for, and in this case they are only the tip of the iceberg. There are a lot of instances in the tragedy, for example, when characters pray, as *Claudius* (see above) [III.iii.78-90], and *Hamlet* does not want to kill him during the prayer. Moreover, the tragedy abounds with interjections, which relate to God in particular or/and religion in general, e.g.: *By Heauven* [=Heaven]! *Before my God*! *By Saint Patricke*! *Faith*! *By my fey* [=faith]! *Prithee* [=pray thee]! *Perdie* [=by God, French *par dieu*]! *By the Rood* [=by cross]! *By Cocke* [=by God]! *By gis* [= Jesus]! *Marry* [= Virgin Mary]! *Byrlady* [=by our Lady]! *Ifaith* [=in faith]! *By Saint Charity*! *Gramercy on his Soule* [=may God reward you greatly]!, etc. Studying such material goes beyond the objectives of the research.

Last but not least, the use of the cultural mentions serves as stylistic means of describing a character and is conditioned by a particular situation. Thus, *Hamlet*, seeing a lawyer's skull, uses 13 law terms in his monolog (see above) [V.i.99-112], the only instance in the play. Or another single case when distracted *Ophelia* speaks on flower symbols (see above) [IV.v.184-185, 187-191].

Findings on the structure of the material apparently fit the logic. In most of the cases, cultural mentions are realized in communicative units. It holds true for abstracts from the old songs, proverbs and sayings, some superstitions, which cannot be expressed explicitly by lexical units or idioms. Such items are often accompanied by similes and comparisons and extended over lexis to sentences and sets of those.

Results of figurative language in cultural references mainly support the general tendency of a creative use of language to generate a desired effect. The most prolific types of figures of speech are animal metaphor (comparison animal to human), metaphor as association based on transfer of different human qualities (personal, occupational, behavioral, etc.), metaphor as transfer from concrete to abstract notions, personification; along with two types of metonymy based on contingency 'place for referent' and synecdoche (*pars pro toto*). The only exception

is flower symbolism, which again serves as stylistic means mentioned above and should not be attached much significance in general.

Further research prospects lie in studying a larger or the entire corpus of Shakespeare's works and probably, along with those of his contemporaries to get a much more detailed picture of the relations between the culture and the language of that time. That requires very extensive interdisciplinary study (culturology, linguistics, sociology, statistics, etc.), with more voluminous material, which is not restricted by rather a narrow scope of this paper.

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## **“From Those about Her Came a Thunder-Clap of Joy”: Religion and Manipulation in *Quicksand***

*By Max Molchan\**

*In Quicksand by Nella Larsen, Helga Crane is taken in by a church and removed to the south at the end of the work. The common critical consensus is that this represents either sexual fulfillment or a failure in artistry by Larsen. This article argues that what Helga undergoes is textbook indoctrination by a cult masquerading as a legitimate church. When the finding of New Religious Movement Studies is applied to the novella, it is clear that the ending of Quicksand is a scathing commentary of the storefront churches that became popular after the “Great Migration.” Helga’s struggle throughout the novella to accept her biracial identity makes her the perfect victim of the church which acts as an identity designating environment for Helga before trapping her physically in the south and destroying her body through childbirth.*

**Keywords:** Love bombing, Bi-racial, African American, Identity

### **Introduction**

The ending to *Quicksand* by Nella Larsen is shocking to some critics, but it is not incongruous with the rest of the work. Unfortunately, much scholarship focuses on Helga Crane’s sexual fulfillment, which does a disservice to Larsen while being unfounded within the novella. There is also a presumed failure in artistry which renders the ending unintelligible for critics. The readiness to explain away the end of the work by unnecessarily sexualizing Helga is especially telling. The term love-bombing was not readily available when *Quicksand* was published, but the proliferation of New Religious Movements Studies has provided readers and critics with the tools to understand what happens to Helga Crane. Helga searches for identity from the beginning of the work and finds a new community, only to have a slight time jump show how unsuccessful her integration and happiness are in the rural South. Helga does not find her community; she falls under the influence of a predatory religion that represses her personhood and traps her. The ultimate sadness is that Helga only understands what is happening to her when it is too late. Once she enters the storefront church and gives way to the group’s influence, the congregation ensnares her. After Helga moves to the rural South, she loses any chance of returning to her life in New York, and the quick succession of childbirths ruins her health. In *Quicksand*, Helga shows how easily a group masquerading as a religion can manipulate someone desperate for community and identity.

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## Review of Literature

There are two tracks in the criticism of *Quicksand*: those that see the ending as the result of sexual desire fulfillment and those that feel it is incongruous with the rest of the work. Kimberly Monda argues that the ending represents “Helga’s sudden release from the self-sacrifice of sexual repression [which] propels her into a nightmare of domestic self-sacrifice” (23). Jeanne Scheper agrees that the end hinges on sex but sees the relationship as more transactional, which restores some power to Helga, arguing that “At the conclusion of the novel, marriage to this Southern preacher appears to give Crane access to something she cannot quite articulate. She calls it ‘happiness’ and ‘stability’ while mostly it seems to have to do with access to insurance, change, and sex” (681). Scheper defines insurance as a guarantee that Helga will not have to deal with the feelings that come from the disastrous meeting with Anderson, and change refers to the ability to leave Helga’s current predicament while ending her constant search for an identity. Schleper argues that Helga has sufficient agency to choose what is better for her emotional and physical safety while having access to socially acceptable forms of sexual expression. Scholars also read Helga’s fate in relation to the tendency for “the ends of Larsen’s novels” to “function specifically as critiques of the repression of black women’s sexuality both by racist ideology and by racial uplift ideology” (Scheper 681-82).

Critics also see the ending as a conscious decision by Helga or as a flaw in the logic and artistry of *Quicksand*. Ann Hostetler argues that the ending is a coping mechanism that causes Helga to move toward religion because “At the novel’s end, Helga, who has never been religious, tries to drown the searing pain of rejection and self-defeat by succumbing to the monochromatic paradigm of a religion constructed by whites for blacks” (43). Other critics have argued that the ending confuses readers because the character’s motivations do not match the situation. Caresse John argues from a feminist standpoint that Larsen’s novel “also leaves readers questioning, wondering why Helga makes the choices she does” (101). Gregory Alan Phipps contends, “Most critics consider this conclusion not just a break in the autobiographical trajectory of the novel but also a break in the continuity of the narrative” (136). Scheper reads the ending as so disparate from the rest of the novel that it crosses a boundary between author, narrator, and reader arguing that “Helga’s religious conversion onward, is not just unsettling to audiences, but disturbing as well. Larsen forcibly transports Helga” (146). Mary Esteve notes the use of crowds to influence Helga, saying, “conventional conceptions of individuality were thus threatened by what we call today the social construction of the self, that is, the belief that the self is socially permeable and manipulable rather than individually unified and monadic” (269-70). Even though Esteve lays this conceptual groundwork that aids in understanding how a group of people could affect Helga, she still finds the religious conversion to break too heavily from the rest of the novel: “If up to now Larsen has ventured primarily—though by no means exclusively—in a realist project, a project that demands credible relations of cause and effect, in the final episodes all bets are off. Reader and writer will be abandoned to the cause of narratological causelessness” (279).

Contemporary studies of New Religious Movements (NRMs) illuminate the nature of Helga's religious conversion and provide a way to resolve the prevailing critical negativity about the ending of Larsen's novel. Scholars of NRMs interrogate the conventional yet reductive conceptual opposition between established, legitimate religions and manufactured modern cults. David J. Ward observes that "while the 'true religious cults' (in the pejorative sense) are arguably spiritually abusive . . . not all spiritual abuse is found in a 'cult'" (900). Helga becomes subject to control and manipulation in ways entirely consistent with forms of abuse that scholars have unearthed in both cults and religions. Lee Joyce Richmond discusses categories of cults that fit Helga's experience: "There are two kinds of cults. One type recruits members and exposes them to psychological and social processes that cause major shifts in perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs. The intention of this kind of cult, commonly called destructive, is long-term control of the cult member" (367).<sup>1</sup> It is understandable that a person who comes under the influence of such an organization would think and act in ways that are discordant with expectations established before interacting with the cult. That Helga would make drastic changes like moving to the South and having children with a man she just met is not only an understandable outcome of this type of influence it is also the goal of these groups. Causing a person to alter their typical thought process to produce a different reaction is necessary for these groups to maintain power.

Helga's experiences in the church involve such processes standard to New Religious Movements as brainwashing, socializing, and love-bombing. Theodore Long and Jeffrey Hadden define brainwashing as when members of a cult or religion put recruits through a process, thereby "'stripping' their previous identities, neutralizing their powers of will, creating dependence on the cult, and programming them with cult beliefs, etc." (1). Long and Hadden emphasize how a cult remakes identity which is especially important when considering how Helga is ideally suited for cult programming. Helga spends the entirety of the novella before joining the cult trying to establish an identity not fractured by her biracial heritage or lack of a nuclear family. She fails repeatedly before meeting the worshippers. Helga is searching for an identity and meets a group looking to assign identity to new members. Long and Hadden also identify a second central process called "socializing," "*the social process of creating and incorporating new members of a group from a pool of nonmembers, carried out by members and their allies*" (5). The main form of brainwashing in *Quicksand* happens at the religious meeting when Helga experiences love bombing, a process whereby "cultists create a greater sense of belonging and equality, the latter often falsely" (6). There is a public conception of these terms that makes it more challenging to have a nuanced conversation about what happens in cults and religions. The public might think of brainwashing as science fiction, but NRMs lay out a process that allows leaders and followers to bring in recruits and make it difficult for them to leave. There are many different ways for this process to work, but it is more successful with the right target.

Helga's desire for identity fits the demographic most likely to join an abusive religious affiliation. Johanna M. Wagner rebukes the way "Critics frame this longing through a heteronormative lens that presumes a craving to belong within a kinship

system, such as the conventional community of the nuclear family” (129). She argues that when “We assume that everything about Helga, all her desires and longings, are implicitly connected to her heterosexuality: her desires in kinship, marriage, reproduction—all become interrelated” (131). Helga’s yearning is more diffuse than exclusively needing a relationship. This amorphous longing is why Helga becomes such a promising recruit by the church. Dominiek Coates acknowledges multiple motivations for religious affiliation while emphasizing that over half of the people in his study conformed to a single “common reason for membership” what he calls “uncertainty reduction” in which “conformity to an ‘all-encompassing’ NRM identity can help to resolve or alleviate struggles pertaining to identity uncertainty or confusion” (1301). These groups target and enforce identity onto people because “The majority of the sociological literature describes NRMs as ‘identity designating’ environments” (1301). Helga is going through the very kind of crisis that conventionally fuels religious conversion. She spends the first part of the work searching for an identity, so it is reasonable that a group that works by designating identity would be particularly attractive to Helga. The added promise of affiliation through a religious organization and the legitimacy religion adds to the group explains Helga’s actions. The framework provided by New Religious Movements and the strategies they employ to add and retain members complicate notions of Helga’s actions as being sexually motivated, and the seeming inconsistencies of Helga’s decisions are understandable as the logical conclusions of someone targeted and manipulated.

## Discussion

Helga’s failure to establish a connection with her estranged family or start a romantic relationship puts her in an incredibly vulnerable position, which coincides with meeting the cult. Early in *Quicksand*, Helga places the blame for much of her life on her lack of family. She believes the reason she is unhappy is because she has “No family. That was the crux of the whole matter. For Helga, it accounted for everything, her failure here in Naxos, her former loneliness in Nashville” (8). Helga has no relationship with her parents or the people who raised her, so in an attempt to find some connection with her relatives, she travels to Copenhagen to stay with her maternal aunt. Helga has a complicated relationship with being multiracial, and being with her aunt only makes it clear that she cannot escape into white society. Her aunt displays Helga and how different she is by dressing in ways that make her feel “like nothing so much as some new and strange species of pet dog being proudly exhibited. Everyone was very polite and very friendly, but she felt the massed curiosity and interest, so discreetly hidden under the polite greetings” (64). Like the community Helga finds in the church, these people pretend to accept Helga without reservations, but it is only a façade. Even though living with her aunt gives Helga access to money, she knows it is futile to believe she can have a future in Copenhagen. Having some family connection is not enough to override the feeling that “Helga Crane, this mysterious niece of the Dahls, was not to be reckoned seriously in their scheme of things. . .

she wasn't one of them. She didn't at all count" (65). Helga left her job early in the work, and now she has lost another possible connection to a community in her aunt. Helga returns to America and soon finds she cannot begin a romantic relationship with Dr. Anderson.

After the failed attempt at reconnecting with her family, Helga falls for Dr. Anderson who rebuffs her. Helga is not pursuing Dr. Anderson; she runs into him exiting a room, and suddenly "He stooped and kissed her, a long kiss, holding her close. She fought against him with all her might. Then, strangely, all power seemed to ebb away, and a long-hidden, half-understood desire welled up in her with the suddenness of a dream" (97). This moment is sexual assault even if Helga does not view it that way. The narration explains that she "fought against him with all her might" and he ignores her protest and continues to kiss her. Helga tries to keep her distance from Dr. Anderson because he is married to her close friend, but eventually, they talk and make an appointment to meet, and she "carried away from yesterday's meeting a feeling of increasing elation. It had seemed to her that she hadn't been so happy, so exalted, in years, if ever" (99). The way Helga idealizes a new possible avenue for happiness mirrors the early days with her aunt, where she ignored early signs of problems only to be disappointed later. This same scenario plays itself out when she joins the church. At the meeting with Dr. Anderson, he quickly tries to explain away his actions and tells her "that you might have misunderstood" (100). Helga tries to pretend this turnabout does not hurt her, but then she slaps Dr. Anderson and feels "an instantaneous shocking perception of what forever meant. And then, like a flash, it was gone, leaving an endless stretch of dreary years before her appalled vision" (100-01). Helga has suffered two episodes of being lifted into ecstatic happiness by her aunt and Dr. Anderson, and then both situations leave her distraught. It is at this remarkable low that she finds the church. She has no strong connection to her family and no romantic prospects, and as Heart Nelson argued, being churchd was especially important to the African American population at the time. It is reasonable that Helga would turn to this last vestige of easy identification for solace.

The storefront church that Helga enters is a byproduct of the Great Migration. The need for community was significant for the millions of African Americans moving from the South because "In virtually all destinations, the southern migrants were greeted with suspicion and hostility by black and white northerners alike" (Tolnay 218). Heart Nelson argues that being churchd was particularly important to the African American community, and the increase in unchurched citizens moving into cities caused an uptick in demand because "First, the church could not meet all the functions required in the complex urban environment and it had no monopoly to do so, and, second, the storefront churches and the cults came into being in the urban area to replicate rural patterns of status-conferring" (407). This issue became so problematic that some community members began to push back against the proliferation of storefront churches: "In 1926, the well-known black scholar Ira De Augustine Reid complained that storefront churches were 'a general nuisance. Neither their appearance nor their character warrants the respect of the community'" (qtd in. Nance 123). Having a church community was important for African Americans at the time, and Helga had neither a church nor a

secular community. *Quicksand* was published in 1928, two years after Ira De Augustine Reid publicly decried the proliferation of storefront churches. Larsen was at the forefront of expressing fear and apprehension that these churches could target African Americans for abuse. From the perspective of NRM studies, these churches are well-positioned to find new converts by opening up in cities that are disorienting and strange for African Americans moving from the South. Establishing locations in a strange place and offering protection in the form of religion to people desperate for both is a highly effective recruiting tool.

The African American religious community had its own New Religious Movement leaders who took advantage of members. In his book *Down in the Valley*, Julius Bailey describes many different leaders and denominations that existed during the great migration. A significant storefront leader named Father Divine provides an example of this phenomenon as “he began to assert that he was the incarnation of the divine” (140). Divine was the leader of a significant denomination. His power was sizable, and “At the height of the movement the community had about 50,000 members” (140). Divine enforced strict rules on his followers, including “celibacy, which was required of each member” (141). He went to jail several times, and “Throughout his ministry, Divine had a number of accusations leveled against him, including racketeering charges” (141). Divine started in storefront churches but eventually moved to more remote areas; Reverend Green ensnares Helga by following the same pattern of establishing a storefront church and leaving the city for a more rural area where he can exert more control. People like Divine, reflected in Green, took the opportunity to gain recruits because they offered access to religion, which Nelson shows was sorely needed. The African Americans desiring to be churchd are dealing with issues similar to Helga’s. They suffer because they do not have their previous support systems, including family and the church, so they look for identity-designating spaces to find kinship. Going from small towns in the South to large cities in the North where segregation, while still present, was lessened, also presented difficulties in establishing a new identity for the nearly six million African Americans believed to have moved during the Great Migration.

Helga’s alienation—from society and herself—makes her particularly susceptible to religious conversion. After she fails to begin a romantic relationship with Dr. Anderson, Helga feels “alone, isolated from all other human beings, separated even now from her own anterior existence” (101). Her sense of separation is now so extreme that she even feels a disassociation from her own body. At this point, she stumbles, in a haze of confusion, out of the rainy streets and into a religious meeting. Upon entering the service, Helga hears a song with lyrics that advocate losing individual personhood for the replacement of religion, and these lyrics highlight the very nature of coercive religion. The members of the service sing: “all of self and none of Thee . . . Some of self and some of Thee . . . Less of self and more of Thee” (103-4). From the view of those already initiated into the group, this transaction is positive. Helga is disturbed but fascinated, and eventually, the congregation’s singing starts to take on a hypnotic quality. The singing does not stop just because a new person has arrived, “It went on and on without pause with the persistence of some unconquerable faith exalted beyond

time and reality” (105). The group manipulates Helga, and her control over the concept of time loosens. It is not long before Helga starts to notice something sinister happening and she becomes “Fascinated, Helga Crane watched until there crept upon her an indistinct horror of an unknown world. She felt herself in the presence of a nameless people . . . But the horror held her . . . all in wild appeals for a single soul. Her soul” (105). There are several terms here that show a significant shift in Helga’s thinking. She starts to feel “horror” at the “nameless people” who all seem to be vying to bring her soul into the fold, but she is “held.” None of these terms describe a voluntary decision to join the group.

The effect of being around these worshipers is working on Helga. Kimberly Monda places the blame for what happens in the church on Helga, saying that after leaving her meeting with Dr. Anderson, Helga “rechannels [*sic*] her frustrated sexual energy into” the meeting at the church (34). Monda believes that what happens at the church is “self-annihilation triggered by Anderson’s rejection,” but when Helga tries to leave, she feels too weak and nauseous from her hangover to go anywhere (34). After this failed momentary attempt to leave, the narrator acknowledges that something has changed, explaining, “And as Helga watched and listened, gradually a curious influence penetrated her . . . she felt herself possessed by the same madness . . . she gathered herself for one last effort to escape, but vainly. . . . in that moment she was lost – or saved” (105). This scene follows the model for manipulative religious conversion. First, the recruit feels negative emotions; this is not a required part of every conversion, but it can heighten the experience of love bombing, which creates “a greater sense of belonging and equality” (Long and Hadden 6). Then she feels an exalted rush of emotions which the recruit chases by joining the cult. Penetrated is an essential word choice for a scene that follows Dr. Anderson denying any feelings for Helga and making it clear he does not want a relationship with her after sexually assaulting her while married to her friend. Helga has left one abusive relationship to enter into another one because Green and his parish position themselves as the solution to all of Helga’s problems.

Up to this point, Helga has felt something off or strange happening, but after first calling her “A scarlet’ oman” and a “pore los’ Jezebel,” (104) she is about to be love bombed, and this will end any chance for escape:

From those about her came a thunder-clap of joy, Arms were stretched toward her with savage frenzy. The women dragged themselves upon their knees or crawled over the floor like reptiles, sobbing and pulling their hair and tearing off their clothing. Those who succeeded in getting near to her leaned forward to encourage the unfortunate sister, dropping hot tears and beads of sweat upon her bare arms and neck. (106)

The rushing mixture of emotions overwhelms Helga and the members participating in this recruitment activity. The members are overwhelmed as they achieve the peak of intensity needed for the conversion of their new target. The explicit purpose of the members’ actions is to convert Helga; they make no attempt to hide this intention. They want to save her soul, and they plead with her to “Come to Jesus, you pore los’ sinner!” (104). Members inside a religion take on

teaching and encouraging roles, and socialization hinges on the effectiveness of current members to bring in new members and train them for future use. These churchgoers believe they are helping Helga, but the result of their work is to destroy her life and any possibility of happiness.

Helga immediately begins to crave the already diminishing effects of the love bombing. She has not left the meeting yet, but she is already coming down from her emotional high as “The thing became real. A miraculous calm came upon her. Life seemed to expand, and to become very easy. Helga Crane felt within her a supreme aspiration toward the regaining of simple happiness . . . time seemed to sink back into the mysterious grandeur and holiness of far-off simpler centuries” (106). Helga retains her curious relationship with time, and this feeling of “simple happiness” will not last without further socialization. If allowed, outside forces will soon weaken the initial brainwashing. If Helga stays in New York, she will begin to realize that her feelings are the result of manipulation. It is imperative for her conversion to stick that the congregation isolate Helga and give her a job within the community that makes her feel important and valuable. Her desire to continue to feel this easy calmness rather than painful isolation drives her to enter the group along with a desired position within the community. It was easy for Helga to leave her aunt because when she began to feel it was time to leave, “Secretly they felt as she did” (87). Dr. Anderson assaulted her and then needed to minimize his actions by blaming alcohol and pushing Helga away from him. The church needed to bring her into close contact as soon as possible while making Her feel valuable, which made Helga, who is already prone to quick attachment, feel devoted.

Critics argue the scene following the meeting at the church is emblematic of sexual fulfillment, but the calls to join the community have already interpellated Helga; she has already become a subject. Eda Lou Walton thinks Larsen’s goal was “To tell the story of a cultivated and sensitive woman’s defeat through her own sex-desire” (qtd. in Monda 24). It is hard to understand Helga’s desire to be anything other than identity designation. Viewed from the standpoint of NRMs, Helga pursues the person most likely to assign her a role and force her to accept the position. Walking home with the help of Reverend Green, Helga thinks, “That man! Was it possible? As easy as that?” (107). Critics point to this as the moment Helga decides to exercise her sexual desire with the reverend, but the narrator describes Green as a “rattish yellow man” (109) who “failed to wash his fat body, or to shift his clothing” (113). Deborah E. McDowell views Helga’s relationship with Green as a way to get acceptable access to sex because “The only condition under which sexuality is not shameless is if it finds sanction in marriage. Further, because she is born out of wedlock, Helga is preoccupied with the issue of ‘legitimacy.’ Marriage to a preacher is, then, legitimacy redoubled” (Deborah E. McDowell xxi). However, Helga is not desperate to have a sexual relationship that is appropriate by societal standards since she has sex with Reverend Green out of wedlock. She desires access to the community that will appoint her identity which she can easily gain through sex with Green. David Ward interviewed former members of religious groups that practiced what he terms “spiritual abuse” and found “Six core themes as generated from participant transcripts” (903). He found



that “all the participants explained the idea that the leadership of the group represents the highest spiritual authority. . . . to obey them is to obey God” (903). Abused followers believe that God imbues leaders with special significance, and to go against them is to sin. Helga has had her reality so warped that she sees sex with the disgusting Reverend Green as an easy way to gain significance in her new group. The processes that target and acquire recruits have worked perfectly.

Mixed language fills the moments when Helga thinks about sex with Reverend Green from the beginning of their relationship. Walking home from the meeting, Helga feels, “Instantly across her still half-hypnotized consciousness little burning darts of fancy had shot themselves. No. She couldn’t. It would be too awful. Just the same, what or who was there to hold her back?” (107). She has not yet recovered from her love bombing, and her mind is “half-hypnotized.” She is not in a position to make decisions, but she is feeling something. If she feels attraction, it is not for the physical man beside her. Even with her clouded mind and desire to establish herself in the group, she thinks that sex with Reverend Green “would be too awful.” Waking up the following day, Helga is still confused, but now she is in denial, reasoning that it is “Curious. She couldn’t be sure that it wasn’t religion that had made her feel so utterly different from dreadful yesterday. And gradually she became a little sad, because she realized that with every hour she would get a little farther away from this soothing haziness” (108). She yearns for the “soothing haziness” that made her feel so good before. If it was the fulfillment of her sexual desire that finally made her feel good, there is no reason for it to fade in this manner. She decides to marry Reverend Green one way or another, so the fulfillment of her sexual desire will continue if this is what she wants and if her actions result from genuine biological and emotional needs. If she only later has her happiness thwarted, she should not now feel “with every hour she would get a little farther away.” Helga realizes, waking up the day after her conversion, that she will never return to that reality where time slipped away from her, and she was finally content. The potent feeling evoked by the love bombing is something Helga will have to chase, and this realization causes her to begin to fall into a depression that will worsen after childbirth. Helga was desperately searching for a community that could provide her with an identity, but even now, she is beginning to feel that something is wrong and that “slowly bitterness crept into her soul. Because, she thought, all I’ve ever had in life has been things – except just this one time” (108). Sex is material, and faith is not material. When Helga refers to the non-thing that she has finally found, she is referring to her faith and community.

Helga’s feelings for Reverend Green never move beyond transactional. She struggles to admit that she does not have feelings for Reverend Green. However, she sees her relationship as a way to continue to seek the feeling she had at her conversion. Helga is “Still confused and not so sure that it wasn’t the fact that she was ‘saved’ that had contributed to this after feeling of well-being, she clutched the hope, the desire to believe that now at last she had found some One, some Power, who was interested in her. Would help her” (108). The reality of why Helga feels different is on the surface, but her warped way of thinking makes it difficult for her to access this logically. Instead, she plans for an immediate

marriage to the “One” with the “Power” to get her back into a situation where she can feel the way she did the night before. The return to the feeling of her conversion will never happen; she will always chase that high, and her trajectory toward a desire to leave the religious group is typical of new members. The reverend moves Helga away from her support system so that outside forces of socialization cannot interfere with her religious conversion. In the rural South, she has nothing and no one outside of her religious community, and for a time, this is an effective means to keep her as a productive member: “Everything contributed to her gladness in living. And so for a time she loved everything and everyone” (111). Helga is still experiencing the euphoria of her conversion, but this feeling can only last for so long. Part of socialization is placing a member into a job; Helga attempts to teach the women how to dress and act, but she fails because they are not interested in what she thinks. Helga’s unsuccessful socialization occurs because the current members fail to perform their expected job of being receptive to the recruit to make her feel validated.

The solution to Helga’s disappointment is first to become more devoted. Ward discusses this tactic as a common trait, explaining, “Each of the participants in the study experienced what one participant termed ‘love based on performance’” (906). Helga wants to feel accepted and loved by the community that has designated her identity, but she finds it challenging to connect with her peers, and she intuitively they do not like her. She becomes more subservient resulting in “This utter yielding in faith to what had been sent her found her favor, too, in the eyes of her neighbors. Her husband’s flock began to approve and commend this submission and humility to a superior wisdom. The womenfolk spoke more kindly and more affectionately” (117). Helga begins to perform the actions of a devoted member of the religion so commendation and affection are her rewards. The current members use negative reinforcement in order to entrench Helga. The members do not need to do this consciously. Some religions have specific ways to target new members, but Ward shows in his interviews with former members that similar ways to manipulate and reward recruits are universal. In the past, Helga was quick to think she had found a community to make her happy, and she would leave when she became disillusioned. Now, she cannot leave, so she is forced to try to integrate as much as possible.

Helga, like many recruits to abusive faiths, becomes dissatisfied and wants to leave. Long and Hadden examine the Christian group known as the Unification Church, known for the proficient use of love bombing; they added members quickly, “But those very practices also sowed the seeds of later defection, which usually matured within two years” (10). James Lewis interviewed The Order of Christ Sophia and found a fluctuating but still short membership duration: “In 2005, the average length of membership was two and a half years; by 2008, this had risen to four years” (600). Rousselet et al. found that members wanted to leave but had extenuating circumstances; they found “the first desire to leave” began on average at “16 months” (29). Helga has three children, “all born within the short space of twenty months” in her new community before she becomes disillusioned (114). After her next child is born, she plans to escape her life. She can see the damage this religion has done to her, but she blames herself: “With the obscuring

curtain of religion rent, she was able to look about her and see with shocked eyes this thing she had done to herself” (121). Helga is unable to see they have done this to her. She sees her life as the result of her decisions rather than the outcome of a congregation targeting a recruit and using the tools at their disposal to isolate and socialize her into submission.

## Conclusion

Helga is a victim; she is not finally finding a way to act out her sexual desire, and she is not the stand-in for the punishment of black women whose sexuality society does not condone. Helga feels at the meeting “half-hypnotized” and filled with a “miraculous calm” from “a thunder-clap of joy” that is produced by those “possessed by the same madness,” which in turn pushes her “beyond time and reality.” She is someone who is trying to develop a better understanding of her identity as a biracial woman who grew up without a nuclear family. She begins the work by leaving her job, which weakens her professional identity. Her relationships in Harlem discombobulate her racial identity, and her trip to see her aunt in Copenhagen puts into question her familial identity. Back in America, Dr. Anderson dashes her sexual identity. Finally, she meets with an identity-designating group in the form of a cult under the auspices of a storefront church. It is reasonable that someone who is searching for a community and an identity would gravitate toward and be entangled by a cult. NRMs explain a process of adding a recruit that is remarkably similar to what happens in the novella, and the result is the same as the stories told by survivors of cults. Further, an understanding to take from NRM studies is that Helga does not make a conscious and level-headed choice to join the cult. An immense amount of thought and work goes into bringing a recruit into a cult, and the goal is to make the process nonoptional. The critical consensus that the work is about sexuality distracts from the reality that groups that hold power can be destructive to vulnerable communities, which includes but is not limited to minorities and women. A focus on sexuality also ignores the damage a group can do by presenting itself as a legitimate religion. Nella Larsen was ahead of her time in understanding this complex topic that would not have a suitable depth of scholarship for decades after she wrote *Quicksand*. That critics question her artistry is not a surprise; she was a biracial black woman writing in the 1920s, but it is unacceptable that current scholarship does not work to reevaluate the unfair criticism of a remarkable work.

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## Teachers' Attitudes toward English as Lingua Franca (ELF), World Englishes (WEs), and Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs)

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*Non-native speakers of English now outnumber native ones leading to a myriad of varieties of English around the globe. To this end, the focus on teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) must go beyond the native norm. The existing literature revealed that teachers' attitudes could affect their teaching practices. This research thus aimed to investigate the teachers' attitudes toward English as Lingua Franca (ELF), World Englishes (WEs), and Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs). A survey questionnaire and semi-structured interviews were adopted to collect the data from all EFL teachers (N=8) teaching an English subject in one public secondary school in the Kingdom of Cambodia. The study found that, although acknowledging other varieties of English, teachers still viewed American and British English as norms in their teaching. They did not think that such varieties should be included in their coursebooks. Instead, they suggested introducing those varieties when relevant. They raised possible challenges such as misunderstanding among speakers and no standardized assessment tools if those varieties were included in the coursebooks. Apropos of teachers' attitudes toward TPIs, all teachers acknowledged that native and non-native teachers had strengths and weaknesses over one another. That is to say, the teachers raised the advantages of speaking ability that the native teachers had over non-native teachers, while non-native teachers were superior to native teachers in terms of shared culture and the use of the mother tongue in teaching English. In this sense, the study suggested that, as teachers raised the challenges concerning assessing the other varieties of English, guidance regarding assessment is needed. Moreover, if concerning job employment, they should not be taken into account in terms of being native and non-native since they have their own weaknesses and strengths.*

**Keywords:** English as Lingua Franca, World Englishes, teachers' attitudes, teachers' professional identities

### Introduction

The English language plays a dominant role in people's everyday lives, so being able to use English in communication is becoming a must-have for people in most nations than ever before, and Cambodia is one good case. English has been officially presented in Cambodia as a foreign language since 1989 (Neau 2003). It quickly gained popularity among the Cambodian people when the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) arrived in Cambodia to assist in governing the Cambodian National Election in 1993. After the elections, the

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Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) began introducing English as a foreign language into the curricula of lower secondary schools through higher education (Mao 2015). Then, the English language appeared to be even more popular when Cambodia was admitted to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1999, as English is the official language of ASEAN. In addition, as stated in *Curriculum Framework for General Education*, in response to market demand, ASEAN integration, and global change, using foreign languages including English and French is one of the core competencies for the Cambodian people (MoEYS 2015). Albeit the inclusion of the two foreign languages, English is the more significant foreign language (Bon 2022). That is, only Khmer is acknowledged as being more important than English for most Cambodian students (Bon et al. 2022), and thus English language education has been included as an agenda in many Cambodian education policies (see Bon & Chuaychoowong 2023). Most Cambodian people appear to believe in having a better job when they graduate if they can use English to communicate with other people across borders. In this regard, most Cambodian people like most people of other nations use English not only to communicate with native speakers from Inner Circle countries where English is used as a native language but also with those from the Outer and Expanding Circle countries where English is used by non-native speakers from other parts of the world.

The upsurge in using English among people from other parts of the world has boosted the number of non-native speakers of English dramatically increase. That is, non-native speakers outnumber native ones (Crystal 2003, Kirkpatrick 2014) and this has led to the emergence of other varieties of English worldwide (Kaur 2014). In this sense, EFL learners should be, at least, aware of these varieties to become intelligible. Teachers assume a crucial role in helping students to reach intelligibility. The teachers' attitude toward the varieties of language has a big impact on what they teach and the attitude of the teacher is diverse in different contexts (Tegegne 2016). Hereof, the investigation of teachers' attitudes toward these varieties is significant. In other words, this study needs to investigate the teachers' attitudes toward the varieties of English, namely English as Lingua franca (ELF) and World Englishes (WEs). Besides, Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs) are also the other significant factors that affect teacher teaching. TPIs are thus the other variables in this study as some researchers (e.g., Karaolis & Philippou 2019, Lee & Kim 2021, Olsen 2008, Sercu 2006) pointed out their impact on the teacher teaching practices. In other words, the identities that teachers represent in their classrooms have an impact on how and what they teach, so investigating such identities enables a study of teachers' pedagogical and curriculum decisions (Lee & Kim 2021).

To date, less research has been conducted to investigate the teacher's attitudes toward ELF, WEs, and TPIs in the Cambodian context. This case study thus aimed to investigate the teachers' attitudes (cognitive attitude) toward these constructs in one public secondary school, in the Kingdom of Cambodia. The study would provide insights into a means of enhancing EFL teachers' acceptability of other varieties of English which are necessary for EFL learners to reach intelligibility. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are EFL teachers' attitudes toward English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and World Englishes (WEs)?
2. What are EFL teachers' attitudes toward Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs)?

## Conceptual Framework

### *English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and World Englishes (WEs)*

English now has been predominantly used in intercultural communication among non-native speakers (Bon 2022), and it has gained its status as a *Lingua Franca*. English as Lingua Franca (ELF) was first used in the 1980s by two German scholars, Hüllen, and Knapp (Jenkins et al. 2011). Concerning the meanings of the term, there have been some debates on how it should be conceptualized. According to Jenkins (2009), ELF is defined as the use of English as the common language of choice, among speakers who come from various linguacultural backgrounds. Pietikäinen (2021) and Seidlhofer (2004) describe ELF as a medium for communication between people who speak different native languages. Monfared and Khatib (2018) noted that ELF primarily concentrated on cross-cultural communication and would take into account cultural conventions and pragmatic norms that are different from Anglo-American standards. Some other scholars used the terms ELF and English as an International Language (EIL) interchangeably (Kirkpatrick 2014). Jenkins (2006, 2007) argued that the term ELF was used to refer to interactions between non-native speakers, but when the native speakers were involved in that interaction, the term EIL was used. However, Jenkins et al. (2011) suggested that to provide a complete definition of ELF, it is crucial to consider the similarities to and differences from the well-established World Englishes (WEs) models and the models involve the effects of the spread of English far beyond its original contexts of use.

Kachru (1985) proposed a three-concentric circle model including the Inner Circle where English is used as a native language, the Outer Circle where English is used as a second language, and the Expanding Circle, where English is used as a foreign language. English used in the Inner Circle which includes countries such as British and the US is generally acknowledged as Standardized English (SE). This English variety is called "standard" because it has been selected, codified, and stabilized, unlike other varieties of English (Trudgill & Hannah 2013). Since, recently, the number of English speakers in Expanding Circle countries has increased dramatically (Jenkins 2009), the three-concentric circle model has been criticized by some scholars (e.g., Mahboob 2017, Modiano 1999, Pennycook 2009). Because this model placed native speakers in the center, which means the Inner Circles influence the Outer and Expanding Circles, other scholars proposed their models. Modiano's Model (1999) considers EIL for speakers who are fluent in the language. The model focuses solely on competency and giving English, as a globally functional language, that is not restricted to a single country or group. Pennycook's 3D model (2009) labels the emergence of English varieties

depending on cultures or contexts. Pennycook's (2009) model focuses on the role of cultures or contexts as resources for communication. The other model Mahboob's Language Variation Framework (2017) elaborated on how the English language varies around the world. The framework draws on people's ability to use language varieties without considering native as a norm. Mahboob's (2017) model was supported by Bolton (2013) who defined WEs as the regionalized forms of English that can be found across the world.

Some scholars (e.g., McKay 2018, Leyi 2020) have also debated the use of the terms WEs and ELF. According to McKay (2018), WEs refer to the use of different English norms around the world, while ELF emphasizes interactions between English speakers. Nevertheless, Leyi (2020) argued that WEs and ELF are closely related and intertwined since the need for ELF to make adjustments for good interactions already requires the admission of different varieties of English. Leyi (2020) elucidated that WEs and ELF have some common features, which fulfill one another; therefore, when teaching English to students, teachers should not focus only on the specific norm, but also help them to reach intelligibility. That said, based on existing literature, some non-native teachers still value the native speaker paradigm as the norm in their teaching.

### *Teachers' Attitudes*

A teacher's attitude is an imperative factor that can affect a teacher's teaching practice. The attitude refers to the disposition to react either favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event and it cannot be seen directly, so it has to be deduced from nonverbal and verbal conduct (Ajzen 2005, Sivakumar 2018). The concept of an attitude is usually structured into three components, viz. *affective*, *behavioral*, and *cognitive*. An *affective* attitude refers to the feeling or emotion of an individual about the attitude object. A *behavioral* attitude is the way the attitude we have influences how we act or behave. A *cognitive* attitude encompasses the knowledge and belief of an individual about the attitude object. In this study, teachers' attitudes toward ELF, WEs, and TPIs refer to teachers' reactions or beliefs toward these constructs. Their reactions or beliefs could be the result of an experience in these terms. The previous researchers (e.g., Sivakumar 2018, Tegegne 2016) acknowledged that the examination of teachers' attitudes toward the varieties of English is momentous. The teachers' attitude toward the varieties of language has a big impact on how dialects are used in the classroom since they can determine how much value and importance dialects get in school and attitudes of the teachers are not the same in different countries (Tegegne 2016). The teacher's attitude is the main factor in the teacher's professional development (Sivakumar 2018). That is to say, the evidence from the teacher's attitude could serve as a guideline for policymakers to conduct training programs needed for teachers to be effective language educators.



*Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs)*

Teachers' Professional Identities (TPIs) have been regarded as important components of language teaching and learning. It has a significant impact on how language education is carried out (Lee & Kim 2021). TPIs refer to how the teacher understands him or herself in light of their ongoing relationships with environments (Canrinus et al. 2011). They are the views, attitudes, and commitments that a teacher has toward being a teacher and being a specific kind of teacher (Hsieh 2010). The specific kind of teacher in the current study can be native or non-native teachers of English. TPIs are formed as a result of his or her encounters with various situations (Hsieh 2010, Mannes 2020). Work satisfaction, self-efficacy, career engagement, and changes in motivation are all markers of TPIs (Canrinus et al. 2011). Accordingly, TPIs are crucial for teachers to know who teachers are as professionals. They are associated with self-belief in what should be done professionally (Karaolis & Philippou 2019). This has a great impact on their ability and willingness to cope with educational change and their teaching practice, as well as their success, effectiveness, and professional growth (Sercu 2006). TPIs can be used to look at different aspects of teaching and learning (Olsen 2008), so they can be also a blueprint for the teacher's professional development. In other words, when teachers are aware of their strengths and weaknesses, they will probably continue to develop their competence to improve student learning.

**Relevant Studies**

Because the investigation of participants' attitudes toward the varieties of English has become a common issue research topic, many researchers (e.g., Boonsuk 2023, He 2015, Kaur 2014, Tajeddin & Adeh 2016, Tosuncuoğlu & Kirmizi 2019, Wong 2018) conducted a study to examine participants' perceptions or attitudes toward ELF and WEs. Boonsuk (2023) conducted a qualitative study with 15 English lecturers in five institutions throughout the Thai region. The majority of participants perceived American and British English as the proper models for their teaching. Another study, conducted in Turkey, by Tosuncuoğlu and Kirmizi (2019) intended to explore the participants' attitudes towards ELF and WEs. The findings indicated that the majority of participants valued the native norms as most of them wanted to sound like native speakers. Wong (2018) examined the perceptions of non-native trainee teachers of English in Hong Kong. The result showed that all participants favored native English to be the norm of teaching and learning. Tajeddin and Adeh (2016) conducted a study in Turkey to investigate 200 teachers including both native and non-native regarding their views on their professional identities. The results showed that, in comparison to native teachers, non-native teachers showed a lack of self-confidence and knowledge of their position and status. They found that, based on teacher's perceptions, native teachers are superior to non-native teachers in terms of speaking ability. He (2015) conducted a study to compare the views of Chinese university students and teachers of China English and WEs. The result concluded

that students showed a positive attitude toward Chinese English, while teacher participants preferred SE. Kaur (2014) conducted a study with pre-service teachers of English from a public university in Malaysia to find out their perceptions of native and non-native accents. The finding suggested that respondents thought native accents were better than non-native ones, and the respondents believed that Standardized English spoken by people from inner countries is still proper English. The conclusion drawn from the mentioned studies is that although a body of literature suggested that reaching intelligibility is more significant than being native-like for EFL learners, teachers and students still show positive attitudes toward the native norms when teaching and learning English.

## Methodology

### Research Design

This mixed-methods sequential explanatory study contains both quantitative and qualitative data collected through a survey questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), there are two distinct phases of explanatory sequential mixed-methods design: quantitative followed by qualitative. The qualitative data will be collected and interpreted to help clarify or expand on the quantitative results obtained in the first phase. In this study, the researcher conducted interviews with the participants to expand and clarify the data obtained from survey questions in the first phase.

### Participants

The participants in this study included all EFL teachers (N=8) teaching an English subject at one secondary school in the Kingdom of Cambodia, as seen in Table 1. All eight teachers participated in both quantitative and qualitative studies.

**Table 1.** Teachers' Demographic Information

N	Genders		Educational Level	
	Female	Male	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree
8	5	3	5	3

### Instruments

The survey questionnaire includes close-ended and open-ended questions. The survey questionnaires consist of four sections: 1) teachers' demographic information developed by the researchers, 2) teachers' attitudes toward ELF and WEs adapted from He (2015), 3) teachers' attitudes toward their professional identities adapted from Tajeddin and Adeh (2016), and 4) open-ended questions adapted from Tosuncuoğlu and Kirmizi (2019). 4). Semi-structured interviews developed by the researchers were used to obtain more details. The data from survey questionnaires were gathered using *Google Forms*. The interview was

conducted through face-to-face interactions and each interview lasted about 20 minutes.

### *Data Analysis*

For the data obtained from the survey questionnaire, a frequency count was utilized to analyze each item. The rich data from open-ended questions and semi-structured interview questions were analyzed using the thematic analysis method (see Braun & Clarke 2006). The generated themes were reported along with selected excerpts of the participants' responses. To maintain the confidentiality of the participants, the findings were reported using pseudonyms such as Teacher 1, Teacher 2, and so on.

### **Results**

With the response to research question one '*What are teachers' attitudes toward ELF and WEs?*', frequency counts were given in Table 2. The findings of 12 items were obtained from all eight teachers regarding teachers' attitudes toward ELF, and WEs. Among the 12 items, item 3 indicated the dominant agreement compared to the other items. Six teachers agreed and one teacher strongly agreed that varieties of British or American English were embedded in their textbooks. The second dominant agreement was indicated in item 4. Most teachers acknowledged that native English should be adopted when teaching and learning English as four teachers agreed and two teachers strongly agreed with this statement. Moreover, five teachers agreed and one teacher strongly agreed that they wanted to be native-like when speaking English as seen in item 5. Even though most teachers viewed natives as norms in teaching and learning English, five teachers indicated agreement and one teacher indicated strong agreement with item 12 which denoted that students learned the characteristics of other varieties of English as well.

Although teachers agreed that there were other characteristics of other varieties of English, most of them did not agree with the statement in item 10, which indicates that *there are many standardized Englishes*. Two teachers strongly disagreed and four teachers disagreed with this statement

**Table 2.** Teachers' Attitudes toward ELF and WEs (N=8)

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Decided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	I have heard of world Englishes.	1	2	1	3	1
2	I have heard of Cambodia or Cambodian English	1	2	2	3	0
3	British English and American English are the major varieties of English used in our textbooks.	0	0	1	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>
4	We should adopt a native-speaker model of English (e.g. British or American English) for teaching and learning.	0	1	1	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
5	When I speak English, I want to sound like a native speaker.	0	1	1	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
6	When I speak English, I want to be identified clearly as Cambodian.	1	1	3	2	1
7	In international communication, intelligibility with an accent is acceptable for oral English.	1	2	2	3	0
8	The non-native speakers can also speak standardized English.	1	2	2	3	0
9	Most Cambodian need English to communicate mainly with other non-native speakers.	0	3	1	3	1
10	There are many standardized Englishes.	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	1	1	0
11	Cambodia should have its own variety of English.	1	2	2	2	1
12	Students should learn the characteristics of other varieties of English in addition to American and British English.	0	2	0	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 3 showed that six out of eight teachers strongly disagreed and disagreed with item 1 which states that 'native speakers are more effective for teaching language'. However, four teachers agreed and one teacher strongly agreed with item 2, which states that 'native- speakers have better speaking ability than non-native speakers. Most teachers also agreed with item 7 which indicates that non-native teachers can better discover and correct language learners' failures and errors. The result indicated that five teachers agreed and 1 teacher strongly agreed with item 7. As seen in the rest items including items 3,4, 5, and 6, most teachers agreed, while the other disagreed with the statements regarding the comparison of real-life use of English, self-confidence, proficiency, and professional status among native and non-native teachers of English.

The most noticeable result is that most teachers agreed that there should not be any discrimination between native and non-native teachers in terms of

employment. Three teachers showed strong agreement and five teachers showed agreement with item 8.

**Table.** *Teachers' Attitudes toward TPIs*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Decided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	Native-speaker teachers are more effective teachers for teaching language skills.	2	4	1	1	0
2	Native-speaker teachers have better speaking ability than non-native teachers.	0	1	2	4	1
3	Native-speaker teachers have better knowledge of authentic and real-life use of English than non-native teachers.	1	2	1	3	1
4	Native-speaker teachers have more self-confidence than non-native teachers.	1	3	1	3	0
5	Non-native teachers are inferior to native-speaker teachers as far as native-like proficiency is concerned.	0	3	2	2	1
6	Non-native teachers can never achieve a native-speaker teacher's professional status.	0	3	3	2	0
7	Non-native teachers can better discover and correct language learners' failures and errors.	0	1	1	5	1
8	There should not be any discrimination between native and non-native teachers as far as employment opportunity is concerned.	0	0	0	5	3

### *Results of Open-ended Questions*

The first open-ended question is 'What can you say about the use of English as *Lingua Franca* (ELF)?' Seven teachers responded to this question. The data retrieved from this question was categorized into two common themes, viz. 'the use of English among native and non-natives', and 'the use of English among non-natives'. Six teachers defined ELF as the use of English among non-native as shown in the example of Teacher 7:

*I think of English as a Lingua Franca when English is used differently in different countries to communicate with people from both their own countries and other countries. I think those who are involved in communication are not native speakers.*

Two teachers conceptualized ELF as the use of English between native and non-native English speakers, as seen in the excerpt of Teacher 6:

*English is used as a Lingua Franca when English is mainly used for communication with both native and non-native speakers for various purposes. Therefore, English should have been learned and taught for better use in communication to understand each other.*

The second open-ended question is 'Do you have any knowledge of Standardized English (SE) or World Englishes (WEs)? Briefly explain.' Six teachers responded to this question, and they reported that American and British English is the only SE. In addition, four teachers define WEs as when English is used by people from different countries around the world, but not the UK and the US as seen in example Teacher 3:

*World Englishes [WEs] is how the English language is used in different styles, accents, etc. according to where the speakers live. For example, most Cambodian learners speak English with their style and accent which is sometimes easy for foreigners to recognize where the speakers are from. Yet, once the speakers try to be like natives by making or learning more native English speakers' sounds such as American or British sound, it is recognized as Standardized English.*

However, two teachers defined WEs as when English is used by both natives and non-natives around the world as seen in the example of Teacher 1:

*Standardized English is American or British English. If there isn't a standardized one, it would be difficult to understand each. To me, Word Englishes refers to the use of English by natives and non-natives around the world.*

The last open-ended question is 'Do you think that the English language should be owned by the world or belong to some other language? Please give your reasons.' Six teachers responded to this question and five of them agreed that English should be owned by the world. They shared common reasons in terms of worldwide use. However, most of them still valued SE even though they agreed that English should be owned by the world. For example:

*English is used for daily communication and is known by people around the world; therefore, it now should be owned by the world, but its origin should belong to other countries such as the US or British (Teacher 1).*

### *Results from Interview Questions*

For the first interview question 'What is the main goal of your teaching English to your students?', teachers were invited to express their teaching goal. Regarding this interview question, all teachers viewed the main goal of their teaching as to help their students be able to use English in communication. They mainly focused on the four skills reading, writing, listening, and speaking. In addition, they intended to help students be aware of different cultures:

*The main goal of teaching English is to share knowledge of English including all skills such as writing, speaking, reading, and listening. This helps my students to communicate well and understand more about the different cultures (Teacher 1).*

The second interview question is ‘Do you think other varieties of English should be included in the coursebook you are teaching? Why? Why not?’ Responding to this question, four teachers did not think other varieties of English should be included in their coursebooks. They elucidated that the inclusion of those varieties would lead to misunderstanding and there are not any standardized tests to assess those varieties except British and American. For example, Teacher 3 commented:

*No, I think only one standardized English is the best to teach students because the English language originated from English natives, the USA or the UK. One more thing is that if one country has one variety, so it must be too many varieties of English. Once learners communicate orally, they are, of course, difficult to understand each other. Moreover, there aren't any standardized tests to assess those varieties if they are included in teaching.*

However, teachers suggested that teachers could spend some time introducing other varieties of English if they thought those varieties were useful, as seen in the excerpt of Teacher 4:

*I do not think the other varieties of English should be included in the textbook because it would be challenging which can lead to misunderstanding when they communicate. However, teachers can spend time discussing some varieties of English when they find those varieties are relevant.*

In contrast, three teachers stated that the other varieties should be embedded in the coursebook because this would help students to be aware of varieties of English as seen in the responses of Teacher 1:

*It should be included in the coursebook because both students and teachers will be able to distinguish each variety easily. It would be better to just include some notes of each variety in the main coursebook as extra information for the learners to identify the alternative usage of English.*

The last interview question ‘Can you think of some advantages that non-native teachers of English have over native teachers of English?’ aimed to invite teachers to express their attitudes toward their professional identities compared to native teachers’ professional identities. Five teachers said that non-native teachers have more advantages over native teachers in terms of grammatical knowledge and teaching grammar since non-native teachers could use L1 to explain the grammar taught, as seen in the example of Teacher 2:

*One of the main advantages is that non-native speakers understand the challenges of learning English faced by their students better than native ones do. Moreover, if the*

*non-native teacher and students share the same L1, the teacher can use L1 to explain grammar points, which I think it is clearer and easier for students to understand.*

In addition, teachers mentioned the knowledge of culture and methodology that non-native teachers had could also play a role in teaching English, as seen in the example of Teacher 1:

*Before becoming teachers, non-native speakers need to study teaching methodology and pedagogy. They need to hold a degree or certificate of recognition in teaching English like TESOL. Moreover, non-native speakers understand the context of their language so they might use teaching techniques in the classroom effectively.*

## Discussion

Teaching and learning English in Cambodia presented many challenges, two of which were the choice between SE (British and American) and other varieties of English and the attitudes of both teachers and students towards these varieties (Em 2022). When asked about SE, most teachers mentioned British and American English, but they provided some controversial meanings regarding ELF and WEs. Some teachers conceptualized ELF and WEs as interchangeable terms, while others differentiated them. The study found that most teachers viewed British and American English as the norm for teaching English. The finding was in line with previous studies (Boonsuk 2023, He 2015, Kaur 2014, Tosuncuoğlu & Kirmizi 2019, Wong 2018) and existing literature (Öztürk 2021). That is, ELF and WEs have appeared as a response to the prevailing belief that only American and British English were models for teaching and learning (Öztürk 2021). Moreover, most teachers in the current study did not agree that the other varieties of English should be included in the textbook. From the interview questions, most teachers provided some common reasons. That is, the inclusion of other varieties could lead to misunderstanding, and it would be challenging when those varieties had to be assessed. However, they suggested introducing other varieties of English in their teaching when needed. The result indicated that there was a mismatch between the data from survey questionnaires and interview questions. As aforementioned, in the survey questionnaires, they viewed the native norm as the model of teaching and learning, but in the response to the interview questions, all teachers perceived that the goal of teaching English was to help students to be able to communicate effectively. Typically, enabling students to become successful communicators does not require them to achieve native-like proficiency. Put simply, non-native teachers do not have to conform to native teaching norms to assist students in achieving intelligibility unless the goal of their teaching is to help students communicate effectively with those from the inner circle nations.

Most teachers agreed that native teachers had higher speaking abilities than non-native teachers did and this finding accorded to existing literature and studies. Non-native teachers experienced difficulties and lacked the same level of authority as native ones, who were prioritized due to their monolingual linguistic identity (Saba & Frangieh 2021). The prior study also revealed that the majority of non-native teachers acknowledged that native teachers possessed superior speaking



proficiency and pronunciation (Tajeddin & Adeh 2016). However, most teachers in the current study viewed non-native teachers had better performance in teaching since they could use L1 as scaffolding for teaching L2 and non-native teachers tended to know more about the student's needs and difficulties, as non-native teachers shared the same or similar culture with students. The other study found that teachers demonstrated positive attitudes toward the use of their L1 in EFL class, and teachers typically relied on their L1 to provide explanations and clarifications, emphasizing the language features of L2 (Balabakgil & Mede 2016). Using L1 to teach L2 is often associated with the grammar-translation method, a widely used teaching method among Cambodian teachers (Houn & Em 2022). From the findings, it could be concluded that even though most teachers valued the native norms, they still believed that both non-native and native teachers had both strengths and weaknesses. In addition, they postulated that there should not be discrimination between natives and non-natives when it comes to employment.

## Conclusion

Most teachers viewed British and American English as the norm in their teaching, and they defined the concepts of EFL and WEs differently. That is, some teachers differentiated the two terms while others used the terms interchangeably. In this light, teacher training may be needed to enable them to see the meaning of the term clearly, because this can determine the way they teach. In addition, most teachers acknowledged the significance of the varieties of English that EFL learners should be aware of, but they did not think those varieties should be included in the coursebook they were using. They contended that the inclusion of those varieties would bring about misunderstanding in communication and challenges in assessment. Additionally, albeit the acknowledgment of the native norm in their teaching, most teachers reported that their main goals of teaching were to help their students communicate effectively. In this scenario, teacher training concerning the advantages of other varieties of English in today's world of intercultural communication and guidance on how to assess those varieties must be provided. Regarding TPIs, teachers accepted the strengths and weaknesses that non-natives and natives had over one another. In light of this finding, it could be implied that non-native and native teachers should have an equal chance in teaching careers as non-native teachers can also teach well in most areas.

The current study left some topics for further research. Teachers reported their teaching goal in helping their students become successful communicators, but most teachers adopted only the native norm in their teaching. Therefore, the prospective study may explore how they perceive as the term *successful communicators*. In addition, because the present study investigated teachers' attitudes, the comparison between teachers' and students' attitudes toward ELF and WEs could also be an interesting topic for prospective research.

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## The Category of Determiner in Albanian

By Hysnie Haxhillari\*

*The Determiners are D-Category words which have a D position into the Determinative Phrases. In Albanian D-Category includes: the definite/indefinite article, pre-nominal demonstrative pronouns and pre-nominal possessive pronouns. Compositional Aspect, an universally language category, explains the boundedness/non-boundedness of the sentence referring also to the D-Category and their role in denoting Noun Phrase's specificity. From this point of view, Determiners are also grammatical markers of boundedness or perfectivity of the sentence: a NP preceded by a Determiner is bounded or quantified, a bare NP is non-bounded/unquantified. In Albanian the specified NPs make the sentences (SVO order) more grammatical and acceptable, providing this way bounded sentences. The unspecified NPs, singular and plural are not grammatically correct in the subject position in Albanian, they are grammatically correct only in object position. Hence, compared to English sentences, the Albanian imperfective or non-bounded counterparts are more limited.*

**Keywords:** D-Category, Noun Phrase, Compositional Aspect, Bounded NP, Non-bounded NP

### Introduction

D-Category is a functional category of the Noun Phrase, which originates in S. P. Abney's work (1987) who claims that there are some similarities between the inflectional head Infl. of the sentence and the functional head D of the Noun Phrase. D and Infl. belong to the class of non-lexical categories which Abney named functional category. According to DP-Analysis, determiners are the lexical illustration of D-category, the way modals are lexical illustration of Infl. Category (1987:265). D-Category elements are: articles (definite and indefinite), demonstratives, possessive pronouns and quantifiers. This class of elements have been studied not only in the Generative framework, but also in the light of the recent studies about the Compositional Aspect. This paper will be focused on the Albanian class of Determiners, aiming to show their potential relation with the Aspect, which is regarded as a grammatical and as a conceptual category universally represented in all languages.

Albanian is not a VA language like Modern Slavic or Greek, which have perfective verbs as lexical entries. It may be part of the languages without perfective verbs, as defined by Kabakčiev (2023, 251), feature CA, like today's Germanic and Romance languages which depend on CA to effectuate perfectivity. Having no studies on Compositional Aspect in Albanian (to my knowledge) we must know what is the CA or what is a CA language. Kabakčiev (2000: 60)

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explains that within the framework of a simple sentence containing a subject, a verb, and an object, aspect meaning is dependent on all the components of a sentence, on their grammatical form and on the lexical meanings of the words that take part in the composition of the sentence as a whole. Meanwhile the semantico-syntactic expression of aspect is called Compositional, after Verkuyl's (1972) work.

Traditionally the concept of aspect has been related to the verbal system (aspect in Slavic languages), recently the whole sentence and its components effectuate aspect, especially the subject/object NPs. Verkuyl's (1972: 59) well known schemes help explicating perfectivity and imperfectivity at the level of simple sentences containing a subject, a verb and an object:

#### SCHEMA FOR PERFECTIVITY

(37) S[NPI[SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]NPI + VP[V[VERB]V + NP2[SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]NP2]S

#### SCHEMA FOR IMPERFECTIVITY

(38) S[NPI[(UN)SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]NPI + VP[V[VERB]V + NP2[(UN)SPECIFIED QUANTITY OF X]NP2]S

The meaning of these schemes is explained in Bulatović (2013: 74) who claims that for a clause/sentence to have a terminative aspectual reading, both arguments must represent a 'specified quantity of x'. If one of the arguments is not 'specified', terminativity is lost. Hence, a NP, as an argument, can denote a specified quantity of a referent or an unspecified quantity of a referent, the difference between them is assigned by the Determiners of the noun as articles, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, also quantifiers and the proper names, which make a NP definite.

In the Aspectual framework studies, the Determiners display another role except for being functional heads of the Determinative Phrases (Abney, 1987). We can claim that in Abney's work the Determiners have been analyzed in their syntactic function into DP, they are functional elements of D-category, meanwhile in Verkuyl's work they have been analyzed in a semantico-conceptual framework, as grammatical markers of NP which interplay with the verb effectuating the aspectual value of the sentence. In this paper, we will try to analyze the Category of Determiners in Albanian as markers of boundedness/non-boundedness (perfectivity/imperfectivity in Verkuyl's term). There are two kinds of terminology used in the literature referring to Verkuyl and Kabakčiev (the main works quoted here), perfectivity /boundedness and imperfectivity/non-boundedness. We will use the binary terms 'bounded/non-bounded' referring to Kabakčiev (2000: 61) who claims that boundedness (or 'specified quantity', to use Verkuyl's term) is explicated through an article, quantifiers, certain types of pronouns, etc., whereas non-boundedness (or 'unspecified quantity', Verkuyl's term) is explicated through the lack of these elements.

This paper is organized in six sections: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Results and Discussion, Conclusions and References. The section

Results and Discussion has two sub-sections: The Category of Determiners in Albanian and The Compositional Aspect and the D-Category in Albanian.

## Literature Review

This paper has in focus the D-Category in Albanian and its relation to the boundedness/non-boundedness phenomenon. Studies on Determiners have been developed into a Generative framework beginning with S. P. Abney's work (1987) who has analyzed them as functional heads of Determinative Phrases. The Generative studies as Chomsky's works (1965), Adger (2002), Graffi (1994), Alexiadou, A., Haegeman, L., Stavrou (2007) etc., have been a reference for defining the category of Determiners in Albanian and analyzing their properties comparing to the English D-Category.

Studies on Aspect or Compositional Aspect have not been very present and known in Albanian linguistics. Insights on the Aspect as a semantic feature of the Albanian verbal system have been presented in the work of Friedman (2004) and Abrashi (2016). The literature on CA theory has been developed since last century with the seminal work of Verkuyl (1972) which represents an extended theory on Aspect in English and Dutch. Aspect's theory has been discussed further in Vendler's work (1957), in Kabakčiev's work (1984, 2000, 2023), also in Bulatovic's work (2013) etc. These studies have been a reference for my paper, whose aim is to find a relation between the category of Determiners in Albanian and the category of Aspect.

## Methodology/Materials and Methods

Due to its object of study *D-Category in Albanian and its relation to Aspect* this paper is focused in both Generative and Aspectual literature. The theoretical framework is based on a wide generative works, studies and article reviews on Aspect. Two main methods applied here are: the comparative method and the analytic method.

The comparative method is first applied to compare Albanian Determiners with the English Determiners, referring Abney's criteria of the class of Determiners. Than, this method is applied in comparing English sentences (some of them borrowed from Verkuyl and Kabakčiev) to the translated counterparts in Albanian to find out the similarities and the differences on the aspectual nature of them. The analytic method is used on analyzing Albanian NPs and their potencial to effectuate aspect through the role of their Determiners and Quantifiers.

Being an introduction approach this paper is limited on sentences, which mainly are translation equivalents of the English sentences, as a Compositional Aspect language.

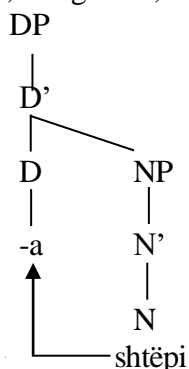
## Results and Discussion

### *The Category of Determiners in Albanian*

The category of Determiners is defined by Abney (1987: 74) as a class of functional elements due to the syntactic role they have heading the Determinative Phrases. Some of their main properties are: Determiners constitute a closed lexical class, they are often phonologically weak, they are inseparable from their 'complement' and lack the descriptive content, also they have a complementary distribution in DP. In Albanian the D-category includes: the definite and indefinite articles, the pre-positional demonstrative and possessive pronouns, also the group of quantifiers.

The definite article in Albanian is postnominal and enclitic to the noun 'djalë' (boy<sub>-the</sub>), 'vajza' (girl<sub>-the</sub>), like the definite article in Romanian and Bulgarian. The definite article in Albanian depends on the morphological and phonological properties of the noun root, gender, number and case,  $\phi$  features. This suggests that the definite article in Albanian is part of the morphological inflection of the head noun and not an independent lexical element (Giusti, 1997: 102) like the English definite article.

Determiners are heads D of the Determinative Phrases, they display on the left of the Noun, which is a complement to the head D. This formulation is right for languages which display a free morpheme definite article, but it is not appropriate for those languages which have a bound definite article, like some Balkan or Scandinavian languages, including Albanian. In the late '80 was formulated the hypothesis of N-to-D Movement<sup>1</sup> (P. C. Hofherr, C. Dobrovie-Sorin, 2005:132), displaying the idea that the noun moves from its basic position in the lexical domain to a higher functional position inside the extended projection N (noun). Knowing that articles display on the left position in the DP, it was accepted that the noun moves in a higher position D triggered by the definite article. This Movement was triggered by the enclitic nature of the definite article as a bound morpheme. The noun N moves towards a position identified as D-head, based on the Principle that a head can move only in a head position (Alexiadou, Haegeman, Stavrou, 2007: 87). The N-to-D Movement in Albanian:



<sup>1</sup>The analysis is known as N-to-D Movement and is related to the Government and Binding Theory, which requires that Ns and Ds must be generated in different positions, even though the determiner might be an adjunct.



In Albanian the indefinite article ‘një’ is used also as a numeral and as an indefinite pronoun. It functions as an indefinite article (like *a/an* in English) when it denotes an unknown person or object to the speaker and the hearer ‘Në klasë hyri një vajzë’ (A girl entered into the classroom). In these contexts the indefinite article ‘një’ does not denote quantity (contrary to the other numerals) and is stressless and almost a clitic. The noun, preceded by the indefinite article ‘një’ is the counterpart of the definite form, follow the examples from *The Albanian Grammar*, I, (2002: 130): Nga kasollja doli *një grua* (= a certain woman, unknown for the hearer at the moment). *Gruaja* iu afrua grupit të burrave që kishin ardhur të shihnin shtëpinë e prishur. (From the cottage it came out an woman. The woman approached to the group of men who arrived there to watch the destroyed house).

The Albanian indefinite article ‘një’ has not the same frequency like the English indefinite articles ‘a/an’. While in English the indefinite determiner obligatory accompanies singular countable nouns even when these occur as predicate nominals (Kallulli, 1999: 85), Albanian uses a bare singular noun in this function. See the sentences 1, 1’ below (the English sentence is quoted from Kallulli: 1999):

1. John is a student
- 1’. Xhoni është student  
‘Xhon<sub>the</sub> is student’

In the sentence 1’ the nominal predicate ‘student’ needs not to be determined by the indefinite article ‘një’ (like ‘a student’ in English), it is not grammatically correct in Albanian, it denotes only the general concept of being student (the whole class of students), meanwhile the subject must be definite, showing that the referent ‘Xhoni’ is known for the speaker and the hearer. Although restricted in this context, the indefinite article ‘një’ is necessary in realizing the subject NPs in 2 and object NPs in 3 and 4 sentences below:

2. Na ishte një plak e një plakë.  
There was an old man and an old lady
3. Bleva një libër  
I bought a book
4. Librat ia fala një studenti  
I gave the books to a student

The sentence 2 is an introductory model of starting tales in Albanian, it has an indefinite subject NP denoting an unknown person to the speaker and to the hearer. The third and the fourth sentences have respectively a direct/indirect object denoting the NP ‘book’ or ‘student’ as one thing in general, one from the whole class of books or students. Further, the plural NPs in Albanian are accompanied by quantifiers ‘ca/disa libra’, like English ‘some books’. The indefinite NPs, singular and plural will play a crucial role in analyzing the aspect in Albanian in the next subsection.

In Albanian, Demonstrative pronouns are D-Category as well, they are head of a DP in Abney’s terms. As D-Category, demonstratives in Albanian are pre-

positional to the noun 'ky/ai libër' (this/that book); they belong to a closed lexical class; they are in complementary distribution to other determiners \**ky ai libër*, \**ai çdo libër*, ?*ky im libër*. Demonstrative determiners are sites of nominal grammatical features: they share the same gender, number and case category with their Complement N: *ky djalë* (this boy – sing. masc.Nom.); *kjo vajzë* (this girl – sing. fem. Nom.); *këta djem* (these boys – plur. masc. Nom.); *këto vajza* (these girls – plur, fem, Nom).

Demonstratives are pre-nominal to indefinite nouns, but in Albanian they may also be pre-nominal to definite nouns<sup>2</sup> in some anaphorical examples in tales (Sandfeld, 1930: 122). Nowadays this construction is used mainly in spoken Albanian:

5. *Ish një mbret, ai mbreti kish një pelë*  
'There was a king, that king-the had a mare'

The functional role of the demonstrative into the DP has been a topic of discussion in the recent generative literature. According to Longobardi (2001: 581) demonstratives are in D. Meanwhile, Giusti (2015: 134) claims that demonstratives are Specifiers in all languages. She notes that demonstratives may co-occur with other determiners, as possessive pronouns, which may be considered as Specifiers of another kind. Agreeing with Gisuti (2015) we can claim that demonstratives can co-occur with a definite article like 'ky djalë' (this boy<sub>the</sub>), where the demonstrative 'ky' has a Specifier position and the definite article in in D position.

The D-Category enriches with the class of possessive pronouns, which in Albanian are pre-nominal and post-nominal '*im atë / ati im*' (my father), *ati i tij* (his father) etc. The formers belongs to the class of Determiners, whereas the latters belongs to the class of modifiers. Pre-nominal possessive pronouns are followed only by kinship nouns in Albanian, restricted only to the first and second singular person: '*im vëlla, yt vëlla*'(my/your brother). Contrary to the demonstratives, they are followed by an indefinite noun, hence they are in complementary distribution with the definite article '*im atë*' (my father), like many other Indo-European languages *my / your / his brother* in English, *mes / tes / ses frères* in French (Demiraj, 1985: 317). This phenomenon is explained by the argument that possessives except the referentiality feature [+Ref], bear also the definiteness feature [+Def]. Following Turano, Koleci (2011: 84) possessives have the attribute to specify a referent to kinship noun, it means that the relation between the possessive and the kinship noun denotes an individual not an open argument which needs to be saturated from a D- Category.

<sup>2</sup>Demiraj (1985: 336) notes that in Albanian language the construction demonstrative pronoun + definite noun is not a principal usage of the demonstrative pronoun, it is found mainly in spoken language, in fairy tales or epic folk songs etc. The standard order in Albanian is demonstrative + indefinite noun, where the demonstrative has the role of determining and individualizing the noun. In the other example, anaphoric demonstrative + definite noun, it is the noun which has the main semantic and syntactic role.

*The Compositional Aspect and the D-Category in Albanian*

The Compositional Aspect as a conceptual and semantico-syntactic category is attested in English by the work of Verkuyl (1972) and other scholars like Vendler (1957), Kabakčiev (1984, 2000, 2023), etc. These linguists maintain that CA is a universal phenomenon, all languages may be effectuated by the category of Aspect. Albanian is not a Verbal Aspect language, but we can make an effort to see if it has a Compositional Aspect like English, agreeing with Kabakčiev's (2000: 156) formulation that when a certain language lacks markers of boundedness in the verbs, they are present in nouns.

The main thesis of the CA's studies is that CA is effectuated by all the sentence components, not only by the verb or the Verb Phrase. This means that Noun Phrases interplay with the verb in effectuating the aspectual nature of the sentence. Kabakčiev (2000: 57) emphasizes the role of Verkuyl in incorporating the subject into the analysis of aspect meanings, which turned out to be an important step in the process of acquiring a better understanding of the interdependency between the type of NPs in the sentence and the explication of aspect. Since Verkuyl (1972) 'the specified quantity of X' has been related to bounded NPs and 'the unspecified quantity of X' to non-bounded NPs. A bounded NP is accompanied by Determiners which make it a definite NP (in a broad sense) or a quantified NP in Verkuyl's terms. The English class of Determiners (following Kabakčiev, 2000: 65) are concrete grammatical markers of NPs in assigning the 'specified/bounded quantity'. On the other hand, the absence of these markers denotes 'unspecified/non-bounded quantity'. The aim of this subsection is to prove that Determiners in Albanian NPs function as grammatical markers of boundedness/perfectivity of the sentence. Verkuyl (1972: 59) explains further the Determiner's role through the Dutch NP 'het concert' (the concerto). It is analyzed as having an underlying structure:

NP = Det. + N  
 Det. = Def. + Spec.

where Determiner consists of two nodes DEFINITE and SPECIFIED and if the NP would be indefinite then the nodes would be INDEFINITE and SPECIFIED (a concerto). The noun N consists of the category Quantity which manifests itself in surface structure and is related to the lexical meaning of N. About the category SPECIFIED Verkuyl explains that nodes like FINITE or BOUNDED would come close to the meaning of SPECIFIED; however, UNSPECIFIED cannot be identified with INFINITE. The category SPECIFIED could be characterized as 'giving the bounds of the temporal interval in question'; the category UNSPECIFIED as 'not giving the bounds of the temporal interval in question'. Since the expression 'giving the bounds of an interval' involves referential information, SPECIFIED is provisionally located in the Determiner. Hence, from Verkuyl's point of view we understand that both definite NPs and indefinite NPs are related to the concept of Specificity.

The distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness in Albanian NPs is assigned respectively through the definite/ indefinite article. The definite NP

“djali” (the boy) represents one boy, definite, known to the speaker and the hearer - or at least identifiable by the latter within the context of utterance. A NP like ‘një djalë’ (a boy), although indefinite, unknown to both speaker and hearer, also normally represents one boy. According to Verkuyl’s theory, both NPs denote specified or bounded quantity for they have markers of boundedness like the determiners –i, një ‘djali-i’ and ‘një djalë’. In the plural NP ‘djemtë’ it is the same marker, the definite article –t, which denote a bounded number of boys, in contrast to the plural indefinite NP like ‘djem’ (boys) which typically represents boys that are not only unspecified with respect to their exact number, but are also non-bounded (in broad spatial terms). It is important to underline that if in the DP-Analysis, a bare DP has a null D position to denote the Determiner’s missing, in CA theory it denotes non-boundedness/imperfectivity of the sentence.

If we translate the English sentences (ex. from Kabakčiev, 2000) into Albanian we will see how these sentences are effectuated by the aspect:

- 6. The kid fed the cat – Perfective
- 6’. Fëmija ushqeui macen – Perfective

- 7. The kid fed cats – Imperfective
- 7’. Fëmija ushqeui mace – Imperfective

- 8. Kids fed the cat – Imperfective
- 8’. \*Fëmijë ushqyen macen

- 9. Kids fed cats – Imperfective
- 9’. \*Fëmijë ushqyen mace

In the sentence 6’ in Albanian, both subject and object are definite ‘fëmija, macen’, following Verkuyl (1972) it contains two NPs denoting “Specified quantity of X”. The sentences 6, 6’ are perfective in both languages: the subject *fëmija* /the kid and the object *macen*/the cat transfer their boundedness onto the referent of the verb *fed* and the situation is perfective. Following Kabakčiev, (2000: 99) *fëmija*/ the kid and *macen*/the cat in the sentences 6, 6’ above are entities which are bounded in time, since the beginning and the end of their "existence" are exactly determined.

In the sentence 7’ the noun *mace*, as the English counterpart ‘cat’, is plural and indefinite, there are no determiners or quantifiers preceding it. It denotes the “Unspecified quantity of X”, so its non-boundedness is transferred (mapped) onto the referent of the relevant verb (*ushqeui* /*fed*), which leads to imperfectivity. This kind of sentence is grammatical but not very acceptable in Albanian, it is used in a specific situation when a kid has to feed some cats as a duty or a part of an experiment he was doing.

The eighth and ninth sentences in English are imperfective due to the unquantified subject in 8 and the unquantified subject/object in 9. The Albanian counterparts (8’,9’) are ungrammatical due to the indefinite form of the subject ‘fëmijë’. A bare plural (or singular) NP in Albanian cannot have a subject position, to be grammatically correct it must be preceded by determiners or quantifiers,

whereas is grammatical for a bare plural NP to have an object position. (see Albanian Grammar, 2002: 128). The correct sentences in Albanian would be then:

10. Fëmija ushqeju macen – Perfective  
Kid-the, Nom. fed cat-the acc.

11. Fëmija ushqeju disa mace - Perfective  
Kid-the fed some cats

12. Një fëmijë ushqeju një mace – Perfective  
A kid fed a cat

13. Fëmijët ushqyen macen/ macet – Perfective  
Kids-the fed cat-the / cats-the

14. Ca fëmijë ushqyen një/ disa mace – Perfective  
Some kids fed one cat/ some cats

All the sentences above are perfective or bounded: the subjects ‘fëmija, një fëmijë, fëmijët, ca fëmijë’ and the objects ‘macen, disa mace, një mace, macet, disa mace’ are bounded NPs for they are accompanied by Determiners and quantifiers, in other words they are quantified NPs denoting bounded entities in time axis. Among the examples above, the sentences 12, 13, 14 are grammatically correct, but if we will refer to the situation or “our knowledge to the world” they are not very acceptable or used from a native speaker of Albanian, unless they are used in a specific situation, for example they would have been more meaningful if they were extended by a Prepositional Phrase:

15. Fëmija ushqeju disa mace në rrugë/oborr  
The kid fed some cats in the street /garden

16. Ca fëmijë ushqyen një/ disa mace në rrugë/oborr  
Some kids fed one cat/some cats in the street/ garden

These sentences show that the Albanian NPs specified by a definite article are more appropriate to effectuate boundedness, than NPs specified by quantifiers, especially the indefinite plural NPs. There are examples in English in which even though there is a plural quantified NP, the sentence is non-bounded/ imperfective. It seems that we have a discrepancy here which must be explained. If we refer to Verkuyl’s (1972:51) analysis the categories Indefinite and Plural constitute the specification “Unspecified Quantity”, hence we understand that an indefinite plural NP (subject or object) is non-bounded and transfer its boundedness onto the referent of the verb *fed* effectuating non-boundedness. The examples below, used first by Verkuyl (1972) and later by Kabakčiev (2000) show that in English, sentences with unspecified subjects and objects (therefore non-bounded) can be grammatical, but their translation counterparts in Albanian trigger ungrammaticality:

17. Women knitted Norwegian sweaters

17'. \*Gra thurnin triko norvegjeze

18. Tourists climbed the mountain

18'. \*Turistë ngjitën malin

In Albanian grammar, as we mentioned above, subjects cannot be instantiated by bare plural NPs. To continue further with this issue we will see below that the role of determiners in effectuating aspect is not always crucial. Quoting Kabakčiev (2022: 252) boundedness/non-boundedness are values that depend on other factors too. We will translate in Albanian only two sentences from his English examples:

19. The tourist visited the castle.

19'. Turisti vizitoi kështjellën

20. The tourist hated<sub>LEAK</sub> the castle

20'. Turisti urrente kështjellën

The sentences 19/19'(with bounded subjects and objects in both languages) are explained by Kabakčiev (2023: 252) under a process labeled NP-V/V-NP mapping: boundedness of *the tourist/turisti* and *the castle/kështjellën* are mapped onto the verb to trigger perfectivity, complemented by the V-feature telic. In 20/20' there is V-NP interplay/mapping again: the two NPs' boundedness is blocked by the atelic verb *hated/urrente*. The author claims that the verb's stativity cancels the potential NP boundedness (2023: 257). Kabakčiev's interesting conclusion is that here the verb's stative nature overrides the tendency for NPs with articles, quantifiers, etc. to signal temporal boundedness, hence the V-referent's non-boundedness is mapped onto the two situation-participant NP-referents, suppressing and canceling their potential boundedness, despite the presence of an article or some other exponent of boundedness. This explanation makes it clear that not only and always the NP's Determiners can effectuate aspect on the sentence, along with them, the nature of the verbs is definitely important in effectuating aspect. Vendler (1957:149) in his classification of the English verbal system into: activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, explains further that states involve time instants in an indefinite and nonunique sense. In this context, the verb 'urrej' (hate) denotes a feeling which cannot have a start and an ending, no one knows exactly when the hate starts or ends.

Except for the definite/indefinite articles, also demonstrative and possessive pronouns can imply definiteness, turning out to be grammatical markers of NPs denoting boundedness on their referents, Kabakčiev (2000: 60) maintains that the implication of quantitative definiteness/boundedness is also associated with the use of other quantifiers (i.e., if the article is taken to be a quantifier) and indefinite pronouns. The Albanian sentences below contain NPs headed by demonstrative and possessive pronouns, as well as QP (Quantified Phrases) headed by quantifiers:

21. Ky fëmijë ushqeu macen / macen e vet / një mace / disa mace

This kid fed cat<sub>the, acc.</sub>/his cat/ one cat/ some cats

22. Im vëlla ushqeui macen/ macen e vet/ një mace/ disa mace  
 my brother fed cat<sub>the, acc./</sub> his cat/ one cat / some cats  
 'My brother fed the cat / his cat/ one cat/ some cats'

23. Çdo fëmijë ushqeui macen /macen e vet/ një mace/ disa mace  
 Every child fed the cat / his cat/ one cat/ some cats

In all three sentences above, the subjects and the objects are quantified NPs, being accompanied by determiners like the demonstrative 'ky' (this), the possessive pronouns 'im, e vet' (my. her), the quantifiers 'një, disa, çdo' (one, some, every), these NPs denote bounded quantities making the sentences bounded/perfective. If these sentences would have bare subjects they would be ungrammatical, follow the example below:

24. \*Fëmijë ushqeui macen / macen e vet / një mace / disa mace  
 Kid fed the cat / his cat/ one cat/ some cats

Looking at the examples above, we can conclude that in Albanian the presence of the Determiners like demonstrative and possessive pronouns, along with indefinite pronouns is important in effectuating aspect. If they are missing into the subject NPs, we do not have non-bounded sentences as in English, but we have ungrammatical sentences like 20 above.

## Conclusions

The category of Determiners is a class of functional elements heading the Determinative Phrases. In Albanian the D-category includes: the definite and indefinite articles, the pre-positional demonstrative and possessive pronouns, also the group of quantifiers. In Albanian the definite article is postnominal and enclitic to the noun 'djali' (boy-<sub>the</sub>), 'vajza' (girl-<sub>the</sub>); the indefinite article 'një', used also as a numeral and as an indefinite pronoun, functions as an indefinite article (like a/an in English) when it does not denote quantity (contrary to the other numerals), in this context it is stressless and almost a clitic.

The definite/indefinite articles in Albanian have an important role in effectuating the Aspect: they denote bounded NP referents or entities that are bounded in time axis. Demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns and quantifiers are grammatical markers of boundedness of Albanian NP's referents too. These NPs interplay with the verb transferring their boundedness onto the referent of the verb triggering sentence's perfectivity. English's bare singular/plural NPs 'kid/kids' in subject position denote non-bounded NPs referents effectuating imperfectivity of the sentence, whereas Albanian's bare singular/plural NPs trigger ungrammatical sentences into subject position.

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