poetics today

POLYSYSTEM STUDIES

Itamar Even-Zohar

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System and Repertoire in Culture

Introduction

Polysystem theory was suggested in my works in 1969 and 1970, sub-
sequently reformulated and developed in a number of my later studies
and (I hope) improved, then shared, advanced, enlarged, and experi-
mented with by a number of scholars in various countries. Although,
as Segal (1982) has correctly observed, polysystem theory emerged
in my own work out of the need to solve certain very specific prob-
lems (having to do with translation theory [Even-Zohar 1971] as well
as the intricate historical structure of Hebrew literature [Even-Zohar
1970, 1972, etc.]), its foundations had already been solidly laid by
Russian Formalism in the 1920s. Unfortunately, misconceptions still
prevail about Russian Formalism, which is why the fallacious equation
of "Formalism" with a-historicity and static Structuralism is still the
normal attitude in professional circles. But anybody familiar with the
second and most decisively advanced stage of its scientific activity in
the 1920s can no longer accept the current stereotypes about Russian
Formalism.

   The theoretical work and research done by Russian Formalism,
where what I consider to be the foundations of Polysystem theory
emerged, is diverse. It was mostly designed to deal with problems of
literature, but since on the one hand the very conception of "litera-
ture" had undergone a series of modifications (most importantly in
conceiving of it within the larger framework of culture), and since on
the other hand linguists and cultural anthropologists in Russia never
really separated their respective fields from that of "literature" (a
separation which is still current in the West), certain hypotheses were
conceived almost simultaneously in both literary studies and the latter

disciplines by various "formalists." As a theory, it was thus never con-
fined to the field of literature, whatever its premises may have been. It
now seems to me, after some twenty years of work in the theory, that
much the same process has taken place with my own work, and that of
other colleagues. There, too, Polysystem theory could not remain con-
fined to the case of literature alone. The reasons for this development
perhaps have not been the same as for the Russian Formalists. Yet I
believe that they cannot be altogether different. For it does not seem
plausible to disconnect what I believe to be the changing conceptions
of the subject matter, that is "literature," from the theoretical possi-
bilities offered by Polysystem theory, whatever its borders or shape
might have been for the Russian Formalists or any other predecessors.
A chain of conceptual developments (which cannot be discussed here)
gradually pushed the Formalists to develop the framework of what I
have proposed to label *Dynamic Functionalism*. Once the general atti-
tudes of the latter were adopted in principle, conceptions could not
stay the same as before. Boris Ejxenbaum, in his famous assessment of
the work of Russian Formalism up to 1924 (Ejxenbaum 1927e [English
1971a]), gives a very powerful expression to this decisive step. Indeed,
one could say that the changing concept(ion)s have given rise to the
new theory, but the latter also made it both possible and imperative to
change previous concept(ion)s.

As a consequence, Polysystem theory—under whatever formulation
—eventually strives to account for larger complexes than literature.
However, "literature" is neither "deserted" nor "liquidated" by such
a procedure. On the contrary, it is given the opportunity to break
out of the corner into which it had been pushed (sometimes with all
good intentions) by our relatively recent tradition. Literature is thus
conceived of not as an isolated activity in society, regulated by laws
exclusively (and inherently) different from all the rest of the human
activities, but as an integral—often central and very powerful—factor
among the latter. That such a development is "natural" for Dynamic
Functionalism can be corroborated by the fact that different people
have come to very similar conclusions not only during the 1920s and
1930s (like Tynjanov in Russia on the one hand and Bogatyrëv in
Prague on the other), but in recent years as well. It is no wonder
that my own Polysystem theory should overlap parts of Lotman's liter-
ary as well as semiotic theories, although most of his writings became
known in my part of the world only in the mid-seventies. After all, they
emerge out of very similar premises and almost the same tradition.[1]

1. This has challenged some of my former students (and current colleagues), such
as Shelly Yahalom (1980, 1984) and Zohar Shavit (1980, 1986), who attempted
back in the late 1970s to integrate Lotmanian ideas with my older versions of Poly-
system theory, which I believe has greatly enhanced its flexibility. A more recent,
and highly interesting, attempt has been made by Rakefet Sheffy (1985).

But a far more convincing and striking case is the fascinating work of Pierre Bourdieu and several of his collaborators, who, without any real connection to Dynamic Structuralism (Functionalism) or Formalism, have arrived at many similar conclusions, in some areas superior, to my mind, to both the Russian Formalism and later developments (including my own).

Nevertheless, the matter of the rise and fall of theories, methods, and methodologies is not—as we very well know from the history of science and ideas—the outcome of some abstract program, systematically followed by some group(s) of diligent scholars. It is, like anything else we know in culture, a negotiation, however intellectual, between certain abstract conceptions and concretely local situations, not to speak of fashions and other "irrelevant" factors. This is why the bulk of the work produced by Dynamic Functionalism (notably by such scholars as Tynjanov, Ejxenbaum, or Jakobson and particularly Bogatyrëv) has hardly ever succeeded in touching even the surface of the academic study of "literature" in most Western countries. Not that the "ideas" of Dynamic Functionalism are in any sense complicated. It is rather the whole conceptual framework—the program, as it were— as well as its individual components that have been, and still are, alien to what most literary scholars consider their activity to consist of. It is in the very relationship between research and subject matter that Dynamic Functionalism is incompatible with all the other approaches.

This relationship is particularly manifest on the level of metatheory (or methodology), where science is conceived of in terms of the hypotheses that (1) no subject matter is independent of that science ("theory") of which it is considered the subject matter, (2) the only adequate (or feasible) way to observe a subject matter is by hypothesizing that it is governed by detectable, and relatively few, laws, and (3) the goal of any science (at least since the 1700s) is the discovery of such laws. The science of literature, a conception without which Dynamic Functionalism is unthinkable, is therefore not an activity whose goal is to observe what certain dominant views (ideologies/set of norms) in society consider to be "literature." Nor do the different views held by this science necessarily have any effect on any way the norms or views related to the question of what "literature" should be. In short, it is not the task of the science of literature to interfere with whatever anybody in society believes "literature" to be. As in any other discipline, its only interest is to operate in accordance with certain controllable procedures that are currently accepted and acknowledged as "the rules of the game" of this intellectual activity. The main task of the science of literature is therefore not necessarily to interpret texts, or writers, or anything else that is at one period or another considered to be the core of the matter discussed. It is, in other words, neither literary criticism nor philosophy of either literature or life.

This is not the proper place to delve into matters concerning the science of literature—especially since many of those interested in literature abhor the very idea of such a science;—suffice it to say here that many notions about "science" still prevailing in "humanistic" circles often have little to do with science as it is conceived of and practiced today. What they abhor is not "science," but some imaginary entity, often deduced from simplified and popularized versions of science. When we hear that science "has failed" in the field of literature, what is referred to as "science" is often some activity which either has nothing to do with science or merely pretends to be a science without the least understanding of the fundamental rules of the game. Obviously, a mere declaration of scientificity is not sufficient to establish an adequate science. The same holds true for serious endeavors, such as the one initiated by Dynamic Functionalism. In adopting a "scientific" approach, Dynamic Functionalism has made a declaration of intentions, set up a methodological program, a goal, but has not necessarily gained immediate success or a guarantee of achieving such success. While the endeavor of formulating adequate laws emerged almost from the very beginning of its activity, it was apparent that the nature of these "laws" is quite problematic, and that they cannot be taken as eternal truths (as is often the case in literary criticism), but rather as temporary hypotheses, to be discarded or modified whenever it becomes necessary to do so. How many adequate "laws" of "literature" have been proposed or formulated and how many of them are either just quasi-laws or even pseudo-laws is a matter that deserves to be discussed at length.[2] But the successful accessibility of laws obviously depends on the nature of the theories utilized. And, as stated above, no subject matter exists autonomously, independent of such theories.

Consequently, accepting the framework of Polysystem theory means accepting a whole *theory*, that is, a network of interdependent hypotheses, not just disparate suggestions or "ideas." Thus, I see no sense, for example, in accepting the concept of hierarchy out of context, as it were, disconnected from the hypothesized—or surmised—nature of the object observed (i.e., the subject matter of the theory). Doing so would simply mean adopting some of the hypotheses of Polysystem theory by transforming them into something else, hardly compatible with the theory. Indeed, Polysystem theory itself recognizes that this is a regular process in attitude change in culture: we do not understand or accept anything new except in the context of the old. But this does not mean that we ought to be satisfied with this structure on the

2. For the past few years I have been engaged in the project of writing down such laws and discussing their possible validity. (For a preliminary draft of the concept of law adoptable in literaturology see Even-Zohar 1986.)

level of academic disciplines and accept it without complaint, for such a procedure simply would render Polysystem theory, and Dynamic Functionalism, useless. If Polysystem theory is used as a tool for classifying texts and writers, for instance; or within a conceptual framework which identifies "literature" exclusively with its (textual) products and does not see the correlation between repertoire and system, or between production, products, and consumption; or within a framework which assigns the notion of "relations" to "connections" only (ignoring *dis*connections as a current order)—then Polysystem theory is turned into a partial, feeble, and unhelpful kind of theory. Of course, no one has the power to make people sign a contract, as it were, obliging them to use Polysystem theory only in the spirit in which it was developed and for the goals set by its initiators. But I am obliged to stress this point in order to prevent what I consider a devaluation of one of the most interesting traditions in the field (including my own contribution to it).

I am of course fully aware of the fact that many people have lost interest in "theories," not only in the field of literature, but also in linguistics and cultural studies in general. Indeed, many people feel that "science" cannot give answers to the burning questions of our precarious existence in the universe. It may well be so; but I find it inconceivable that while all other scientific activities—including most sciences of man—are still required to pursue the goals set for them in line with the prevailing scientific conception, the study of "literature," and sometimes even the study of "language" should, for some mysterious reason, be exempted from this requirement. One can very well understand the spirit of disappointment with and despair of science and knowledge that has come to prevail in certain milieus in Western society, but it seems unjustifiable to play the rules of the academic profession while at the same time considering the rules of the game of science irrelevant for the particular case of "literature" or "language." For it seems very often nowadays that scholars and students are no longer interested in "solving riddles" by "doing work." For them, science is not dedicating themselves to fruitful doing, but to clever thinking, not to research, but to the exciting thoughts that inspire no activity.[3] To be more blunt, in some circles the preoccupation with "literature" is just an excuse for expressing attitudes towards an undefined set of problems. People seem to want, as Calvino's hero so

3. Using Gould's original phrasing: "They [early-nineteenth-century English geologists] understood the cardinal principle of all science—that the profession, as an art, dedicates itself above all to fruitful doing, not clever thinking; to claims that can be tested by actual research, not to exciting thoughts that inspire no activity" (Gould 1986: 9).

marvelously puts it, not to study, but only to have "problems to debate, general ideas to glue to other general ideas."[4]

However, working with Dynamic Functionalism in general, and Poly-system theory in particular, is completely incompatible with the spirit currently permeating large sections of the scholarly community of lit-erature. Yet I believe that many people are by now fed up with the vogue of vague ideas and long precisely for "thoughts that inspire to some activity and fruitful doing." These people are not immersed in the business of hunting theories in order to soothe their *Weltschmerz,* but seek adequate tools for dealing with problems whose intricate nature cannot be dealt with by means of simplified observations or hazy impressions. It is my hope that these people would find some use in the kind of conceptual framework and fieldwork presented in this volume.

The papers in this volume have been written over the last twenty years. They represent various aspects of my work on various facets of literary and cultural polysystems. Some of them were included in my previous small collection (Even-Zohar 1978), but have now been reshaped in line with the current state of the field. They fall into dif-ferent categories, whose interdependence and deep coherence may not be immediately apparent. Yet no work in this volume, even if it deals with seemingly minute phenomena (such as void pragmatic connectives may seem at first glance), could have been conceived, con-ducted, and brought to some conclusion, however temporary, without the underlying conceptual framework, that is, the theory where it be-came possible for such questions to have emerged in the first place.

4. "Non che studino la lingua, quello non vuol fare piú nessuno . . . Vogliono problemi di dibattere, idee generali da collegare ad altre idee generali" (Calvino 1979: 50).

Polysystem Theory

Polysystem Theory

1. System and Polysystem in Modern Functionalism: Statics vs. Dynamics

The idea that semiotic phenomena, i.e., sign-governed human patterns of communication (such as culture, language, literature, society), could more adequately be understood and studied if regarded as systems rather than conglomerates of disparate elements has become one of the leading ideas of our time in most sciences of man. Thus, the positivistic collection of data, taken bona fide on empiricist grounds and analyzed on the basis of their material *substance*, has been replaced by a functional approach based on the analysis of *relations*. Viewing them as systems made it possible to hypothesize how the various semiotic aggregates operate. The way was subsequently opened for the achievement of what has been regarded throughout the development of modern science as a supreme goal: the detection of the laws governing the diversity and complexity of phenomena rather than the registration and classification of these phenomena. Since

the pre-functionalist approaches hardly ever attempted to detect such laws, what had previously been taken as "phenomena" (i.e., the objects for observation/study) did not actually overlap with the "phenomena" which could be hypothesized by the functionalistic approach. Thus, the idea of system has made it possible not only to account adequately for "known" phenomena, but also to discover altogether "unknown" ones. In addition, known data which had never been thought of as correlatable with the data normally connected with a certain "fact" have now become meaningful for that "fact." Functionalism has profoundly altered both structures and methods, questions and answers, of every discipline into which it was introduced.

Nevertheless, in spite of common premises, the functional approach has never been quite unified. Roughly speaking, two different and *incompatible* programs have been circulated. Unfortunately, this has not always been understood, causing much damage to the development of the various semiotic disciplines. The failure to distinguish between these programs not only gave the wrong idea about their respective contents, but made it difficult to appreciate what each was fundamentally designed to accomplish. It is lamentable that while this is recognized as a trivial commonplace in some parts of the modern semiotic tradition, incorrect presentations of the situation, even by "professionals," are still the order of the day.

I will refer to the respective programs as "the theory of static systems" vs. "the theory of dynamic systems." The theory of static systems has wrongly been identified as the exclusive "functional" or "structural" approach, and is usually referred to as the teachings of Saussure. In Saussure's own writings and in subsequent works in his tradition, the system is conceived of as a static ("synchronic") net of relations, in which the value of each item is a function of the specific relation into which it enters. While the function of elements, as well as the rules governing them, are thus detected, there is hardly any way to account for changes and variations. The factor of time-succession ("diachrony") has thus been eliminated from the "system" and ruled to lie beyond the scope of functional hypotheses. It has therefore been declared to be extra-systemic, and, since it was exclusively identified with the historical aspect of systems, the latter has been virtually banished from the realm of linguistics.

The advantages of introducing the concept of system to replace the mechanistic collection of data are evident. Even the reduction of the system to an a-historical, extra-temporal aspect, as it were, is not *per se* indefensible. The linguistic scene of Saussure's time, with its heavy concentration on historical change, conceived of in non-systemic terms (to put it mildly), clearly constituted an obstacle to discovering not how language differs in different periods, but how it operates in the first

place. By means of reduction, an adequate level of abstraction could be achieved, and the principal mechanisms of language functioning were thus laid bare. Obviously, from the point of view of such an abstract model, the possible concurrent existence of different options within one system at a given moment need not necessarily be considered if these are, in principle, reducible. As is well known from other fields of inquiry (e.g., thermodynamics), it is more efficient from the methodological point of view to start by developing a theory of closed systems.

Thus understood, the static approach really accomplishes its ultimate design. However, if taken for what it is not, namely, a model which aims at a closer account of the conditions under which a system operates in time, it can disturb scientific inquiry. There is a clear difference between an attempt to account for some major principles which govern a system outside the realm of time, and one which intends to account for how a system operates both "in principle" and "in time." Once the historical aspect is admitted into the functional approach, several implications must be drawn. First, it must be admitted that both synchrony and diachrony are historical, but the exclusive identification of the latter with history is untenable. As a result, synchrony cannot and should not be equated with statics, since at any given moment, more than one diachronic set is operating on the synchronic axis. Therefore, on the one hand a system consists of both synchrony and diachrony; on the other, each of these separately is obviously also a system. Secondly, if the idea of structuredness and systemicity need no longer be identified with homogeneity, a semiotic system can be conceived of as a heterogeneous, open structure. It is, therefore, very rarely a uni-system but is, necessarily, a polysystem—a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent.

If the static, synchronistic approach[1] emanates from the Geneva School, the dynamic approach has its roots in the works of the Russian Formalists as well as the Czech Structuralists. Their notion of a dynamic system has regrettably been ignored to a large extent in both linguistics and the theory of literature. The synchronistic approach— falsely interpreted—triumphed. For both layman and "professional," "structuralism" is still, more often than not, equated with statics and synchronism, homogeneous structure and an a-historical approach.

1. "Synchronistic" seems to be more appropriate than "synchronic" once we accept that "synchronic" need not be equated with "static."

2. Polysystem: Processes and Procedures

2.1. General Properties of the Polysystem

Seen against such a background, the term "polysystem" is more than just a terminological convention. Its purpose is to make explicit the conception of a system as dynamic and heterogeneous in opposition to the synchronistic approach.[2] It thus emphasizes the multiplicity of intersections and hence the greater complexity of structuredness involved. Also, it stresses that in order for a system to function, uniformity need not be postulated. Once the historical nature of a system is recognized (a great merit from the point of view of constructing models closer to "the real world"), the transformation of historical objects into a series of uncorrelated a-historical occurrences is prevented.

Admittedly, since handling an open system is more difficult than handling a closed one, the level of exhaustive analysis may be more limited. Perhaps more room will be given to "disorders," and the notion of "the *systemic*" will no more be erroneously equated with the notion of "the *systematic*." These are "disadvantages," to be sure, from the point of view of the theory of static systems. But from the point of view of dynamic systems theory they are nothing of the sort. Indeed, synchronism can deal with the general idea of function and functioning, but cannot account for the functioning of language, or any other semiotic system, in a specific territory in *time*. One can of course reduce the heterogeneity of culture in society to the ruling classes only, but this would not hold once the time factor, i.e., the possibility of change and its governing mechanisms, is taken into account. The acuteness of heterogeneity in culture is perhaps most "palpable," as it were, in such cases as when a certain society is bi- or multilingual (a state that used to be common in most European communities up to recent times). Within the realm of literature, for instance, this is manifested in a situation where a community possesses two (or more) literary systems, two "literatures," as it were. For students of literature, to overcome such cases by confining themselves to only one of these, ignoring the other, is naturally more "convenient" than dealing with them both. Actually, this is a common practice in literary studies; how inadequate the results are cannot be overstated.

2. However, it cannot be stressed enough that there is no property relatable to the "polysystem" which could not, as such, be related to the "system." If by "system" one is prepared to understand both the idea of a closed set-of-relations, in which the members receive their values through their respective oppositions, *and* the idea of an open structure consisting of several such concurrent nets-of-relations, then the term "system" is appropriate and quite adequate. The trouble is that established terms tend to preserve older notions. New terms must therefore be coined to make the concepts behind them conspicuous, even when old terms would in principle suffice.

The polysystem hypothesis, however, is designed precisely to deal with such cases, as well as with the less conspicuous ones. Thus, not only does it make possible the integration into semiotic research of objects (properties, phenomena) previously unnoticed or bluntly rejected; rather, such an integration now becomes a precondition, a *sine qua non,* for an adequate understanding of any semiotic field. This means that standard language cannot be accounted for without putting it into the context of the non-standard varieties; literature for children would not be considered a phenomenon sui generis, but related to literature for adults; translated literature would not be disconnected from original literature; mass literary production (thrillers, sentimental novels, etc.) would not simply be dismissed as "non-literature" in order to evade the recognition of its mutual dependence with "individual" literature.

Further, it may seem trivial, yet warrants special emphasis, that the polysystem hypothesis involves a rejection of value judgments as criteria for an *a priori* selection of the objects of study. This must be particularly stressed for literary studies, where confusion between criticism and research still exists. If one accepts the polysystem hypothesis, then one must also accept that the historical study of literary polysystems cannot confine itself to the so-called "masterpieces," even if some would consider them the only *raison d'être* of literary studies in the first place. This kind of elitism cannot be compatible with literary historiography just as general history can no longer be the life stories of kings and generals. In other words, as scholars committed to the discovery of the mechanisms of literature, there seems to be no way for us to avoid recognizing that any prevalent value judgments of any period are themselves an integral part of these mechanisms. No field of study, whether mildly or more rigorously "scientific," can select its objects according to norms of taste.

Excluding the selection of objects to be studied according to taste does not mean that either particular "values" or evaluation in general are excluded by any section of the sciences of man as active *factors* to be accounted for. Without a study of such evaluative norms, there is no way of understanding the behavior of any human system. I would therefore like to warn at this point against a misinterpretation of my argument; no "objectivist" program, in the naïve sense of the word, is preached here. As will become apparent from the following, the study of cultural norms lies at the very core of any functional stratification theory.

2.2. Dynamic Stratification and Systemic Products

Heterogeneity is reconcilable with functionality if we assume that rather than correlating with each other as individual items (elements or functions), the seemingly non-reconcilable items (elements or functions) constitute partly alternative systems of concurrent options.

These systems are not equal, but hierarchized within the polysystem. It is the permanent struggle between the various strata, Tynjanov has suggested, which constitutes the (dynamic) synchronic state of the system. It is the victory of one stratum over another which constitutes the change on the diachronic axis. In this centrifugal vs. centripetal motion, phenomena are driven from the center to the periphery while, conversely, phenomena may push their way into the center and occupy it. However, with a polysystem one must not think in terms of *one* center and *one* periphery, since several such positions are hypothesized. A move may take place, for instance, whereby a certain item (element, function) is transferred from the periphery of one system to the periphery of an adjacent system within the same polysystem, and then may or may not move on to the center of the latter.

Traditionally, we have often been faced with the results of such transfers either without realizing that they have occurred, or ignoring their source. Since in practice, the (uni-) system has been identified with the central stratum exclusively (that is, official culture as manifested *inter alia* in standard language, canonized literature, patterns of behavior of the dominating classes), peripheries have been conceived of (if at all) as categorically extra-systemic, a view which coincides of course with the "inside view" of the "people-in-the-culture" (cf. Lotman et al. 1975; Voegelin 1960). This attitude has led to a number of developments. First, there was no awareness of the tensions between strata within a system, and therefore the value (function, "meaning") of a variety of items went undetected; these items stood in clear opposition to other concurrent items, the existence and nature of which were ignored. Secondly, as already stated, the process of change could not be accounted for, and changes had to be explained in terms of the individual inventions of imaginative minds or "influences" from another source, normally on the individual, often isolated level (another writer, a specific work, etc.). Thirdly, the materially manifested changes (as distinct from the process of change) could not be interpreted, since their nature was concealed from the observer's eye. Consider, for example, the reduction of the writer's creativity to vague notions such as "imagination" and "inspiration." Using them in fact is a renouncement of the possibility of disentangling the knotty complex which constitutes the conditions under which a writer works, part of which consists of certain pertinent constraints, while part is a function of the writer's personal ability to create new conditions not imposed *on* him but *by* him.

Why transfers take place in the first place, the reasons for specific transfers, and how they are actualized (performed) are questions with which Polysystem theory has been increasingly occupied in direct proportion to the growing number of instances where it has been put to the test during recent years.

One thing has become clear: the relations which obtain within the polysystem do not account only for polysystem processes, but also for procedures at the level of repertoire. That is to say, the polysystem constraints turn out to be relevant for the procedures of selection, manipulation, amplification, deletion, etc., taking place in actual products (verbal as well as non-verbal) pertaining to the polysystem. Therefore, those interested not in the processes taking place in their specific field, such as language or literature, but in the "actual" constitution of products (e.g., lingual utterances, literary texts), cannot avoid taking into account the state of the particular polysystem with whose products they happen to deal. Naturally, when only official products (standard language utterances, literary "masterpieces") were treated, the work of the polysystem constraints often could not be detected. As the researchers failed to see the connection between the position of texts and models (properties, features) within the structured whole (to which they belong), on the one hand, and the decisions made while producing them, on the other, local explanations ("mistakes," "misunderstandings," "bad imitation," etc., for instance in the study of translation) became their only possible refuge. (For a more detailed discussion of translated literature see below, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.")

2.2.1. Canonized vs. Non-Canonized Strata

It was Shklovskij who seems to have first conceptualized the socio-cultural distinctions of text production in terms of literary stratification. According to him (1921, 1923),[3] in literature certain properties become canonized, while other remain non-canonized. In such a view, by "canonized" one means those literary norms and works (i.e., both models and texts) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage. On the other hand, "non-canonized" means those norms and texts which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate and whose products are often forgotten in the long run by the community (unless they change their status). Canonicity is thus no inherent feature of textual activities on any level: it is no euphemism for "good" versus "bad" literature. The fact that certain features tend, in certain periods, to cluster around certain statuses does not mean that these features are "essentially" pertinent to some status. Obviously, the people-in-the-culture them-

3. In his later collection of papers, *O teorii prozy* (1925), Shklovskij reiterates some of the hypotheses he launched in *Rozanov* (1921). (See esp. Shklovskij 1925: 226–228 [German: Shklovskij 1966: 163–165; Italian: Shklovskij 1976: 271–273]). Shklovskij's contribution to developing a theory of literary history is fully appreciated in Ejxenbaum's famous assessment (Ejxenbaum 1927e; English translation in Matejka and Pomorska 1971: 3–37).

selves may, in one period or another, conceive of these distinctions in such terms, but the historian may use them only as evidence of a period's set of norms.[4]

The tensions between canonized and non-canonized culture are universal. They are present in every human culture, because a non-stratified human society simply does not exist, not even in Utopia. There is no un-stratified language upon earth, even if the dominant ideology governing the norms of the system does not allow for an explicit consideration of any other than the canonized strata. The same holds true for the structure of society and everything involved in that complex phenomenon.

The ideology of an official culture as the only acceptable one in a given society has resulted in massive cultural compulsion affecting whole nations through a centralized educational system and making it impossible even for students of culture to observe and appreciate the role of the dynamic tensions which operate within the culture for its efficient maintenance. As with a natural system, which needs, for instance, heat regulation, cultural systems also need a regulating balance in order not to collapse or disappear. This regulating balance is manifested in the stratificational oppositions. The canonized repertoires of any system would very likely stagnate after a certain time if not for competition from non-canonized challengers, which often threaten to replace them. Under the pressures from the latter, the canonized repertoires cannot remain unchanged. This guarantees the evolution of the system, which is the only means of its preservation. On the other hand, when no pressures are allowed release, we often witness either the gradual abandonment of a system and movement to another (e.g., Latin is replaced by its various Romance vernaculars), or its total collapse by means of a revolution (overthrow of a regime or the total disappearance of hitherto preserved models, etc.).

It seems that when there is no "sub-culture" (popular literature, popular art, "low culture" in whatever sense, etc.), or when exerting real pressures on canonized culture is not permitted, there is little

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4. Here, as with most other subjects, Shklovskij's terminological usage is hardly systematic. In *Rozanov* and other publications he oscillates between "non-canonized" on the one hand and "junior" literature (or "line"; *mladshaj literatura [linija]*) on the other. Moreover, although "canonized" (*kanonizirovannyj*) seems to be the most "natural" word in Russian rather than "canonical" (*kanonicheskij*) for profane matters, this distinction is blurred at least in some other languages, notably English. While "canonical" may suggest (and so it does in the writings of many English- or French-speaking critics) the idea that certain features are *inherently* "canonical" (French "canonique"), "canonized" (French "canonisé") clearly emphasizes that such a state is a result of some act(ivity) exercised on certain material, not a primordial nature of this material "itself." This is why I recommend sticking to Shklovskij's practice in other European languages as well.

chance of there being a vital canonized culture. Without the stimulation of a strong "sub-culture," any canonized activity tends to gradually become petrified. The first steps towards petrification manifest themselves in a high degree of boundness and growing stereotypization of the various repertoires. For the system, petrification is an operational disturbance: in the long run it does not allow it to cope with the changing needs of the society in which it functions. If one conceives of this incapacity in terms of cultural inadequacy—a concept barely explicated as yet—then there are various possible manifestations of it. In the case of literature, one of the chief organizers of human culture, this does not necessarily mean that immediate disintegration becomes imminent. Literature as a socio-cultural institution may go on existing for good, but the degree of its "adequacy" may very well be judged by its position within culture. (For instance, being pushed into a periphery within culture may be a clear token of such an inadequacy.)

As a rule, the center of the whole polysystem is identical with the most prestigious canonized repertoire. Thus, it is the group which governs the polysystem that ultimately determines the canonicity of a certain repertoire. Once canonicity has been determined, such a group either adheres to the properties canonized by it (which subsequently gives them control of the polysystem) or, if necessary, alters the repertoire of canonized properties in order to maintain control. On the other hand, if unsuccessful in either the first or the second procedure, both the group and its canonized repertoire are pushed aside by some other group, which makes its way to the center by canonizing a different repertoire. Those who still try to adhere to that displaced canonized repertoire can only seldom gain control of the center of the polysystem; as a rule, one finds them on the periphery of the canonized, referred to (by the carriers of official culture) pejoratively as "epigones." Yet, as polysystems may stagnate, "epigones" may perpetuate an established repertoire for a long time, thus eventually becoming identical—from the stratificational point of view—with the original group which initiated that state of affairs.

2.2.2. System vs. Repertoire vs. Texts
In the (poly)system it is in the repertoire that canonicity is most concretely manifested. While repertoire may be either canonized or non-canonized, the system to which a repertoire belongs may be either central or peripheral. Naturally, when a central system is the home of canonized repertoires, one may speak in abbreviated terms of canonized vs. non-canonized systems, in spite of the imprecision thus introduced into our jargon. Repertoire is conceived of here as the aggregate of laws and elements (either single, bound, or total models) that govern the production of texts. While some of these laws and ele-

ments seem to be universally valid since the world's first literatures, clearly a great many laws and elements are subjected to shifting conditions in different periods and cultures. It is this local and temporal sector of the repertoire which is the issue of struggle in the literary (or any other semiotic) system. But there is nothing in the repertoire itself that is capable of determining which section of it can be (or become) canonized or not, just as the distinctions between "standard," "high," "vulgar," or "slang" in language are not determined by the language repertoire itself, but by the language system—i.e., the aggregate of factors operating in society involved with the production and consumption of lingual utterances. It is thus these systemic relations that determine the status of certain items (properties, features) in a certain "language." The selection of a certain aggregate of features for the consumption of a certain status group is therefore extraneous to that aggregate itself. Similarly, the status of any literary repertoire is determined by the relations that obtain in the (poly)system. Obviously, canonized repertoire is supported by either conservatory or innovatory elites, and therefore is constrained by those cultural patterns which govern the behavior of the latter. If sophistication and eccentricity (or the opposite, i.e., "simple-mindedness" and conformism) are required by the elite to gratify its taste and control the center of the cultural system, then canonized repertoire will adhere to these features as closely as it can.

In this approach, then, "literature" cannot be conceived of as either a set of texts, an aggregate of texts (which seems to be a more advanced approach), or a repertoire. Texts and repertoire are only partial manifestations of literature, manifestations whose behavior cannot be explained by their own structure. It is on the level of the literary (poly)system that their behavior is explicable.

No doubt texts are the most conspicuously visible products of the literary system, at least in many periods of its history.[5] Obviously, for any individual, it is the ultimate product of any activity that matters: for any individual consumer, industrial products normally are the only target of interest rather than the factors which govern the industry

5. It is hard to dislodge time-honored images and therefore it seems only "natural" that producing and consuming texts must always have been the most important activity in "literature." Yet in certain periods, the text was rather marginal vis-à-vis other activities in the literary system, such as the writer or some "total event" in the shape of various performances. I would like to suggest that, more often than not, defense of old texts (and models) is not necessarily a sign of excessive interest in them, but rather a sign of partial indifference towards them. When perpetuated long enough, "texts" gradually become marginal factors in "literature." (Of course, parts of texts, such as lines, stanzas, selected expressions, may be quoted and even revered, but in most such cases they become detached from their original [con]texts.)

making the products. Yet it is clear that for anybody interested in understanding industry as a complex activity, the latter cannot be exhaustively analyzed by its products, even if products may seem the very *raison d'être* of its operations. In the literary system, texts, rather than playing a role in the processes of canonization, are the outcome of these processes. It is only in their function as representatives of models that texts constitute an active factor in systemic relations.

2.2.3. *Static vs. Dynamic Canonicity*

It therefore seems imperative to clearly distinguish between two different uses of the term "canonicity," one referring to the level of texts, the other to the level of models. For it is one thing to introduce a text into the literary canon, and another to introduce it through its model into some repertoire. In the first case, which may be called static canonicity, a certain text is accepted as a finalized product and inserted into a set of sanctified texts literature (culture) wants to preserve. In the second case, which may be called dynamic canonicity, a certain literary model manages to establish itself as a productive principle in the system through the latter's repertoire. It is this latter kind of canonization which is the most crucial for the system's dynamics. Moreover, it is this kind of canonization that actually generates the canon, which may thus be viewed as the group of survivors of canonization struggles, probably the most conspicuous products of certain successfully established models. Naturally, any canonical text can be recycled at any given moment into the repertoire in order to become a canonized model again. But once it is recycled, it is no longer in its capacity of a finalized product that it plays a role, but as a potential set of instructions, i.e., a model. The fact that it had once been canonized and become canonical, i.e., sanctified, may or may not be advantageous for it vis-à-vis non-canonical products that have as yet no position at all.

It has been argued that a system can manage with a canon better than without one. It seems that a static canon is a primary condition for any system to be recognized as a distinct activity in culture.[6] It is also obvious that on a superficial level text producers (writers) struggle for their texts to be recognized and accepted as such. But even for these writers themselves what really matters is that their texts be taken as a manifestation, a successful actualization, of a certain model to be followed. It would be a terrible disappointment for writers to have their particular texts accepted but their literary models rejected. This would mean, from their point of view, the end of their productiveness

6. This is a current hypothesis in many cultural studies. For some recent discussions see Segal 1982 and Sheffy 1985, where this subject is given a most original and stimulating treatment.

within literature, an indicator of their lack of influence and efficiency. To be recognized as a great writer yet be rejected as a model for living literature is a situation no writer participating in the game can indifferently resign himself to. Writers whose awareness of their position is more acute, and whose maneuvering capacity is more vigorous and flexible, have always tried to alter such a position if they happened to find themselves in it. Boris Ejxenbaum has shown (1927b, 1929, 1928/31 [English Eichenbaum 1971]) how Tolstoj reacted to the rejection of his literary models (while his texts, as well as his personal position in the historical canon, had already been secured) by introducing altogether different literary models several times during his lifetime. A very similar case is the literary career of August Strindberg, who managed several times to remain at the center of the productive canonized repertoire by switching from one set of models to another. Other writers, perhaps the great majority of them, normally stick to one set of models throughout their literary career. Although they may produce more accomplished texts than previously according to the same (previous) models, they may lose their contemporary position (though not necessarily their public, which thus moves with them from the center to a periphery of the literary system). This is clear-cut evidence that it is not through their texts as such that writers acquire positions in the literary system. A new dominant occupant of the center may not deny them their position in the static canon, while at the same time it may reject them as acceptable models for making new texts. At other times, however, this rejection—at least in its initial stages—also involves a rejection of these dethroned writers, that is of their texts, from the canon as well.

2.2.4. *Primary vs. Secondary Types*
As stated above (2.2), transfers are also necessarily linked to specific procedures imposed on the properties involved with them. Transfer, in other words, is correlated with transformation. These procedures, of various kinds, are sometimes definable as the preconditions for transfers, while at other times they are clearly results of the latter. Whether they are the one or the other depends on the specific state of the polysystem and on our ability to discover some general rules for the correlation between transfer and transformation. Initially, it is not very clear that two separate principles are involved, since these procedures are intimately linked with the process discussed, and since, during some periods in the history of language or literature, procedures tend to operate almost permanently with certain strata. They seem, rather, to be in some way interchangeable. I am afraid this was the way things were described in previous works of mine, but they were already explicitly corrected in my paper "The Polysystem Hypothesis Revisited" (Even-Zohar 1978: 28–35). As the principle governing the

procedures involved in transfer (and stratification of the polysystem in general), I proposed (1974, 1978: 14–20) the opposition between "primary" and "secondary" types. But as in the actual literary corpora I had then analyzed, "primary" types tended to appear exclusively in the canonized repertoire (and "secondary" in the non-canonized), I began using the term "primary system" for a "canonized repertoire possessing primary types." This was not an adequate practice, as it blurs the issue and is moreover incorrect when periods other than those I then discussed are taken into consideration (cf. Yahalom 1978, 1980; Drory 1988).

The primary vs. secondary opposition is that of innovativeness vs. conservatism in the repertoire. When a repertoire is established and all derivative models pertaining to it are constructed in full accordance with what it allows, we are faced with a conservative repertoire (and system). Every individual product (utterance, text) of it will then be highly predictable, and any deviation will be considered outrageous. Products of such a state I label "secondary." On the other hand, the augmentation and restructuration of a repertoire by the introduction of new elements, as a result of which each product is less predict-able, are expressions of an innovatory repertoire (and system). The models it offers are of the "primary" type: the pre-condition for their functioning is the discontinuity of established models (or elements of them). Of course, this is a purely historical notion. It does not take long for any "primary" model, once it is admitted into the center of the canonized system, to become "secondary," if perpetuated long enough. The struggle between the primary and secondary options is as decisive for the system's evolution as the tension (and struggle) be-tween high and low strata within the system. Naturally, change occurs only when a primary model becomes dominant in the repertoire and subsequently in the (poly)system: its perpetuation denotes stabiliza-tion and new conservatism. Usually, perpetuation is governed by its own specific rules. Thus, it has not been possible so far to observe the perpetuation of any primary model without concomitant structural modifications that can be termed, in an *ad hoc* manner, "simplifica-tion." This does not mean that primary models are more sophisticated than secondary ones, but that during the course of their perpetua-tion, and within the secondary models which ultimately emerge out of them, a process of reduction takes place. For instance, heterogeneous models are transformed into homogeneous models; the number of incompatible patterns (e.g., various kinds of "ambiguity") within the same structure is reduced; complex relations are gradually replaced by less complex and so on. Naturally, the reverse procedures take place when a secondary model is manipulated in such a way that it is virtually transformed into a primary one.

As I have argued above, canonicity does not necessarily overlap with

primariness, although this may have been the case in more recent times, i.e., since the Romantic Age. It is therefore important to discover the sort of relations which obtain between canonicity and innovation. The more we observe literature with the help of these notions, the more it becomes apparent that we are facing a general semiotic mechanism rather than an exclusively literary one. As systems are governed by those who control them, the tools fought for will depend on their relative efficacy in controlling the system. Thus, when control can be achieved only by "change," this becomes the leading popular principle. It will not be so, however, as long as perpetuation, rather than innovation, can satisfy those who might lose more by change. Naturally, once there is a takeover, the new repertoire will not admit elements which are likely to endanger its dominance in the system. The process of "secondarization" of the primary thus turns out to be unavoidable. It is further reinforced by a parallel mechanism of "secondarization," by which a system manages to repress innovation. By such a process, new elements are retranslated, as it were, into the old terms, thus imposing previous functions on new carriers rather than changing the functions. Thus, as in the case of a new regime which carries on the institutions of the old by transferring their functions to new bodies, so a primary literary model, gradually altered, is merged with the stock of secondary models of a previous stage. Semiotically speaking, this is a mechanism by which the less immediately understandable, the less decipherable, becomes more so. The less familiar, and hence more intimidating, demanding, and loaded with information, becomes more familiar, less intimidating, and so on. Empirically, this seems to be what the overwhelming majority of culture consumers really prefer, and when one desires to control them, this preference will be fully met.

2.3. Intra- and Inter-Relations

The principles and properties discussed in the above paragraphs, for the intra-relations of the polysystem, seem to hold true for its inter-relations as well. These inter-relations involve two kinds of adjacent systems: a larger whole belonging to the same community, and a whole, or its parts, which belongs to other communities, either of the same order (sort) or not.

2.3.1. *Intra-Relations*
In the first case, such a view is based on the assumption that any semiotic (poly)system (such as language or literature) is just a component of a larger (poly)system—that of "culture," to which it is subjugated and with which it is isomorphic—and therefore correlated with this greater whole and its other components. To the complicated question of how

literature correlates with language, society, economy, politics, ideology, etc., Polysystem theory provides less simplistic and reductionist hypotheses than other proposals. One need no longer assume that social facts, for example, must find an immediate, unidirectional, and univocal expression on the level of the literary repertoire, as primitive sociology or the History of Ideas, (orthodox) Marxism included, would like us to believe. The intricate correlations between these cultural systems, if seen as isomorphic in nature and functional only within a cultural whole, can be observed on the basis of their mutual give-and-take, which often occurs obliquely, i.e., through transmissional devices, and often via peripheries. This has been demonstrated for various strata which function largely at the periphery, such as translated literature. Ample material and detailed analyses of such cases are provided by Toury (1977, 1980), Shavit and Shavit (1974), Shavit (1978, 1980, 1986), Yahalom (1978, 1980), Sheffy (1985), and others.

Moreover, if we assume that the literary system, for instance, is isomorphic with, say, the social system, its hierarchies can only be conceived of as intersecting with those of the latter. The idea of a less stratified literature becoming more stratified, which I suggested as a universal of systems (Even-Zohar 1978: 39), can be thus understood because of the homologous relations between literature and society. The same holds true for other relations hypothesized by Polysystem theory for the literary polysystem. Conceiving of literature as a separate semi-independent socio-cultural institution is therefore tenable only if the literary polysystem, like any other socio-cultural system, is conceived of as simultaneously autonomous and heteronomous with all other co-systems. Thus, facts of "literary life" (*byt;* Ejxenbaum 1929: esp. 49–86 and 109–114; 1971), that is, the literary institution (constituted by, e.g., literary ideologies, publishing houses, criticism, literary groups, or any other means for dictating taste or norm-giving), while undeniably behaving as a semi-independent socio-cultural system obeying its own laws, must also be recognized as integral factors of the literary system proper. Indeed, this recognition, rather dim even in late Russian Formalism, seems to have become a major issue at least for the later Ejxenbaum, who thus crossed many inviolable boundaries others would not even approach. But even in his case, these issues are implied rather than explicitly stated.

2.3.2. *Inter-Relations*
As for the second case, i.e., the correlations a system maintains with systems controlled by other communities, the same hypotheses are valid. Just as an aggregate of phenomena operating for a certain community can be conceived of as a system constituting part of a larger polysystem, which, in turn, is just a component within the larger polysystem of the "total culture" of the said community, so can the latter be

conceived of as a component in a "mega-polysystem," i.e., one which organizes and controls several communities. In history, such "units" are by no means clear-cut or forever finalized. Rather, the opposite holds true, as the borders separating adjacent systems shift all the time, not only within systems, but between them. The very notions of "within" and "between" cannot be taken either statically or for granted.

Let us take a most conspicuous case, that of European communities and their literatures and cultures in general. Clearly, throughout the Middle Ages, Central and Western Europe constituted one polysystem, where the center was controlled by literature written in Latin, while texts in the vernaculars (either written or spoken) were produced concurrently as part of peripheral activities. Following a long process of gradual decrease, this system, with its perpetuated canonized repertoire, finally collapsed in about the middle of the eighteenth century, to be replaced by a series of more or less independent uni-lingual (poly)systems, whose interdependencies with the other (poly)systems became more and more negligible, at least from the point of view of both consumers and the dominating ideologies. However, it is apparent that in order to be able not only to describe the general principles of interference, but also to explain their nature and causes with certain exactitude, a stratification hypothesis must be posited. For when the various European nations gradually emerged and created their own cultures—most explicitly vehicled by their new literatures, languages, and official histories—certain center-and-periphery relations were unavoidably present in the process from the very start. Cultures that developed earlier, and which belonged to nations which influenced, by prestige or direct domination, other nations, were taken as sources for more recent cultures (including more recently reconstructed ones). As a result, there inevitably emerged a discrepancy between the models transferred, which were often of a secondary type (for the obvious reason of easier identification and extraction of constructional principles), and the original ones, as the latter most likely might have been pushed by that time from the center of their own system to the periphery.

A very interesting test case where such relations seem to be rather transparent and may be studied in great detail is the case of texts translated from a more recent target literature into that particular source literature which had functioned for it as a source of repertoire to begin with.[7] It is no wonder that in this case texts are often trans-

7. Examples for such cases may be found in many translations into French or German from various literatures which have developed their repertoires on the basis of French or German literatures, for example, Flemish nineteenth-century poetry

lated in accordance with the most secondarized models available in the target literature. They may subsequently make an impression of "epigonic" products on the public at the center of the target literature, if this literature is in a state of dynamic motion. At the same time, however, it may be the only way to please other sectors of the target literature public, since this is the only way they identify any text as properly "literary" and subsequently acceptable. This characteristic feature of such texts naturally has no functional importance for their role (or the role of the models underlying them) in their own literature. It is only when we are interested in discovering the processes and procedures by which a system evolved or maintained itself that such considerations become indispensable.

In short, it is a major goal, and a workable possibility for the Polysystem theory, to deal with the particular conditions under which a certain literature may be interfered with by another literature, as a result of which properties are transferred from one polysystem to another. For instance, if one accepts the hypothesis that peripheral properties are likely to penetrate the center once the capacity of the center (i.e., the repertoire of the center) to fulfill certain functions has been weakened (Shklovskij's second law), then there is no sense in denying that the very same principle operates on the inter-systemic level as well. Similarly, it is the polysystemic structure of the literatures involved which can account for various intricate processes of interference. For instance, contrary to common belief, interference often takes place via peripheries. When this process is ignored, there is simply no explanation for the appearance and function of new items in the repertoire. Semiliterary texts, translated literature, children's literature—all those strata neglected in current literary studies—are indispensable objects of study for an adequate understanding of how and why transfers occur, within systems as well as among them. (For a more detailed discussion of interference see "Laws of Literary Interference" below.)

2.4. Stability and Instability; Volume of the System

For a socio-cultural system to be able to operate without needing to depend on extraneous systems (that is, parallel systems of other communities), several conditions must be fulfilled. For instance, there is good reason to believe that heterogeneity is one of these conditions. Here the law of proliferation seems to be universally valid. This law,

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translated into French. Another example would be Russian translations of texts written in Hebrew during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which in their turn have been modelled after the Russian repertoire.

which I suggested back in 1975 (Even-Zohar 1978: 43) under a dif-
ferent formulation, simply means that in order to fulfill its needs, a
system actually strives to avail itself of a growing inventory of alter-
native options. When a given system has succeeded in accumulating
sufficient stock, the chances are good that the home inventory will suf-
fice for its maintenance and perseverance, unless conditions drastically
change. Otherwise, inter-systemic transfers remain the only, or at least
the most decisive, solution, and are immediately carried out in spite of
resistance. It would naturally be highly desirable, and indeed a great
advancement of our theories, to know how large "a sufficient stock"
need be in order for a system to function adequately. Such knowl-
edge is not available to us at the moment, although one can speak
on a descriptive level of "minimal" repertoires, without which any lit-
erary system would not be able to work. Studies of the emergence
of (literary) repertoires have shown that from the very first moment,
no literature functions with a small repertoire; the same holds true
of the literary system as a larger complex. In other words, it seems
to be reasonably substantiated that once a system starts, (the law of)
proliferation is activated.

    This may give the impression that it is the best interest of the system
to be permanently unstable; but this is not the case. On the level of the
system, *instability* should not be identified with change, just as *stability*
should not be identified with petrification. In other words, stability or
instability of *repertoire* do not reflect, or necessarily generate, stability
or instability of the *system*. A system which is incapable of maintain-
ing itself over a period of time and is often on the verge of collapse
is, from the functional point of view, *un*stable; while a system under-
going permanent, steady, and well-controlled change may adequately
be considered stable simply because it perseveres. It is only such stable
systems which manage to *survive*, while others simply perish. There-
fore, "crises" or "catastrophes" in a polysystem (i.e., occurrences which
call for radical change, either by internal or external transfer), if they
can be controlled by the system, are signs of a vital, rather than a de-
generate, system. The system may be endangered only when change
becomes uncontrollable and hence unmanageable. Naturally, from the
point of view of position holders in the system, on whatever level, any
change which they cannot control endangers *their* positions, but not
necessarily the system as such. There are of course cases in history
where endangered repertoire puts the whole system in danger, but
this is more often than not the result of preceding long stagnation
which has not allowed "normal dynamics" in the first place.

The "Literary System"

1. The Extension of the "Literary System"

Admittedly, the term "system" is tricky because of its so many uses.
When we talk about "the system of literature" (or the "literary sys-
tem"), one may easily be misled by the vernacular use of "system"
in such expressions like "the political system," which vaguely denotes
"the assumed complex of political activities." The use of this term in
such current expressions is clearly a-theoretical: no commitment is
made thereby to any specific theoretical approach towards investigat-
ing this "system." In polysystem theory, however, the term is already
a commitment to the concept of "system" in (dynamic) functionalism,
i.e., *the network of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of as-
sumed observables* ("occurrences"/"phenomena"). This implies that "the
set of assumed observables" is not an independent "entity in reality,"
but dependent on the "relations" one is prepared to propose. It is in
view of this kind of dependency that the theory may allow for a looser
use of the term "system" *as an abbreviated expression,* to be understood
as *standing for* the longer expression. Instead of the explicit expression
[A]: "the assumed set of observables supposed to be governed by a
network of relations (i.e., for which systemic relations can be hypothe-
sized), and which in view of the hypothesized nature of these relations
we propose to call 'literary,'" we allow ourselves to use the shortened
expression [B]: "the literary system."

   Thus, the "systemistic" use of this expression clearly rejects the
a priori reification of the "complex" to which it refers.[1]

1. In this sense, the theoretical use of "system" vs. the vernacular use of this term
is just a particular case of the difference between any theoretical concept in the

In short, for polysystem theory the "literary system" can be formulated to mean:

The network of relations that is hypothesized to obtain between a number of activities called "literary," and consequently these activities themselves observed via that network.

Or:

The complex of activities, or any section thereof, for which systemic relations can be hypothesized to support the option of considering them "literary."

The next question which arises is not "What is the literary system?" but "Which activities would it be possible to hypothesize as governed by literary systemic relations?" From the point of view of polysystem theory, as described both above and in the previous chapters, "THE" literary system does not "exist" outside the relations contended to operate for/in it. So whether we use a conservative conception of a "system," or adopt the dynamic concept of it (polysystem), there is no *a priori* set of "observables" that necessarily "is" part of this "system." Advocating the inclusion into or the exclusion of certain occurrences from the "system" is not an issue of the systemic description of literature, but a matter of the greater or lesser "success" that can be achieved by one procedure vs. another from the point of view of theoretical adequacy. "Theoretical adequacy" must of course be defended for each specific case, which is why there cannot be any *a priori* agreement about the activities which should or should not be considered "part of literature." "The choice between taking a variable as exogenous or making it an endogenous one, a variable determined by the system of functions, is a matter of relevance and convenience" (Machlup 1981: 4).

Where does this argument lead us? It clearly leads us to admit that an agreement on the understanding of such theoretical notions as "system" or "polysystem" does not necessarily lead to agreement on the range of phenomena for which the "system" is believed to be "in force." Views on this range have indeed developed side by side with the various developments in (poly)system theory, but have not been made an integrated part of it. Polysystem theory was initially able to develop its views of the literary processes even when the range of factors it assumed to be participant in that "polysystem" was limited to textual features alone, all the other factors involved having been considered "constraints on" rather than "factors of" the polysystem.

modern sciences and current verbal usage. Having adopted the contemporary approach prevailing in the leading sciences, any theory of literature is thus *a priori* committed to a non-reifying practice of hypothesization vis-à-vis "reality."

However, since at the very core of polysystem theory there lies the idea that sets cannot be fruitfully accounted for in isolation, polysystem theory has gradually been pushed to enlarge the range of factors recognized as "belonging to the system."

For Tynjanov, whom it is fully justified to consider the true father of the systemic approach, I believe that the range of the observables for which the "literary system" was a valid notion was more or less tightly linked to the idea of "texts." Only implicitly does the notion of pre-texts, i.e., "models," emerge in his studies in connection with the notion of "system." "Remoter" occurrences like the set of activities connected with the various factors of text production are thus only implicitly linked with the systemic idea (although amply discussed in his writings). To maintain that Tynjanov "conceives of literature" in terms of a "system" pertaining to the totality of literary production and consumption (whatever the nature of these may be) would be correct only as an *extended interpretation* (and an adequate one, I believe) of his work, not as a direct quote of it. It suffices to read most standard descriptions of Russian Formalism to realize how implicit Tynjanov's ideas indeed are. Had they been more explicit, there would have been no need to propound them time and again against all sorts of short-sighted misreadings.

A far clearer stand, though by no means fully explicit, is taken by Tynjanov's closest partner, the most methodologically and theoretically minded member of the Formalist group—Boris Ejxenbaum (Eikhenbaum). In his work, "literature," clearly conceived of in functionalistic terms, is no longer "texts," as in the earliest years of Formalism, nor vaguely "texts whose production is constrained by norms governing the dominant literary activity," but the totality, or rather the network, of these activities. For regressive approaches to literature, these stands (which crystallized around the mid-twenties) were considered to be a "betrayal" of the "true spirit of Formalism," which presumably should have been concentrating on the "ultimate" (and hence most important, as it were) product "literature" can come up with— the "work itself." Standard descriptions of this portion of Ejxenbaum's work describe it as the result of the pressure exerted by the enemies of Formalism, mainly the "vulgar Marxism" of the time. Ejxenbaum's by now classic paper "Literary Environment" (1929) is therefore described as paying lip service to adversaries (as if in an attempt to survive and save the most valuable project of later Formalism, the Institute for the Study of Literature in Leningrad).

Nothing could be further from the truth. Ejxenbaum did not make concessions to any political adversaries: he was simply gradually drawing the conclusions from his and Tynjanov's initial point of departure. From his very first functionalistic "manifesto" (the collected papers of

students edited by himself and Tynjanov [Ejxenbaum and Tynjanov 1926]) the road leads straight on to the later works where the literary "product" is discussed, analyzed, and described in terms of the intricate network of relations that condition it.[2] This development did not take place by chance: Ejxenbaum was clearly dissatisfied with the rather vague solutions proposed for explaining the relations between "literature" and other systems in culture. Although Tynjanov made it clear that "literature" is both autonomous *and* heteronomous, i.e., that it is both self-regulated and conditioned by other systems, he did not pay enough attention to formulating heteronomy. For Ejxenbaum, it is precisely this point which may shed better light on the regularities of literature. Therefore, what became most important for him was to find out the kind of relations obtaining between the laws which govern the production of literary texts, as extractable from these texts, and the forces which generate these laws, promote them, or make them disappear. It is in such a way that the notion of "literary life" (*byt*) emerged, not as an "environmental" factor in the sense of "background" (which may erroneously be deduced from the title of the English translation of his above-mentioned first paper on the subject), but as *part and parcel* of the intricate relations which govern the aggregate of activities which make "literature." In Ejxenbaum's actual view, the "literary system" thus comprises a much larger range of occurrences/factors than is normally accepted in standard literary studies. For him, there was no sense in speaking about the famous "extrinsic" and "intrinsic" aspects in the primitive sense propounded by Wellek (who unfortunately never fully cared to study Russian Formalism). In this sense, as I have proposed at the *Colloque International Ejxenbaum*,[3] Ejxenbaum actually developed a view very close to Bourdieu's *champs littéraire*, i.e., literature as an aggregate of activities, which in terms of systemic relations behaves as a whole, although each separate activity

2. Being fully aware of these developments, Ejxenbaum sharply rejects predictable orthodox criticisms in his introduction to his monumental *Lev Tolstoj*:

> I know beforehand quite a great deal of what they are going to say about my book [. . .] Some will be sorry that I "departed from the formalist method," that is precisely those who used to be sorry before that I had "joined" it in the first place. I have no wish to reply to all that, having dedicated quite an endeavor to explaining what "the formal method" was all about. The amazement of these critics as regards the evolution of the science of literature just makes me baffled at their naïveté. Others, more malicious and resentful, will say that I have left an old stance without getting to a new one, thus halting in the middle of the way. To show these people that science is not a journey with a ticket bought beforehand to a certain station, a fixed place, is useless: they believe that science clarifies only what is already beforehand considered clear.   (Ejxenbaum 1968: 6–7; my translation)

3. "Le role de 'la vie littéraire' dans le système littéraire selon Ejxenbaum." Paper presented to *Colloque International Ejxenbaum*, Institut National d'Études Slaves (Paris, 9–11 décembre 1983).

among these (or any part thereof) may at the same time participate in some other whole, yet be governed there by *different* rules and correlated with different factors. It is the laws of the specific "system" (the aggregate of activities for which systemicity can be hypothesized) which can explain its nature and behavior. Therefore, the "production of texts" does not simply equal "the production of anything else," the same holding for the rest of the factors involved. Writers, literary journals, literary criticism (in the restricted sense) are all literary factors. And there is no way to determine beforehand for any given period what activity among these is "the" literary *par excellence*.

2. A Scheme of the Literary System

I would like to borrow Jakobson's famous scheme of communication and language (Jakobson 1980 [1956]; Jakobson 1960: esp. 353–356), adapting it to the case of literature. It may then produce the following table for the factors involved with the literary (poly)system (Jakobson's own terms in brackets):

<div align="center">

INSTITUTION [context]

REPERTOIRE [code]

PRODUCER [addresser] ———————————— [addressee] CONSUMER
    ("writer")   ("reader")

MARKET [contact/channel]

PRODUCT [message]

</div>
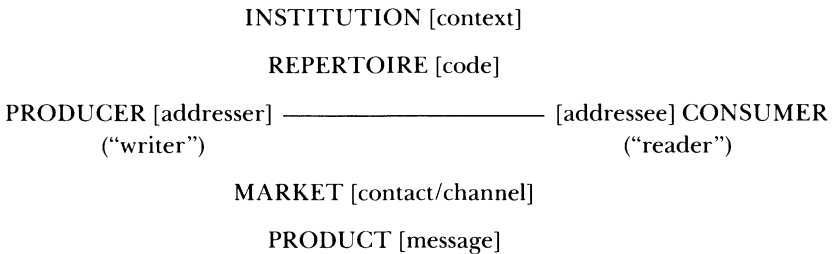
There is of course no one-to-one correspondence between Jakobson's notions and my suggested "replacements," because Jakobson's point of departure is the *single* utterance observed from the point of view of its constraints. What he wants to achieve with his scheme is a presentation "of the constitutive factors in any speech event, in any act of verbal communication" (Jakobson 1960: 353). It is therefore that the major difference perhaps lies in my introduction of the "institution" where Jakobson has "context," by which he means "the CONTEXT referred to ('referent' in another, somewhat ambiguous, nomenclature), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized" (ibid.). From Jakobson's point of view, the fact that the addresser and the addressee may have "a CODE fully, or at least partially, common" to both of them (ibid.) is sufficient for an understanding of how they may communicate, while the constraints of socio-cultural institutions on the nature of this "code" may be considered marginal, or otherwise said to be implicitly included in the very notion of "code." Without some kind of agreement, there is no way to

hypothesize any common code, and no agreement can be reached on an exclusively individual basis, i.e., without the interference of some socio-cultural institutions. Thus my suggested scheme, although it can deal with any individual literary exchange as well, is mainly designed to represent the *macro*-factors involved with the function of the literary system.

However, I believe that besides the convenience of adopting such a scheme, it is Jakobson's *frame of mind* that is most pertinent to my suggestion in its general terms, in spite of some differences on the level of details. What counts here above all is Jakobson's general approach: Jakobson's life-long view throughout was that "language must be investigated in all the variety of its functions" (ibid.). This seemingly trivial statement unequivocally distinguishes Jakobson's linguistic, literary, and semiotic endeavor from various other trends of our time. Its presuppositions reject the reduced models (perpetuated for quite some time) for which a sign system is a pure structure (or at least can, or must, be studied as such). All possible constraints that may govern it are "external factors," its "background" or "environment." In such models, if you eventually arrive at a point where you *are* prepared to transcend the borders of the pure structure, e.g., you are prepared to consider the role of the relationship between a producer and a consumer of an utterance, you may do that only by *adding* one more branch to "linguistics proper." In this particular case—that of "pragmatics" ("socio-linguistics" and "psycho-linguistics" are other such examples). For Jakobson, contrariwise, studying "language" already includes both awareness and consideration of all of these factors, to be investigated in their mutual relations rather than as discrete occurrences.

Of course, one may argue that, in terms of "relevance and convenience" (Machlup 1981: 4; quoted above), Jakobson's encompassing model is by no means *a priori* superior to the models implicitly criticized here. The borders between the "relevance" of a variable and its "irrelevance" depend on the kind of work one is interested in doing for a particular field, i.e., already on the level of the *pre*suppositions of a theory. While for some trends, like Saussurian linguistics, the study of language was hardly meant to investigate it in its *incoherent* variety, because what counted was just understanding the way "language functioned in principle," the trend represented by the Jakobsonian science of language has always been greatly attracted to precisely this incoherence.

Why these discrepancies have crystallized so conspicuously is a question which lies beyond the scope of this paper, though no doubt the socio-cultural settings have greatly contributed to promoting one trend of thought or another. Thus, while heterogeneity and incoherence may have been a trivial kind of awareness for Russian and Czech cultural self-images of the first decades of this century, they have been (and still are) strongly ignored or considered out of order (or "irrelevant") in the French one. Nevertheless, when such settings have determined some optional

points of departure for some theories, modifications on the theoretical level may then occur within the realm of theory-thinking itself. It seems that the course which has led to the kind of approach Jakobson's scheme represents has been of such a nature. After all, Russian Formalism started with a tremendously narrow and reductive model of the literary fact, indeed one from which "literature" was, for all intents and purposes, excluded. The transformation of Russian Formalism from an a-historical, clearly textocentric, approach to one where above-the-text occurrences are considered to be *the main factor,* and *change* is considered a built-in feature of "the system" rather than "an external force," i.e., *non-systemic* in Saussurian notions, has mainly followed the internal logic of early Formalist theory of literature. Although Ejxenbaum (1927) definitely exaggerates the smoothness and totality of this process, his famous account is in principle quite accurate. For when Shklovskij arrived at the conclusion that "automatization" is a time-dependent procedure, he transformed his "de-automatization" hypothesis to a historical one and constructed on this insight his famous hypothesis of literary change ("Shklovskij's second law"). Individual features of one or another text could, at this stage, no longer be considered the actual forces in such a mechanism, so Shklovskij unavoidably started generalizing about above-the-text occurrences—general norms and rules with the help of which any individual text may at one or another phase be generated. And when he explicitly suggested that the source of new "forms" (by which he actually meant complex items rather than the intuitive quotidian notion of "form") may be unacknowledged sections of cultural production, he was actually establishing a view about the presence of some agreed-upon inventory in culture, the use of which is permitted or prohibited by some power holders.

Shklovskij, who is generally presented as the most textocentric theorist of Russian Formalism, has in fact been a pathbreaker for the liberation of Russian Formalism from its initial stages. The fact that such a transformation has happened with Russian Formalism and not, say, with the "New Criticism" or "French Structuralism" is not easily explicable. But I would venture to say that the scholarly frameworks in which these groups were operating were quite different. Russian Formalism alone worked in some accordance with the standard procedures of *science* because it was interested in building *a science of literature,* while the other groups had no such thing in mind. When Shklovskij realized that his surmises about "automatization" were untenable in a-historical terms, he did not hesitate to draw the consequences, although these consequences were strongly incompatible with his own initial point of departure. Nothing of that sort has happened in other "literary" traditions: when more recent members of the literaturological community happened to discover the rigidity of (French) "Structuralism," they could detect no way to advance in its confines (by modifying, enlarging, or "elasticizing" its conceptual framework), but had to invent "post-Structuralism" (without knowing that many of the generalizations of this approach already had clearly been formulated by parts of "Structuralism" in the 1920s).

The "literary system" in this approach comprises, as "internal" rather than "external," all factors that are involved with the set of activities for which the label "literary" can be used more conveniently than any other. The "text" is no longer the only, and not necessarily for all purposes the most important, facet, or even product, of this system.

Moreover, this framework requires no *a priori* hierarchies of impor-
tance between the surmised factors. It suffices to recognize that it is
the *interdependencies* between these factors which allow them to func-
tion in the first place. Thus, a CONSUMER may "consume" a PROD-
UCT produced by a PRODUCER, but in order for the "product"
(such as "text") to be generated, a common REPERTOIRE must exist,
whose usability is determined by some INSTITUTION. A MARKET
must exist where such a good can be transmitted. None of the factors
enumerated can be described to function in isolation, and the kind
of relations that may be detected run across all possible axes of the
scheme.

2.1. Producer and Producers

"Producer" is preferred here to "writer," because the very notion of
a "writer" already brings in very specific images, which may be quite
inappropriate (see Viala 1985).

Theories of literature from the point of view of its *production* end
have been very much absent. Unfortunately, when the cultural tra-
dition of placing the writer in the center of literature had died out
(see also Björck 1978), and the "textocentric" mode began to prevail,
the old exegetic models encroached on the new emerging "interpre-
tational" methods to focus on "the understanding of the text." This
kind of "understanding" of course has taken for granted that the text
exists in some manner which need not at all be questioned, let alone
investigated, because it is "there," and all that is left (to us mortals) is
to decipher its secrets. Even quite sophisticated attempts to describe
"how an understander understands" a text have displayed either com-
plete disregard for, indifference, or active opposition to a possible
correlation of the options of consumption with the producer. The "ac-
tive opposition," expressed in pronounced dismissal of the rights of
the writer, has based itself on a rather reduced role of the producer,
actually conceiving of him as just a mirror image of understanding.
In such a capacity, the producer's role has been reduced to what he
had to say about his product, which has subsequently been dismissed
as unreliable.

It is of course understandable why the trivial "explanations" con-
cerning the genesis of a text, or the producer's "intentions" about
it, within the historical-biographical tradition should have become
so repugnant for new generations of students of literature. Mystical
"inspiration" on the one hand as well as pretentious and simplified
psychology on the other could no longer be considered "safe" proce-
dures. In contrast, correlating our understanding of texts with their
hypothesized "objective" features seemed to be more easily defensible.

However, once questions of above-the-text order arose again, the parameters of production returned to the agenda of literary studies. The new historical theories about "the literary system" had to explicitly bring in the producer, now attempting to devise more convincing explanations. The ability of the fathers of polysystem theory (especially Boris Ejxenbaum) to successfully link the producer to the other factors operating in the system as both a conditioning and a conditioned force has made it possible to attempt to correlate understander-based theories of literature with maker-based ones.

However, while in our contemporary culture it seems to be clear *what* it is that the "producer" produces, it is not at all so from the point of view of our theory. It may be useful to think of "texts" as the ultimate making of a literary producer, but on the other hand the role of text-making in the sum total of production may be rather small, e.g., in periods and cultures where the major task of a literary producer is performing established texts or reshuffling ones, or when the major "merchandise" is actually only overtly and officially "the text," but the actual one lies in a completely different socio-cultural and psychological sphere: interpersonal as well as political production of images, moods, and options of action. Indeed, in such periods, a literary producer is not a poorly paid entertainer who is more or less forced to perform in the royal hall in the presence of noisy drunkards, but one whose claim to power falls no lower than that of any other central political agent. Such a producer is thus engaged in power discourse modelled after a certain acceptable, legitimized, repertoire. Consequently, there is no reason to isolate it so sharply from all the co-present kinds of discourse of adjacent producers in the same community. Indeed, such a differentiation is not only an untenably anachronistic image of the past, but would not be adequate for our own time, either. Of course one could hardly find a case where a producer could have made his way to a secure position without producing texts, but the *number* of texts and their circulation have become secondary to other parameters governing the system.

Obviously, these producers are not confined to a single role in the literary network, but may, and are driven to, participate in a number of activities, which in certain aspects can become partly or wholly incompatible with each other. It is not merely "a producer" we encounter, nor just a set of individual "producers," but groups, or social communities, of people engaged in production, organized in a number of ways, and at any rate relating to each other no less than to their potential consumers. As such, they already constitute part of both the literary *institution* and the literary *market*.

The grouplike activity of producers, in contradistinction to prominent individuality, certainly the overt one, but also the more subtle

one, can in no way be left out of any explanation of various literary
occurrences, on whatever level, including the most intimate level of
singular text-making, as depending on norm-giving and repertoire
state of affairs. While many students of literature may accept such a
view without too much resistance, in practice we witness an unwill-
ingness to deal with the implications of such an approach on other
levels of analysis. Regarded as "external" to the system, ephemeral
or secondary modes of organization, the conditions and constraints
of the world of literary producers are persistently either ignored or
relegated to "sociologists," even by those for whom the individual pro-
ducer is inevitable, though hardly desirable.

2.2. Consumer and Consumers

Standard literary theory hypothesizes a "reader" as that entity for
which literature is made. However, it would be highly inadequate to
think of the modes in which literature functions at the users' end,
i.e., by its "consumers," in terms of "reading" alone. This is not be-
cause much of the direct consumption of texts has been carried out
throughout history through *hearing*, but because "consumption," like
production, is not necessarily confined, or even linked, to either "read-
ing" or "hearing" of "texts." The "consumer," like the "producer," may
move on a variety of levels as a participant in the literary activities.

   To begin with, the direct consumption of *integral texts* has been, and
remains, peripheral to the largest part of "direct," let alone "indirect,"
consumers of "literature." All members of any community are at least
"indirect" consumers of literary texts. In this capacity we, as such
members, simply consume a certain quantity of literary fragments,
digested and transmitted by various agents of culture and made an in-
tegral part of daily discourse. Fragments of old narratives, idioms and
allusions, parables and stock language, all, and many more, constitute
the living repertoire stored in the warehouse of our culture.

   As for "direct" consumers, i.e., people who are willingly and delib-
erately interested in the literary activities, it is not altogether clear
whether the bulk of people in this (rather minority) group are mostly
preoccupied with the act of *reading* or participate in various other ways
in the literary system. How many of those who would go to meet with
a celebrated writer have in fact read his/her work? Or have done it in
a way which would allow even a semi-professional discussion of it to
some extent? "Consumers" of literature (like consumers of music, the-
ater, ballet, and many other institutionalized socio-cultural activities)
often consume the socio-cultural function of the acts involved with
the activity in question (sometimes taking the overt shape of a "hap-
pening") rather than what is meant to be "the product." They do this

kind of consumption even when they obviously consume "the text," but the point here is that they may do so even if no text consumption is involved at all.

I think this point need not be elaborated at length in view of the contribution to this field by a number of sociologists and students of culture. (See mainly Bourdieu 1971, Viala 1985, Lafarge 1983.)

There is no need to become cynical with Baudelaire, for whom, as deduced by Lafarge, "l'important est d'être au théâtre" (Lafarge 1983: 75) in order to acknowledge the fact (a) that textual consumption may be just one aspect of literary consumption in general, and (b) that even when "directly consumed" by a group of devotees, there is no one single "pure" product that is consumed. As Lafarge (ibid.: 84) puts it, "[L'analyse de] la littérature comme lecture nous montre qu'il faut parler d'une activité comme ensemble et non pas du produit seulement. La consommation de la littérature fait parti des préférences culturelles générales.

"Comme la consommation des fictions dépend d'une compétence adaptée (autrement dit: de l'habitude de la consommation), on conçoit qu'il serait abusif de prétendre que les récits fictifs ont un intérêt par eux-mêmes, indépendamment de la valeur dont ils sont crédités."

As with "producers," but more acceptedly so in this case (at least from the point of view of cultural traditions), there are not only single consumers in the literary system, but also consumers as a group, for which our cultural tradition has a common designation—the *public*. Acknowledging the role of "the public" in the system has therefore generally needed less convincing. Less agreed upon, of course, are the correlations between "the public" and the other factor in the system, that is, the degree that its existence and patterns of behavior may, or may not, determine the behavior (and nature) of the other factors involved.

2.3. Institution

The "institution" consists of the aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a socio-cultural activity. It is the institution which governs the norms prevailing in this activity, sanctioning some and rejecting others. Empowered by, and being part of, other dominating social institutions, it also renumerates and reprimands producers and agents. As part of official culture, it also determines who, and which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period of time.

In specific terms, the institution includes at least part of the producers, "critics" (in whatever form), publishing houses, periodicals, clubs, groups of writers, government bodies (like ministerial offices and academies), educational institutions (schools of whatever level, including universities), the mass media in all its facets, and more. Natu-

rally, this enormous variety does not produce a homogeneous body, capable, as it were, of acting in harmony and necessarily succeeding in enforcing its preferences. Inside the institution there are struggles over domination, with one or another group succeeding at one time or another at occupying the center of the institution, thus becoming *the* establishment. But in view of the variety of the literary system, different institutions can operate at the same time for various sections of the system. For instance, when a certain group of innovators may already have occupied the center of the literary institution, schools, churches, and other organized socio-cultural activities and bodies may still obey certain norms no longer accepted by that group.

Thus, the literary institution is not unified. And it certainly is no building on a certain street, although its agents may be detected in buildings, streets, and cafés (see, for instance, Hamon and Rotman 1981, with all due reservations; also Lottman 1981). But any decision taken, at whatever level, by any agent of the system, depends on the legitimations and restrictions made by particular sections of the institution. The nature of production, as well as that of consumption, is governed by the institution; naturally, inasmuch as it may be successful in its endeavors, given the correlations with all other factors working in the system. Again, Bourdieu's formulation is very much to the point on this matter:

> Ce qui "fait les réputations," ce n'est pas, comme le croient naïvement les Rastignacs de province, telle ou telle personne "influente," telle ou telle institution, revue, hebdomadaire, académie, cénacle, marchand, éditeur, ce n'est même pas l'ensemble de ce qu'on appelle parfois "les personnalités du monde des arts et des lettres," c'est le champ de production comme système de relations objectives entre ces agents ou ces institutions et lieu des luttes pour le monopole du pouvoir de consécration où s'engendrent continûment la valeur des oeuvres et la croyance dans cette valeur.   (Bourdieu 1977: 7)

2.4. Market

The "market" is the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of literary products and with the promotion of types of consumption. This includes not only overt merchandise-exchange institutions like bookshops, book clubs, or libraries, but also all factors participating in the semiotic ("symbolic") exchange involving these, and with other linked activities. While it is the literary "institution" which may try to direct and dictate the kinds of consumption, determining the prices (values) of the various items of production, what determines its success or failure is not the kind of interaction which it is able to establish with the market. In the socio-cultural reality, factors of the literary institution and those of the literary market may natu-

rally intersect in the same *space:* for instance, literary "salons" are both institutions and markets. Yet the specific agents playing the role of either an institution or a market, i.e., either marketers or marketees, may not overlap at all. A regular school, for instance, is a branch of "the institution" in view of its ability to sell the type of properties that the dominating establishment (i.e., the central part of the literary institution) wishes to sell to students. Teachers actually function as agents of marketing, i.e., marketers. The marketees, who willy-nilly become some sort of consumers, are the students. The facilities, including the built-in interaction patterns, which are made available by the school, actually constitute the market *strictu sensu.* However, all of these factors *together* may, for the sake of a closer analysis, be viewed as the "market."

Be it a literary salon, a royal court, or an open medieval marketplace, where producers actually try to sell their products, or through agents, such as literary critics, editors, teachers, and other promoters, in the absence of a market there is no socio-cultural space where any aspect of the literary activities can gain any ground. Moreover, a restricted market naturally restricts the possibilities of literature to evolve as a socio-cultural activity. So proliferating the market lies in the very interest of the literary system.

2.5. Repertoire

"Repertoire" designates the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product.[4] These rules and materials are thus indispensable for any procedure of production and consumption. The larger the community which makes and uses given products, the larger must be the agreement about such a repertoire. Although the degree of familiarity with a specific repertoire need not be fully identical for interlocutors (either "addresser" or "addressee") in a specific exchange (communication) situation, without a minimum of shared knowledge there will be virtually no exchange. "Pre-knowledge" and "agreement" are thus key notions for the concept of "repertoire."

Using traditional linguistic terms, a repertoire is thus a combination of "grammar" and "lexicon" of a given "language." The communicational term adopted by Jakobson, CODE, could have served the same purpose were it not for existing traditions for which a "code" applies to "rules" only, not "materials" ("elements," "items," i.e., "lexicon").

4. By "product" (see below, 2.6), I mean any performed (or performable) set of signs, i.e., including a given "behavior."

The same holds true for Saussure's *langue*, or for such terms as "paradigmatics" or "axis of selection."

If the most conspicuous manifestation of literature is considered to be "texts," then the literary repertoire is the aggregate of rules and items with which a specific text is produced, and understood. It is, as Avalle has put it, "the universe of literary signs, as an aggregate of usable materials for the making of certain types of discourse" (Avalle 1972: 218).[5]

If, on the other hand, manifestations of "literature" are considered to exist on various levels, the "literary repertoire" may be conceived of as an aggregate of specific repertoires for those various levels. Therefore, a "repertoire" may be the shared knowledge necessary for producing (and understanding) a "text," as well as producing (and understanding) various other products of the literary system. There may be a repertoire for being a "writer," another for being a "reader," and yet another for "behaving as one should expect from a literary agent," and so on. All these must definitely be recognized as "literary repertoires."

While the nature, volume, and amplitude of a repertoire certainly determine the ease and freedom with which a producer and/or consumer may move around in the socio-cultural environment, it is not the repertoire itself which determines these features. Rather, it is the interplay with the other prevailing factors in the system that determines these features. The age of a given system may also be a decisive factor with regard to the selection of strategies of elaboration, adoption, and borrowing which must be taken in order for the system to function in the first place. When the system is "young," its repertoire may be limited, which renders it more disposed to using other available systems (for instance, other languages, cultures, literatures). When it is "old," it may have acquired a rich repertoire, and will thus be more likely to attempt recycling methods during periods of change. However, even an "old" system with a "rich" repertoire may not be able to change within its own domestic options if the other factors prevailing in the system prevent this. The existence of a specific repertoire *per se* is not enough to ensure that a producer (or consumer) will make use of it. It must also be *available*, that is, being legitimately usable, not only *accessible*.

2.5.1. *The Structure of the Repertoire*

In general terms, one can analyze the structure of the repertoire on three distinct levels:

5. "L'universo dei segni letterari, in quanto insieme di materiali utilizzabili per l'elaborazione di certi tipi di discorso [. . .]"

(1) *The level of individual elements.* This includes single disparate items, like morphemes or lexemes.

(2) *The level of syntagms.* This includes any combinations up to the level of a "sentence." By "combinations" I mean not only bound expressions like idioms and collocations, be they tight or "loose," but also looser "combinable" expressions on the said level.

(3) *The level of models.* This includes any potential portions of a whole product, i.e., the combination of elements + rules + the syntagmatic ("temporal") relations imposable on the product.

If the case in question is a "text," then the "model" means "the elements + rules applicable to the given type of text + the potential textual relations which may be implemented during actual performance." For instance, if one possible type of textual relations is the network of positions into which the various elements are inserted, then the "model," from the point of view of its potential producer, includes some sort of pre-knowledge pertaining to these positions. For its potential consumer, on the other hand, the "model" is that pre-knowledge according to which the text is interpreted ("understood"). Perhaps it should be noted here that the models used for producing need not overlap—and as a rule do not—with the models required for understanding, or any other usage on the consumption end.

There is no need to attempt classification according to the level of the "model." There may be models in operation for a whole possible text (a "pre-text," as some traditions call it), yet there may also be specific models for a segment, or portion, of this whole. For instance, there may well be a model for "a novel," but there will also be one for "dialogue," "description of the physiognomy of the hero," etc.

The idea of the *model* is by no means new: it has been used by writers and artists, as well as by artisans, since antiquity. It is only that it has become a concept avoided in official poetics since Romanticism. Nevertheless, it still partly and indirectly permeates literary studies through such concepts as "style" and "genre."

The model hypothesis is strongly supported by contemporary work in very diverse areas, such as memory studies, cognitive studies (with its concept of "schemes"), translation studies, editorial work, style and composition studies at school, and many other fields. Also, the growing awareness of the degree of givenness of everyday types of discourse (such as conversation and everyday storytelling) has contributed a lot to our liberation from the Romantic concepts of "free creation."

In the Romantic view, "creation" is always "free," and hence "original." Boundness is therefore a negative constraint on freedom: a "true creator" (in literature and any other creative activity) cannot be bound by extant "models." But such notions simply cannot hold, not only in view of new evidence and modern studies in the diverse fields mentioned above, but also in view of attitudes which were current prior to the Romantic Age. Not only was the act of creation then understood in the context of implementing known models, but the very notion of artistic

achievement was connected to the producer's capacity to successfully implement such models (and the consumer's capacity to decipher them).6 As Zink has put it, apropos medieval poetry, "Cette poésie est une poésie formelle qui dans tous les domaines, tire ses effets, non de son originalité, mais de la démonstration qu'elle fait de sa maîtrise d'un code qu'elle applique minutieusement et qu'elle soumet à des transgressions calculées et menues" (Zink 1980: 73–74).7

A significant contribution to the link between the socially generated repertoire and the procedures of individual inculcation and internalization is Bourdieu's *habitus* theory. Bourdieu supports the hypothesis that the models functionalized by an individual, or by a group of individuals, are not universal or genetic schemes, but "schemes or dispositions acquired by experience, i.e., time and place dependent" (Sapiro in press). This repertoire of models acquired and adopted (as well as adapted) by individuals and groups in a given milieu, and under the constraints of the prevailing system relations dominating this milieu, is labelled *habitus*. It is "a system of internalized embodied schemes

6. Remarkable evidence of norms prevailing in connection with understanding poetry is the story about the Icelander Gisli Sursson who, relying on the obscurity of the poetical model he was able to use, takes the liberty of impertinently telling the whole world, at a very crucial moment of his life, that it was he who had killed his adversary, something "which he never should [have said]" ("er æva skyldi"; *Gísla saga Súrssonar* [in *Íslenzk fornrit* VI (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag), 1943, 3–118], cap. 18). As expected, nobody understands his message, with the exception of one single person, his sister, Thordis, who happens to be his adversary's wife. She "got the verse by heart from the one hearing, and goes home, and by then she has worked out its meaning," only to reveal it a short while later to Gisli's foes. Yet even she needed some time to perform her deciphering ("Þórdis nam þegar vísuna, gengr heim ok hefir ráðit vísuna," cap. 18; English translation, *The Saga of Gisli* 1984, George Johnston trans. [London and Melbourne: Dent and Sons; = Everyman's Library 1252], 26).
7. A noteworthy example with regard to the extent to which this seemingly trivial recognition has not yet been accepted as a fundamental hypothesis about the behavior of semiosis in culture is the following passage concluding Greenblatt's classic analysis of Elizabethan culture:

When I first conceived this book several years ago, I intended to explore the ways in which major English writers of the sixteenth century created their own performances, to analyze the choices they made in representing themselves and in fashioning characters, to understand the role of human autonomy in the construction of identity. It seemed to me the very hallmark of the Renaissance that middle-class and aristocratic males began to feel that they possessed such shaping power over their lives, and I saw this power and the freedom it implies as an important element in my own sense of myself. But as my work progressed, I perceived that fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions—family, religion, state—were inseparably intertwined. In all my texts and documents, there were, so far as I could tell, no moments of pure, unfettered subjectivity; indeed, the human subject itself began to seem remarkably unfree, the ideological product of the relations of power in a particular society. Whenever I focused sharply upon a moment of apparently autonomous self-fashioning, I found not an epiphany of identity freely chosen but a cultural artifact. If there remained traces of free choice, the choice was among possibilities whose range was strictly delineated by the social and ideological system in force. (Greenblatt 1980: 256)

which, having been constituted in the course of collective history, are acquired in the course of individual history and function in their *practical* states, *for practice* (and not for the sake of pure knowledge)" (Bourdieu 1984: 467; originally in Bourdieu 1979: 545).[8]

2.6. Product

By "product" I mean any performed (or performable) set of signs, i.e., including a given "behavior." Thus, any outcome of any activity whatsoever can be considered "a product," whatever its ontological manifestation may be.

The question is: what is the product of "literature"? Is there, to begin with, any "product *par excellence*" for any given activity (system)? Can one accept as a satisfactory answer the current view that "texts" are the evident product—in many views the *only* product—of "literature"?

The answer depends on the level of analysis. For instance, it is definitely acceptable to argue that the most evident (and obvious) product of speech is "voice" (or "voiced material"), or "sound(s)." Nevertheless, we conventionally regard "voice" as merely the *vehicle* of some other, more important, product, i.e., the verbal message, "language" in the sense of "communication." Similarly, to take a different example, the product of schools may be defined as "students." Again, this is not an unacceptable answer, in the sense that officially, and visibly, it is students who engage the energy of schools. We talk about the number of students (and society calculates budgets in accordance with them), the life and treatment of students at school, the relations between teachers and students, etc. But even the most conventional views of schools normally conceive of students as *vehicles*, and/or *targets*, of some other products for which schools are supposed to be responsible, i.e., a certain body of desirable knowledge, and a certain body of desirable norms and views. In this sense, "students" are analyzed only in relation to these products. The success of these issues is evaluated in relation to the ability of schools to inculcate them in their students, and the extent of distribution and perpetuation in society that the students manage to accomplish.

I believe that the same holds true for "literature." Even in those periods in which the major effort of literary activities was oriented towards producing "texts," the status of these "texts" was, for all intents and purposes, analogous to that of "voice" or "students" in the examples quoted above. This does not mean that "texts" are transparent in any sense, but only that as an entity for consumption, different levels of

8. For more about the notion of *habitus* see Accardo 1987, Accardo and Corcuff 1986.

texts must be considered. For instance, while from a literaturologi-
cal point of view it may suffice to analyze the patterns of composition
and "story," moods and craft manifested in a "text," a culturologi-
cal (or semiotic) analysis would tend to emphasize the *models of reality*
as the most powerful product of "literature," achieved, among other
procedures (but not necessarily exclusively so), by the making of texts.

As stated above (§2.2), from the point of view of consumption,
"texts" circulate on the market in a variety of ways, and hardly ever,
especially when highly canonized and eventually stored in the histori-
cal canon, as literary critics see them, i.e., as integral texts. Thus one
may also argue that textual fragments (segments) for daily use are
a very conspicuous literary product. Quotations, short parables, and
episodes readily referred to are some instances of such fragments.[9]
Again, one may treat these fragments as a ready-made inventory for
daily communication, or as a permanent *background* against which new
texts and fragments can be generated and compared. But what do
they actually *do* in the socio-cultural sense? Here, too, a semiotic ap-
proach would treat these fragments not simply as a neutral stock, but
as one which helps society maintain its *models of reality*, which in their
turn govern the models of interpersonal interaction. They thus con-
stitute a source for the kinds of *habitus* prevailing in the various levels
of society, helping to preserve and stabilize it.

Stating that "texts" may be more convincingly treated as the formal
vehicle of some more powerful product(s) does not necessarily re-
fute or contradict some current literaturological views concerning the
difference between "non-literary" ("everyday") and "literary" texts.
But perhaps the whole question loses much of its importance, and
the hypothesis about the "self-oriented" function of literary commu-
nication becomes a secondary feature, i.e., one of the procedures the
"industry" uses in order to successfully market its goods.[10]

9. In certain cultures, such as the French, fragments are almost all one gets at
school from the inventory of the national canon. Hardly ever does one have any
contact with integral texts before having reached a more advanced stage in one's
schooling.
10. I would like to register here, however, my skepticism in relation to this hypothe-
sis. Not that I do not see the clear-cut cases provided by early Russian Formalism,
or by Jakobson (for instance, in his most famous piece, "Linguistics and Poetics"
[1960], though this is only a replication of much earlier work). It is only the *degree
of validity* of which I am skeptical, and the future usefulness of this observation for
establishing a convincing *distinctive feature* of one particular activity versus another.
(In this case, of "literature" vs. "other verbal activities.") Research has pointed out,
not least in classical anthropology, that many portions of our institutionalized (and
less institutionalized) activities are characterized by a strong set (*Ausstellung*, in the
quoted tradition) towards the formal components of the activity in question. This
applies not only to the conspicuous cases of rituals, but to everyday, seemingly
"free," interaction.

The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem

Dedicated to the memory of James S. Holmes—a great student of translation and a dear friend

I

In spite of the broad recognition among historians of culture of the major role translation has played in the crystallization of national cultures, relatively little research has been carried out so far in this area. As a rule, histories of literatures mention translations when there is no way to avoid them, when dealing with the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, for instance. One might of course find sporadic references to individual literary translations in various other periods, but they are seldom incorporated into the historical account in any coherent way. As a consequence, one hardly gets any idea whatsoever of the function of translated literature for a literature as a whole or of its position within that literature. Moreover, there is no awareness of the possible existence of translated literature as a particular literary system. The prevailing concept is rather that of "translation" or just "translated works" treated on an individual basis. Is there any basis for a different assumption, that is for considering translated literature as a system? Is there the same sort of cultural and verbal network of relations within what seems to be an arbitrary group of translated texts as the one

we willingly hypothesize for original literature? What kind of rela-
tions might there be among translated works, which are presented as
completed facts, imported from other literatures, detached from their
home contexts and consequently neutralized from the point of view
of center-and-periphery struggles?

My argument is that translated works do correlate in at least two
ways: (a) in the way their source texts are selected by the target litera-
ture, the principles of selection never being uncorrelatable with the
home co-systems of the target literature (to put it in the most cau-
tious way); and (b) in the way they adopt specific norms, behaviors,
and policies—in short, in their use of the literary repertoire—which
results from their relations with the other home co-systems. These are
not confined to the linguistic level only, but are manifest on any selec-
tion level as well. Thus, translated literature may possess a repertoire
of its own, which to a certain extent could even be exclusive to it. (See
Toury 1985 and 1985a.)

It seems that these points make it not only justifiable to talk about
translated literature, but rather imperative to do so. I cannot see how
any scholarly effort to describe and explain the behavior of the literary
polysystem in synchrony and diachrony can advance in an adequate
way if that is not recognized. In other words, I conceive of translated
literature not only as an integral system within any literary polysystem,
but as a most active system within it. But what is its position within
the polysystem, and how is this position connected with the nature
of its overall repertoire? One would be tempted to deduce from the
peripheral position of translated literature in the study of literature
that it also permanently occupies a peripheral position in the literary
polysystem, but this is by no means the case. Whether translated lit-
erature becomes central or peripheral, and whether this position is
connected with innovatory ("primary") or conservatory ("secondary")
repertoires, depends on the specific constellation of the polysystem
under study.

II

To say that translated literature maintains a central position in the
literary polysystem means that it participates actively in shaping the
center of the polysystem. In such a situation it is by and large an in-
tegral part of innovatory forces, and as such likely to be identified
with major events in literary history while these are taking place. This
implies that in this situation no clear-cut distinction is maintained be-
tween "original" and "translated" writings, and that often it is the
leading writers (or members of the avant-garde who are about to
become leading writers) who produce the most conspicuous or ap-

preciated translations. Moreover, in such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating the new repertoire. Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before. These include possibly not only new models of reality to replace the old and established ones that are no longer effective, but a whole range of other features as well, such as a new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques. It is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature.

What then are the conditions which give rise to a situation of this kind? It seems to me that three major cases can be discerned, which are basically various manifestations of the same law: (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak,"[1] or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature.

In the first case translated literature simply fulfills the need of a younger literature to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it serviceable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since a young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems. The same holds true for the second instance, that of relatively established literatures whose resources are limited and whose position within a larger literary hierarchy is generally peripheral. As a consequence of this situation, such literatures often do not develop the same full range of literary activities (organized in a variety of systems) observable in adjacent larger literatures (which in consequence may create a feeling that they are indispensable). They may also "lack" a repertoire which is felt to be badly needed vis-à-vis, and in terms of the presence of, that adjacent literature. This lack may then be filled, wholly or partly, by translated literature. For instance, all sorts of peripheral literature may in such cases consist of translated literature. But far more important is the consequence that the ability of such "weak" literatures to initiate innovations is often less than that

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1. On the concept of "weak" see "Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems" below.

of the larger and central literatures, with the result that a relation of dependency may be established not only in peripheral systems, but in the very center of these "weak" literatures. (To avoid misunderstanding, I would like to point out that these literatures may rise to a central position in a way analogous to the way this is carried out by peripheral systems within a certain polysystem, but this cannot be discussed here.)

Since peripheral literatures in the Western Hemisphere tend more often than not to be identical with the literatures of smaller nations, as unpalatable as this idea may seem to us, we have no choice but to admit that within a group of relatable national literatures, such as the literatures of Europe, hierarchical relations have been established since the very beginnings of these literatures. Within this (macro-) polysystem some literatures have taken peripheral positions, which is only to say that they were often modelled to a large extent upon an exterior literature. For such literatures, translated literature is not only a major channel through which fashionable repertoire is brought home, but also a source of reshuffling and supplying alternatives. Thus, whereas richer or stronger literatures may have the option to adopt novelties from some periphery within their indigenous borders, "weak" literatures in such situations often depend on import alone.

The dynamics within the polysystem creates turning points, that is to say, historical moments where established models are no longer tenable for a younger generation. At such moments, even in central literatures, translated literature may assume a central position. This is all the more true when at a turning point no item in the indigenous stock is taken to be acceptable, as a result of which a literary "vacuum" occurs. In such a vacuum, it is easy for foreign models to infiltrate, and translated literature may consequently assume a central position. Of course, in the case of "weak" literatures or literatures which are in a constant state of impoverishment (lack of literary items existing in a neighbor or accessible foreign literature), this situation is even more overwhelming.

III

Contending that translated literature may maintain a peripheral position means that it constitutes a peripheral system within the polysystem, generally employing secondary models. In such a situation it has no influence on major processes and is modelled according to norms already conventionally established by an already dominant type in the target literature. Translated literature in this case becomes a major factor of conservatism. While the contemporary original literature might go on developing new norms and models, translated literature

adheres to norms which have been rejected either recently or long before by the (newly) established center. It no longer maintains positive correlations with original writing.

A highly interesting paradox manifests itself here: translation, by which new ideas, items, characteristics can be introduced into a literature, becomes a means to preserve traditional taste. This discrepancy between the original central literature and the translated literature may have evolved in a variety of ways, for instance, when translated literature, after having assumed a central position and inserted new items, soon lost contact with the original home literature which went on changing, and thereby became a factor of preservation of unchanged repertoire. Thus, a literature that might have emerged as a revolutionary type may go on existing as an ossified *système d'antan*, often fanatically guarded by the agents of secondary models against even minor changes.

The conditions which enable this second state are of course diametrically opposite to those which give rise to translated literature as a central system: either there are no major changes in the polysystem or these changes are not effected through the intervention of interliterary relations materialized in the form of translations.

IV

The hypothesis that translated literature may be either a central or peripheral system does not imply that it is always wholly one or the other. As a system, translated literature is itself stratified, and from the point of view of polysystemic analysis it is often from the vantage point of the central stratum that all relations within the system are observed. This means that while one section of translated literature may assume a central position, another may remain quite peripheral. In the foregoing analysis I pointed out the close relationship between literary contacts and the status of translated literature. This seems to me the major clue to this issue. When there is intense interference, it is the portion of translated literature deriving from a major source literature which is likely to assume a central position. For instance, in the Hebrew literary polysystem between the two world wars literature translated from the Russian assumed an unmistakably central position, while works translated from English, German, Polish, and other languages assumed an obviously peripheral one. Moreover, since the major and most innovatory translational norms were produced by translations from the Russian, other translated literature adhered to the models and norms elaborated by those translations.

The historical material analyzed so far in terms of polysystemic operations is too limited to provide any far-reaching conclusions about

the chances of translated literature to assume a particular position. But work carried out in this field by various other scholars, as well as my own research, indicates that the "normal" position assumed by translated literature tends to be the peripheral one. This should in principle be compatible with theoretical speculation. It may be assumed that in the long run no system can remain in a constant state of weakness, "turning point," or crisis, although the possibility should not be excluded that some polysystems may maintain such states for quite a long time. Moreover, not all polysystems are structured in the same way, and cultures do differ significantly. For instance, it is clear that the French cultural system, French literature naturally included, is much more rigid than most other systems. This, combined with the long traditional central position of French literature within the European context (or within the European macro-polysystem), has caused French translated literature to assume an extremely peripheral position. The state of Anglo-American literature is comparable, while Russian, German, or Scandinavian would seem to show different patterns of behavior in this respect.

V

What consequences may the position taken by translated literature have on translational norms, behaviors, and policies? As I stated above, the distinction between a translated work and an original work in terms of literary behavior is a function of the position assumed by the translated literature at a given time. When it takes a central position, the borderlines are *diffuse,* so that the very category of "translated works" must be extended to semi- and quasi-translations as well. From the point of view of translation theory I think this is a more adequate way of dealing with such phenomena than to reject them on the basis of a static and a-historical conception of translation. Since translational activity participates, when it assumes a central position, in the process of creating new, primary models, the translator's main concern here is not just to look for ready-made models in his home repertoire into which the source texts would be transferable. Instead, he is prepared in such cases to violate the home conventions. Under such conditions the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise. Of course, from the point of view of the target literature the adopted translational norms might for a while be too foreign and revolutionary, and if the new trend is defeated in the literary struggle, the translation made according to its conceptions and tastes will never really gain ground. But if the new trend is victorious, the repertoire (code) of translated

literature may be enriched and become more flexible. Periods of great change in the home system are in fact the only ones when a translator is prepared to go far beyond the options offered to him by his established home repertoire and is willing to attempt a different treatment of text making. Let us remember that under stable conditions items lacking in a target literature may remain untransferable if the state of the polysystem does not allow innovations. But the process of opening the system gradually brings certain literatures closer and in the longer run enables a situation where the postulates of (translational) adequacy and the realities of equivalence may overlap to a relatively high degree. This is the case of the European literatures, though in some of them the mechanism of rejection has been so strong that the changes I am talking about have occurred on a rather limited scale.

Naturally, when translated literature occupies a peripheral position, it behaves totally differently. Here, the translator's main effort is to concentrate upon finding the best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text, and the result often turns out to be a non-adequate translation or (as I would prefer to put it) a greater discrepancy between the equivalence achieved and the adequacy postulated.

In other words, not only is the socio-literary status of translation dependent upon its position within the polysystem, but the very practice of translation is also strongly subordinated to that position. And even the question of what is a translated work cannot be answered *a priori* in terms of an a-historical out-of-context idealized state: it must be determined on the grounds of the operations governing the polysystem. Seen from this point of view, translation is no longer a phenomenon whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system.

Laws of Literary Interference

I. Searching for Laws of Interference

Are we in position to formulate some general laws, or at least de-
monstrable regularities, of literary interference? "Comparative Lit-
erature," as we all know, has been reluctant to do so, contenting itself
with the vague notion of "influence" and confining itself to uncriti-
cal comparisons of isolated cases. Thousands of works dealing with
a large number of particular cases have been produced, but unfor-
tunately these hardly accumulate to generate generalized knowledge
which could transcend the details with which they are preoccupied.

  This reluctance to deal with certain basic questions is indeed incom-
prehensible when compared to any other field of knowledge. Such
basic questions are, for instance: what is interference for, why does
it emerge, what are its main features, how does it work, when and
under what conditions may it emerge, function for some longer time,
and decline? It is inconceivable that such questions should be deliber-
ately ignored just because people are skeptical about the accessibility
of adequate answers. No one would argue—in any science, even the
most "exact"—that "laws" or "regularities" are *simple* notions, or that
formulating them is an easy matter. Moreover, no one would argue,
at least not within the tradition of Dynamic Functionalism, that the
variety of cases and the fluctuating historical contexts are easily redu-
cible to simple governing principles. And the lamentable state of our
knowledge, in spite of all the work done on particular cases, is also a

major impediment on the way towards generalizations. Yet we should not decide to abandon this kind of endeavor. It is *because* of this poor state of affairs that it seems valuable to formulate a set of hypotheses, which might force both methodological speculations and research into a position where this issue can no longer be neglected.

Interference cannot be divorced from literary history, since it is part of the historical existence of any cultural system. This does not mean that the role of interference is always important for literature at any given time of its existence. Rather, it means that interference cannot be analyzed as an issue *per se*, detached from the historical context.[1] A theory of literature which attempts to deal with interference without notions of literary history is not likely to be able to account for questions like the ones formulated above. It is in the framework of theories which have endeavored to account for the historical process that the most advanced notions of literary interference have been suggested and the most valuable research work has been carried out. Few studies in "Comparative Literature" are comparable to Zhirmunskij's on the emergence of Byronism in Russian literature (Zhirmunskij 1924). Even fewer have understood the necessity to develop translation studies in order to be able to deal more adequately with the actual processes *and* procedures of interference. Tynjanov was a notable pioneer in this field, too, not only because he made translation a fully legitimate object for the science of literature, but because from the very start he integrated this field with the general issue of literary history.[2]

Interference can be defined as a relation(ship) between literatures, whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans for another literature B (a target literature).

It should once more be emphasized that with "literature," it is the totality of the activities involved with the literary system that is meant. Thus, in contradistinction to traditional views, what may move, be borrowed, taken over from one "literature" to another is not just an item of repertoire, but also a host of other features/items. Often, it is not even repertoire which is the most decisive component participating in a specific interference relationship. The role and function of literature, the rules of the game of the literary institution, the nature of literary criticism and scholarship, the relations between religious, political, and other activities within culture

1. While in some periods of its existence whatever takes place within literature is overwhelmingly conditioned by interference, in some other periods its role is evidently quite minor. Studying any literature at any time with the *same* amount of attention paid to interference is obviously unjustified, even ridiculous.
2. The merit of Tynjanov's contribution to this field should be evaluated not only in terms of his own studies but at least as much in terms of the work he directed and supervised (at the Institute for the History of Art in Leningrad).

and literary production—all may be modelled in a given culture in relation to some other system.

It would therefore be inadequate to reduce interference to just the seemingly more visible level of the text or even of the model(s) behind it. I say "seemingly" because in many specific cases of interference in the history of literatures, once one looks elsewhere, other pertinent phenomena become no less "visible."

Interference can be either *unilateral* or *bilateral*, which means that it may function for one literature or for both. It can function for one or another part or sector of the system, whether chiefly for the repertoire (which is the most "visible" or "transparent" process) or for other components of the system. With each sector it may function on a large or on a restricted number of levels, for a limited or a longer time. Naturally, it cannot take place without some kind of *contact(s)* between the respective literatures, but those contacts can be of diverse kinds, including contacts which lead to no actual interference. It is generally agreed that the nature of the phenomena mentioned above, as well as of other phenomena, depends on the state of each of the systems involved. It would perhaps be of some help to distinguish between two major states of literary systems, and subsequently between the different kinds of contacts—and eventually interferences—which take place between them. The first state is that of a relatively established system, which is consequently relatively *independent*, while the second is that of a non-established system, which consequently becomes *dependent* on some other system outside itself.

In the first instance, a literature develops within its own spheres. Sometimes an outside system or individual may be of some importance for it, but never when it comes to its very ability to exist over a longer period of time. Such has been the case, e.g., of both French and English literatures for almost two hundred years. Neither of them has existed in isolation from the rest of the world, each having further developed its repertoire by using a variety of outside sources— such as one another or Scandinavian, Russian, German, and perhaps Italian (to name just the most conspicuous literatures). Yet for none of them can we contend that interference has been an indispensable condition for their very existence. Any interference that has taken place with some other literature has been conditioned by their state as "independent" systems.

In the second case, that of "dependent" systems, the situation is different. An external system may be a major condition for the very existence and development of such a literary system. This normally occurs either when a literature is young, that is in the process of emergence, or when conditions within it have created a certain situation which cannot be dealt with by the relevant literature exclusively—or mainly—by means of its own sources. No literature known to us seems

to have managed to avoid such situations at one or another point in its history. All literatures started as "young," and hence had to cope with conditions already generally alien to their more established contemporaries. Yet for some literatures, the situation of dependence may be either longer or more frequent, for reasons which go far beyond the state of the literary system as such.

A current case of dependence is that of minority literatures. These are produced by minority groups, or by groups which are geographically connected to or politically subjugated by some (politically, economically) more powerful group. Examples include Flemish vs. French, Ukrainian vs. Russian, or Norwegian vs. Danish in the nineteenth century, Hebrew vs. Arabic in medieval Spain, Czech vs. German roughly up to World War II. In some cases, especially when the minority group is able to participate (in various degrees) in the literature of the majority,[3] *intra*-literary interference may be superseded by *inter*-literary interference. As a result, what used to be just a system within a larger polysystem becomes a (poly)system in its own right.[4] In such cases, it is only in retrospect justified to hypothesize inter-systemic relations. Had these part systems not become systems in their own right at a later stage, it would not seem justified to consider them separate in the first place.

Besides Norwegian and Danish, a host of other literatures can serve as examples: Flemish vs. Dutch, Austrian vs. German, American vs. British. Other cases would be almost all European literatures of the Middle Ages where Latin constituted a major language of literary production. Medieval English can also exemplify a trilingual polysystem, with English, Latin, and French as vehicles of literary activity. Hebrew and Yiddish, the relationships between which are discussed at some length in this collection, are another, striking example.

The "dependence"-"independence" relationship is naturally different with each case. For instance, while American has established itself as a clearly separate poly-system, still connected but no longer part of the British system, Flemish recently seems to integrate more and more with Dutch, revitalizing a common Netherlandic

3. This is possible, for instance, when the writers produce bilingually, thus contributing at one and the same time to two systems. Unstable, or "pluralistic," linguistic canons may also make it possible for a while for a minority to be part of a majority, before stronger standardization prevails in either the one or the other community. (Naturally, standardization in its turn is often motivated also by aspirations towards distancing one's own language from "the others' language"; Norwegian-Danish or Hindi-Urdu are clear cases of such distancing, while Italian would be a worthwhile case for studying the aspirations towards unification.)

4. No doubt *intra*-literary interference has a great deal in common with *inter*-literary interference, but there are remarkable differences to justify a separate discussion. From a functionalist point of view, the difference between inter-systemic and intra-systemic relations lies mainly in what one might call distance and degree.

literature. Austrian, on the other hand, has never become a separate entity from German, though always maintaining a different stratification (with many products not shared by both systems), partly using its different repertoire and even mobilizing to some extent its particular linguistic variant. Unfortunately, tendentiously nationalistic literary historiography has prevented adequate analysis of the relationship vis-à-vis Latin for almost all of the literatures concerned.

Channels of Interference

The channels of interference are various, depending chiefly on whether interference is direct or indirect. In the case of direct interference, a source literature is available to, and accessed by, agents of the target literature without intermediaries. They know the language of the source literature and may have better access to its resources than in the case of the second type. In this second type, interference is intermediated through some channel, such as translation. Though in both cases translation may be a major channel for *actual* transfer, it is obvious that in the latter case its role is more crucial. By "translation" I mean a set of translated texts rather than the general activity of translating, since it is clear that such an activity takes place even when no actual products are made, that is in the case of direct interference. The procedures followed by agents of transfer in cases of direct contacts are less visible than in the case of observable translated products, which often can be compared with the original texts. But one can also provide examples of cases where some source literature is accessed via some other third party—such as a third language and literature—which filters the models for the target. If this happens to be a language known to a large number of the literary producers, in that sense to the "institution," there may be few actual translation products needed here either.

This leads us to another crucial question about the nature of contacts that obtain in interference situations—the question of the degree of exposure of the target to the source. For normally, when we speak of general cultural or linguistic interference, we hypothesize some massive exposure of (members of) the target to the source. Thus, the interference of one language with another is normally not discussed in terms of individual speakers. This is not justified, although there is obviously a major difference between cases where the target members are largely familiar with the source and cases where this source is accessed through some relatively restricted groups.

Observing the impact of French upon most other European languages between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, it is clear that only a small proportion of the members of the various target systems concerned were directly exposed to French. For instance, while French may have become a regular, i.e., widely used, language of the Russian aristocracy, it managed to interfere quite remarkably with

Swedish *without* needing to achieve the same degree of distribution. That Russian
has been more affected by French than Swedish has is not a result of a more mas-
sive exposure to French but rather of the different state of standardization these
languages had achieved at the time of interference. Swedish was much closer to
such a standardization than Russian. But in both cases it was mainly through the
work of a small group of cultural agents that the target systems accessed and used
an external source.

This applies also to our own times, where mass media circles often
function as the major channel, while the rest of the affected commu-
nity has no direct contact with the source. In a great number of trans-
fer cases, acceptance or rejection of a certain item from an external
source is not necessarily linked to its origin, but rather to the position
it has managed to acquire within the target. For the majority of the
members of a community, once introduced into their repertoire, the
fortune of an item in terms of success or failure becomes a domestic
matter.

In the case of minority groups physically living among majority
groups, being exposed daily to the culture of the majority, interfer-
ence may be much more powerful than in those cases when the target
can to some degree avoid the source. In other words, massive exposure
can significantly support the impact of interference. But this exposure
per se is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for interference
to take place.

II. Laws of Interference

When I was asked by Frank Coppieters, back in 1976, to undertake to
formulate some of the *de facto* accepted hypotheses in the various fields
of interference, I decided to sketch a number of hypotheses which I
deliberately gave the presumptuous label of "universals" (Even-Zohar
1978b, 1978c). My intention was to stimulate discussion, but more
than that I was hoping that truly planned, perhaps even coordinated,
research could emerge from some of my propositions. This has not
really happened, though some modest advance may have taken place.
I have therefore decided to reproduce here what I still believe can
be argued to be governing laws (with various degrees of validity) of
interference. In spite of the unsatisfactory degree of progress in this
field, sufficient work has been carried out to enable at least some re-
formulation of those "laws," chiefly by eliminating claims that cannot
be substantiated.

As in the previous versions of this sketch, what I desire to demon-
strate is not some ultimate list of interference laws, but the possibility
of formulating and investigating such laws. Three groups of aspects
can tentatively be distinguished:

1. General principles of interference.

1.1. Literatures are never in non-interference.

1.2. Interference is mostly unilateral.

1.3. Literary interference is not necessarily linked with other interference on other levels between communities.

2. Conditions for the emergence and occurrence of interference.

2.1. Contacts will sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.

2.2. A source literature is selected by prestige.

2.3. A source literature is selected by dominance.

2.4. Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.

3. Processes and procedures of interference.

3.1. Contacts may take place with only one part of the target literature; they may then proceed to other parts.

3.2. An appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions.

3.3. Appropriation tends to be simplified, regularized, schematized.

1. General Principles of Interference

No. 1. Literatures are never in non-interference.

The ubiquity of interference is not always obvious. Since the channels of actual transfer may be on the periphery, and hence not "visible" (from the point of view of official culture), and since it is often the case that we are confronted with the later, domestic results of interference rather than with the initial stages, it seems "natural" not to hypothesize interference as a first option for given cases. Yet research has demonstrated that probably all systems known to us have emerged and developed with interference playing a prominent role. There is not one single literature which did not emerge through interference with a more established literature; and no literature could manage without interference at one time or another during its history. It has been substantiated that interference is the rule rather than the exception, whether it is a major or a minor occurrence for a given literature. It is only when the invisible processes of interference are discovered that its overwhelming presence can be fully recognized and estimated.

One implication of this hypothesis is that when a researcher is confronted with an unclear situation, that is when one must choose for a certain case between the hypothesis of separate development vs. the hypothesis of interference, unless refutable on very clear grounds, in spite of our accepted inclinations, priority ought to be given to the

interference hypothesis. The meaning of this is that a researcher is thereby *encouraged* to look for interference as a highly likely option, and reject it only if a non-interference solution can be shown to be *stronger*.

It is true that we lack evidence of interference for some cultures which currently seem remote and isolated, e.g., Eskimo, Inca, or Chukchee. But in the light of the overwhelming evidence of interference for the majority of the cultures of the world, the lack of evidence in these particular cases may suggest that the evidence is not yet accessible rather than that there has been no interference. What seemed only a century ago to be disparate civilizations now have been shown to have been interrelated and connected. Such cases as the *non*-invention of the wheel by the Incas surely supports the hypothesis of lack of contacts, yet on the other hand it also demonstrates the central role interference must have played in the diffusion of such inventions. (And are there actually many cases of reinventions of the wheel in the history of our globe?)

The fact that we do not know for the moment how Sumerian—the world's most ancient literature—emerged is no proof of non-interference. Some scholars have already adduced evidence which suggests that some more ancient civilization lay at the background of Sumerian. But even supposing we accept Sumerian as the progenitor of world literature (which means that we are willing to take it as an un-interfered literature), for almost all other literatures there is abundant evidence of interference.[5] Moreover, for the majority of these literatures one can demonstrate descent from or lineage with Sumerian. There is no doubt about Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) being the first and most conspicuous heir to Sumerian. Indeed, the processes that can be reconstructed for the Sumerian-Akkadian case are strikingly similar to many other cases which occurred in various literatures in the course of later history.

The prominent features in this case are (1) an adoption of the Sumerian writing system, (2) a partial adoption of the Sumerian language by the Akkadians, to be maintained for quite a long time side by side with the Akkadian as a highly revered language, (3) interlinear translations (into Akkadian) in major Sumerian texts borrowed by the Akkadians, (4) regular translations, (5) adaptations and

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5. This is true of almost all literatures of the Western Hemisphere. As for the Eastern Hemisphere, admittedly, Chinese is still a riddle as regards its emergence and early development. Suggestions about the possible link between Sumerian and Chinese have not been seriously substantiated, though it is not unlikely that this may yet become a fruitful direction. At any rate, if we are willing to accept for Chinese what we have been willing to accept for Sumerian, interference with a large number of Asian literatures has been the rule here, too. The role played by Chinese is very much similar to that of Sumerian vs. Akkadian (indeed, in the Chinese-Japanese case this would be a strikingly parallel case), or of Latin vs. all other European literatures in the Middle Ages. But even as far as relations with the Western Hemisphere are concerned, it is quite obvious that China was not all that isolated, and exchange on a variety of levels, including to some extent literature, was definitely present in certain periods. (See Needham 1981; also for bibliography.)

elaborations of Sumerian texts, and (6) new texts based on the new repertoire that had emerged and developed in Akkadian through interference with Sumerian.

I am convinced that all this would look astonishingly familiar to people who have never studied Mesopotamian culture. Many of these features can be found in a one-to-one fashion in the relations between, e.g., Greek and Latin as well as between the latter and all medieval European literatures.

The rest of the literatures of the Fertile Crescent definitely owe their repertoire, as well as other components of the literary system,[6] to Akkadian. For each of the literatures written in Ugaritic (?–1200) and Hittite (1650–1200 B.C.), not only affinities in repertoire can be shown, but much direct and indirect evidence about the possible conditions that must have generated this interference. Ancient Hebrew literature, available to us through the books of the Old Testament (which, though surely only a portion of what has been produced in this literature, is still much more than what is left to us from Phoenician), is linkable not only to Akkadian (and to Sumerian via Akkadian), but evidently also to Ugaritic (as has been demonstrated by Ginsberg [1936, 1946], Cassuto [1958, 1972], Gordon [1977], Caquot et al. [1974]; see also Avishur 1979).

From Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Hittite the road goes to Greece. There is no dispute about the Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet, and there is large agreement about the Middle Eastern origin of some major features of Greek mythology. That no clear-cut evidence about the Homeric case can be provided is no wonder. The Homeric texts are obviously produced by an already advanced domestic repertoire. Although it can remind us of its external precedents (possibly through the intermediation of Hittite renderings of the classical texts of Mesopotamia, at least as far as regards the contacts with the ancient Ionians and Achaeans),[7] it

6. The term "literary system" may sound anachronistic when one thinks of the actual conditions of textual production in the cultures of the Fertile Crescent and compares them superficially with our own circumstances. But if we accept the term "literary" as referring to any kind of textually manifested (or manifestable) semiotic repertoire fully and visibly institutionalized in society, the parallels of the systemic relations with later periods become immediately striking.

7. It would not be adequate to attribute the emergence and perpetuation of relations between Eastern and Greek cultures to the Hittites, although the role of the latter in intermediating the classical Mesopotamian tradition has become to some extent more substantiated. The Hittite empire collapsed, however, around 1200 B.C. and there emerged an era of relations between the Greeks in the mainland and the Phoenicians, which chiefly resulted in the transfer of the Phoenician alphabet (including the *names* of the letters) to Greek, as well as parts of the Phoenician ("Canaanite") mythology.

There is much additional evidence clearly supporting the hypothesis of large-scale transfers across the Mediterranean of "Semitic" culturemes. Here are some details: (1) The vast Phoenician colonization of the Mediterranean (Cyprus, Sicily, North Africa, Spain, and Provence [with Mesilla—Marsilia/Marseille—as the center]); (2) the perseverance of an archaic variety of the alphabet, closer to the original Phoenician one, among the Etruscans (who persevered in writing from right to left and using some letters that had been eliminated by the Greeks from the originally adopted Phoenician alphabet); (3) the evidence of the knowledge of

obviously also has its own particularities which cannot be traced back to any external source. As I argued above, it is in most cases futile to draw a direct link between specific *texts*. But when sufficient circumstantial, textual, and direct evidence is accumulated, which supports interference in this case as more plausible than non-interference, research should better concentrate on enriching this kind of evidence rather than trying to compare what seems not to be fruitfully comparable as ultimate products of developed repertoires.

As for Egyptian literature, long believed to be the most ancient one due to the spectacular archaeological discoveries during the nineteenth century as well as due to the fortunate deciphering of hieroglyphic script (antedating by several decades the deciphering of Akkadian), the relationships with Akkadian start playing a role at a much later stage in Egyptian history. At that later stage, however, there is sufficient evidence to support a hypothesis of unilateral transfer. Actually, the knowledge of Mesopotamian letters was current among professional circles of scribes in Egypt. The Egyptians had to accept Akkadian as the international language of diplomacy, and even tended to preserve a more archaic brand of the Akkadian repertoire (Kramer 1963).

No. 2. Interference is mostly unilateral.

There is no symmetry in literary interference. A target literature is, more often than not, interfered with by a source literature which completely ignores it. There are also cases when there may be some minor interference in one direction and a major one in another. For instance, Russian literature did have some impact upon French literature towards the late nineteenth century, but this impact can in no way be compared with the role played by French for Russian.

No. 3. Literary interference is not necessarily linked with other interference on other levels between communities.

In the case of two communities either geographically contiguous or mixed, or otherwise linked,[8] interference can take place on a variety of levels but not necessarily on the level of literature. However, it seems hard to provide evidence for cases when interference would take place in literature only, while all the other sectors of culture remained intact. On the other hand, with communities geographically *separated* from one another, literary interference is fully conceivable without any other kind of interference. The role played by Russian literature

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Phoenician even in places where no Phoenician colonies existed, such as Anatolia (as reflected in Karatepe inscription; see Tur-Sinai 1954: 66–80; Bron 1979), parts of Sicily, Italy, and probably other places (for the western parts of the Mediterranean—such evidence as the Etruscan-Phoenician golden plate found in Italy [kept at Villa Giulia, Rome. See Pallottino 1981]).
8. "Geographical links" can be trade routes as well as some established *awareness* of "the existence of the other."

in the nineteenth century for Danish impressionism did not involve penetration, or even infiltration, of other Russian items, on whatever level, into Danish culture. Similarly, the role played by Scandinavian literatures in Russian literature has hardly expanded itself to other fields. Thus, literary interference may be part of some wider interference processes. When this is the case, a target community may appropriate political and economic patterns, as well as social habits and cultural items. Whether such a situation has been achieved by peaceful channels or through violence, e.g., colonialism, does not matter from the point of view of the consequences.

The meaning of these hypotheses is that it is precisely *because* of the systemic structure of culture that a target culture may have contact with and transfer from only some sections of a source culture. A target culture is never exposed to the totality of some source, even when geographically close to it or mixed with it. Studies on immigration, acculturation, and assimilation provide evidence supporting this.

2. Conditions for the Emergence and Occurrence of Interference

No. 4. Contacts will sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.
Or:
Contacts will not generate interference unless favorable conditions arise.

Contacts between communities do not necessarily generate interference from the very start or on all levels. Communities may exchange information, political support, or tourism without subsequently being affected by one another. Spreading information received from the source, getting acquainted with the political structure of the source in order to be able to cope with it (as is probably often the case of smaller vs. larger nations), and bringing souvenirs from a trip do not necessarily generate interference. Moreover, communities may live side by side, even mixed with one another, seemingly without interfering.[9]

It is not an easy matter, however, to determine at what point we

9. The very integration of items of whatever nature in a target system clearly makes them an occurrence of interference. If Americans buy shirts made in Hong Kong, that does not make Hong Kong culture interfere with American culture. But suppose Hong Kong shirts are different from the American ones, and at first not immediately accepted yet gradually are fully adopted by the Americans. Although that would not involve change in the repertoire of American shirt factories, the American repertoire would have actually changed by this adoption. Of course, when the Americans themselves would go over to producing shirts the Hong Kong way, there is no doubt that a conspicuous interference would indeed have taken place.

would agree that interference has taken place or not, or at least has
started to take place. Durable contacts, while not producing conspicu-
ously visible interference, may, however, generate conditions of avail-
ability, which will facilitate interference. Certain widely accepted atti-
tudes towards probable contacts, and subsequently interference, may
affect actual behaviors when interference becomes imminent. Some-
times, highly nationalistic societies reject any interference, because it
is felt to be a threat to national integrity. At other times, the desire
for change may promote a favorable attitude towards occurrences in
another society, with the help of which, if transferred, one can hope
to get away from an undesired situation.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, when Paris had become a center of
international culture, various French writers both perpetuated and reinforced xeno-
phobic attitudes. For instance, Zola, Daudet, and the Goncourts (to name just
a few) violently objected to the introduction of Ibsen, Strindberg, or Tolstoj into
France, and tried to demonstrate the incompatibility of such writers with "the
French spirit." They fully understood that "accepting" a writer often means some
degree of adoption of the repertoire upon which his texts are based. They therefore
sharply criticized even the most naive appropriations. Zola, whom we normally
remember as the humanistic defender of justice, combined his naturalistic credo
with his unfavorable attitude to foreigners in criticizing French writers who located
their scenery in some non-French site.[10]
    On the other hand, other communities do not resent so violently borrowing from
the outside, and one may observe some kind of cultural *openness* towards other
literatures (and cultures in general). In other societies, "anything that comes from
abroad must be good," so saying that "this is already current abroad, why are
we lagging behind" is quite accepted. (Russian symbolism partly used this line of
argumentation; but for some sections of the Russian elite, such an attitude could
be quite normally accepted.)

    With closer, more intimate contacts between communities, like those
between Polish and Ukrainian populations in the Eastern Austro-
Hungarian Empire, one wonders whether separatist national ideolo-
gies have not blinded us to the interference that has in fact taken
place. Yet the difficult question here remains whether we are allowed
to conclude that contacts are sooner or later (and whether desired or

10. In a review of a play by Ernst Blum, Zola says: "Aussi, quelle étrange idée,
d'être allé choisir la Suède, qui compte si peu dans les sympathies populaires de
notre pays. Ce choix malheureux suffit à reculer l'action dans le brouillard. On
raconte que M. Ernst Blum a promené son drame de nationalités en nationalités,
avant de le planter à Stockholm. Il a eu ses raisons sans doute; mais je lui prédis
qu'il s'en repentira pas moins d'avoir poussé le dédain de nos préoccupations
quotidiennes jusqu'à nous mener dans une contrée dont la grande majorité des
spectateurs ne sauraient indiquer la position exacte sur la carte de l'Europe. Nous
rions et nous pleurons où est notre coeur" (Zola 1928: 187). See also Ahlström
1956: 164–165 and Nyholm 1957/59.

not) likely to generate some kind of interference. If one argues that such an interference could have taken place because of some kind of vacuum, indifference, or lack of resistance in the target, that would amount to the same hypothesis.

Consequently, although a community can resist interference even in cases of unavoidable contacts, it cannot resist it on all levels of its system. So the question evidently is *when* interference becomes a major factor in a system, not *whether* interference operates in a system or not, i.e., in the case of contacts. In the light of our understanding of stratification it would be quite plausible to hypothesize, for instance, a durable interference on the periphery of the system. This can incubate for quite a long time, even for a number of generations, before it surfaces, as it were, in the sphere of official culture. But it surfaces or fails to surface subject to the conditions prevailing in the center of the system, which may either encourage interference or neutralize resistance to it.

If we expect contacts to generate interference under any conditions, we are likely to be puzzled by cases which look "anomalous." For instance, one wonders how it is that after so many years of coexistence, various ethnic or national groups on such a relatively small territory as Europe still keep themselves largely apart, in spite of a common cultural heritage and intensive contacts (as well as massive interferences on a variety of levels). Switzerland alone could be a case for puzzlement, but even France—the most centralized and seemingly homogenized state in Europe—still has both small and large minorities who have resisted interference on a variety of cultural levels, like the Bretons and to some extent the Occitans (some 15 million people). Here are some brief remarks on a number of cases:

(1) *Jewish vs. Hellenistic-Roman culture in Palestine.* It took 200–400 years for certain features of Hellenistic culture to be accepted by the Jews after Hellenistic culture had been powerfully resisted. Only after they became neutralized items could they no longer constitute a possible threat to the domestic culture.[11]

(2) *Hebrew vs. Arabic cultures in Mesopotamia* after the Muslim conquest of that territory. The new language was rapidly adopted by the local population, although not at the cost of the total elimination of the in-group vernacular.[12] But it took

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11. These involved a variety of culturemes, not only in architecture and clothing, but even burial patterns and language. The discovery of Hellenistic pictorial artistry in a number of synagogues, in the Galilee and Syria (the most famous one in Dura-Europos), has been a real surprise to historians. (For an account see Kraeling 1956.) The gradual absorption of Greek components in the Aramaic language of Roman and Byzantine times in Palestine is an acknowledged phenomenon. Yet it is quite astonishing to discover, in later Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, such keywords in the life of the Jewish Palestinian community as "kyrios" (God) and "angelos" (angel)! (See Heineman 1973.) For a discussion of architectural items as actual culturemes see Tsafrir 1981, 1984.

12. Actually, the Jews (as well as the Christians) of Mesopotamia (Iraq) adopted a linguistic variety which later disappeared in Muslim society, while fusing it with

almost three hundred years for Jewish culture to make use of the adjacent high Arabic culture in its central cultural mode of production, which could justifiably be labelled "literature" (Drory 1988).

(3) *Arabic vs. Syriac.* Syriac Christian culture has in many respects been even more resistant to high Arabic culture than Jewish culture. It started to lose ground in favor of Arabic language—and with it the Arabic literary repertoire—at a time when Arabic actually had passed its peak in the fourteenth century. But it seems that instead of using Arabic as a source for renewing its repertoire, the Syriac people[13] either adopted Arabic, the way the Jews did, for some sections of their literary production, or perpetuated their already established repertoire for centuries.[14]

No. 5. A source literature is selected by prestige.

A literature may be selected as a source literature because it is considered a model to emulate. (Cf. the status of Greek and Latin literatures for all European literatures, and later French, English, and German for almost all of the rest.) In cases of partially developed systems and minority cultures, a prestigious literature may function as a literary *superstratum* for a target literature.

Various factors contribute to making a literature prestigious. For instance, an established literature which becomes accessible through contacts may become prestigious for a literature which has not had the chance of developing its own repertoire. This was clearly the position of Greek vs. Roman culture, and of both vs. all European literatures. Political and/or economic power may play a role in establishing such prestige, but not necessarily. What counts most is the cultural power of the source system.

If we take, for instance, the case of French, it is not at all clear whether we should attribute its central position for several centuries among European literatures to

their previous Aramaic vernacular to create particular respective vernaculars of their own. (See Blanc 1964 and Blau 1965, 1967, and 1988 for both Judeo- and Christian Arabic.)
13. I am using this term as a convenient name for all groups of Christian faith who had been using some brand of the Aramaic variety known as Syriac. These groups have consisted of different sects. Their descendants are known nowadays under various names: Assyrians (usually referring to the most Eastern group, Nestorians by faith), Syriani ("suryoye"; Syrian-Orthodox, Jacobites), and Maronites.
14. This situation has not really changed over the ages. It is remarkable that Aramaic never really died out, in spite of centuries of Arabic domination: it is still a living language in the Middle East, although because of growing persecutions which culminated in the twentieth century, many members of the Syriac communities had to flee their original territories and find refuge sometimes very far from home (the Assyrians in Chicago [where most of them arrived after the 1933 massacres in Iraq]; the Jacobites in The Netherlands and Sweden [where they arrived as late as the 1960s, and continue to emigrate from the troubled conditions in Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey; see Björklund 1981]).

the political power of France. While this may be true for some periods, it is not altogether so for others. The diffusion of French cultural models and products (texts as well as artifacts) during the High Middle Ages (1000–1400) cannot be divorced from the centrality of France due to its position in the Carolingian Empire; yet it was only later that France achieved her position of power and could exercise power politics with repercussions on the level of cultural consumption. I believe we have to recognize that its prestige had been established—on cultural premises —much earlier than its days of great power, and persisted long after this power had declined.[15]

What France could offer from a relatively early stage was *establishedness*. It had already developed many accessible institutions on a large variety of levels when other cultures just started organizing themselves. Like England, and before that Ireland, it simply could offer various kinds of expertise (linguistic, theological, artisanal) that was involved with the newly accepted religion in vast territories of Europe, which had not been part of the Roman Empire. In Bourdieu's terms it would be appropriate to recognize that besides its worldly riches (which had so strongly tempted the periphery people during the ninth and tenth centuries), France had accumulated an immense cultural capital that no emerging entity could afford to ignore.

An illuminating, though seemingly eccentric, case would be the role of French for the crystallization of Norse—Norwegian and Icelandic—literatures. Although the model of Christianity adopted in these countries mainly derived from England, French literature played an important role for them both. It seems that France hosted one of the founding fathers of its literary culture—Sæmundr the Learned (1056–1133)—thus legitimizing further contacts and creating awareness of French culture as a permanently available source and resource for various central measures taken by the Icelandic church. (For sources and further details see Gelsinger 1981: 135–140.) It seems also that France could have supplied experts who were needed to teach in the newly established Northern school of Hólar certain major skills of European culture (see Turville-Petre 1975: 111).[16] Moreover, French reli-

15. The perpetuation of cultural power in spite of political decline is well attested. Conquered people often transmitted their culture to their conquerors by virtue of this ineradicable prestige. Thus, the conquering Germanic tribes adopted the most fundamental components of their official culture from the conquered Gaelic and Italic peoples. Colonizers may also behave like such conquerors, as is probably the case with the Akkadians who adopted the culture of the Sumerians and cherished the formers' language and heritage for ages. Hellenistic culture was respectfully treated by the Romans, and the Roman cultures of Italy and Gaul by their respective Germanic invaders.

16. The school of Hólar was founded 1106, when Jón Ögmundarsson, just consecrated as Bishop in Lund, returned to Iceland. "Among the teachers whom Jón employed was Gísli Finsson, from Gautaland (Sweden), who was headmaster and taught Latin. Another teacher was called Ríkini, and he is described as a Frenchman. He taught singing and verse-making, and was himself a skillful exponent of both" (Turville-Petre 1975: 111). In *Jóns saga helga* (The Life of Saint John), written during the first years of the thirteenth century by the monk Gunnlaugr Leifsson (died 1218), quite a lengthy paragraph is dedicated to Ríkini. This saga was originally written in Latin and later translated by the author to Icelandic, the only surviving text. Although written in the regular stock style of standard Euro-

gious artifacts, especially from Dinant, Limoges, and Rheims, were imported into Iceland and had quite an impact on local art (Björnsson 1975: 270). There is no evidence, however, that these were brought directly from France. (Gelsinger, for instance, strongly favors the idea that rather than direct ties, Norwegians have acted as intermediaries between Iceland and France.)

Thus, the position of France in Norse (particularly Norwegian-Icelandic) culture had been established long before it started playing a more decisive role for larger sections of Norse literature. For with the French-Latin exegetic sources there also came an abundant quantity of French chivalric literature. Though mostly consumed in translation, this popular repertoire soon was appropriated for the making of local literary texts. In a remarkable number of the later sagas, the chivalric model of the world, as well as a host of less powerful organizing principles, become very conspicuous. (For an extensive discussion see Hallberg 1962; Turville-Petre 1975: 82 [and references there]; Gelsinger 1981; Lönnroth 1965, 1976; also Stefánsson 1975.)[17]

No. 6. A source literature is selected by dominance.

A literature may be selected as a source literature when it is dominant due to extra-cultural conditions. Naturally, a dominant literature often has prestige, but the dominant position does not necessarily result from this prestige. A current case in this category is a literature made "unavoidable" by a colonial power, which imposes its language and texts on a subjugated community. The fact that English and French dominated many literatures under their political influence is simply due to this influence. The same seems to be true basically for most cases of minority groups.

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pean hagiography ("littérature fleurie, redondante et fortement sentimentale dans la meilleur tradition du style dit florissant, avec ses dithyrambes, ses binaires super-flus, ses répétitions, son macaronisme et ses images contournées" [Boyer 1986: 63]), the amiable description of this Ríkini at least partly and indirectly bears witness to the high appreciation of his exceptional skills. Although his fellow foreigner from Sweden was nominated headmaster, singing and verse-making seem to definitely have had more appeal to the students than Latin ("*Grammatica*"), and Ríkini probably both liked people and was liked by them: "Ríkini took them [the students at Hólar] all with joy and compassion [in the spirit] of Saint John and loved them like his only sons, nourished and educated them under his custody and ward, protecting them under his wings like a bird her young ones" (*Jóns saga helga* [eldri gerð], 1953, etc.: 42; see Boyer 1986: 63 for a full translation of this passage). Of course the presence of Ríkini is *per se* no evidence of any massive presence of Frenchmen in Iceland, but coupled with other factors of interference, both direct and indirect, it is definitely a token of an awareness towards French culture at the time.

17. The role of a powerful organizing world vision like religion in making interference work through prestige is evident in all kinds of ideologies. There is no difference in this respect between the role Christianity played in the High Middle Ages and the role played by later ideologies, such as the French—and more recently the Russian—Revolution.

Colonial or imperialist powers do not always seem to have the same interest in inculcating their cultures in the subject people, but the results may eventually be almost the same. The respective behaviors of France and England vis-à-vis this question have been dissimilar. Yet English has succeeded in taking root in such countries as India, Iraq, or black Africa almost as fully as French has in Northern Africa, Lebanon, and Indo-China.

Power dominance of the imperialistic kind thus forces contacts on a system and may therefore engender interference in spite of the system's resistance. Yet in cases when the target system is not yet established—or in crisis—it might not develop any rejecting mechanism. Such a mechanism may, however, evolve at a later stage, when many supposedly appropriated repertoremes turn out to have been merely temporary ones.

No. 7. Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.

A "need" may arise when a new generation feels that the norms governing the system are no longer effective and therefore must be re- placed. If the domestic repertoire does not offer any options in this direction, while an accessibly adjacent system seems to possess them, interference will very likely take place.

It might be asked whether such a "need" can indeed emerge not as a consequence of some internal development in a literature, but rather as a result of the existence of certain options in an accessibly adjacent literature. This must remain an open question at this stage.

3. Processes and Procedures of Interference

No. 8. Contacts may take place with only one part of the target literature; they may then proceed to other parts.

Even when appropriations are "heavy," there is not necessarily an overall interference. Usually certain sections remain untouched, while others undergo massive invasion, or are literally created by appropriations. For example, a model which did not exist in a target literature may be introduced and incorporated in it through appropriation.

Similarly, interference can be confined to only one stratum, e.g., to the center or to the periphery of the target literature. A source literature repertoire may thus first interfere with a lower or a higher stratum of a target literature, then go over to other strata. Although initially generated by interference, when such a repertoire "goes over," it is no longer an issue of direct interference, but already an internal process within the target literature.

Since in traditional literary studies interference—understood in terms of "influence"—is taken to be a matter of superiority vs. inferiority, it is not likely to be accepted that the "influencing" party may be of a less "sophisticated" nature than the "influenced" one.

Many peripheral literatures appropriate features of commonly accepted literary repertoire (such as "Realism," "Romanticism," "Symbolism") after these are well established in the central literatures of a time. This is not necessarily then carried out by appropriation from a major source (such as a major writer), but often occurs via secondary intermediaries, who have elaborated more schematized and possibly digestible models in terms of appropriability.

It often turns out to be much more fruitful to look for models on the peripheries of literature before drawing direct lines between a certain individual major figure in a source literature and another major figure in the target literature. When the model appropriated is already more schematized than its source, schematization might have taken place already within the bounds of the source literature rather than in the target.

These assumptions are strongly supported by Yahalom's research. Yahalom's hypothesis is that when the center of the system perpetuates a secondary repertoire in a period of change, non-canonized innovation is eventually engendered in the periphery.

Yahalom has studied the intricate case of English interference with French in the eighteenth century. She has demonstrated that it had taken some seventy years for the English models to eventually establish themselves—after a long chain of transmutations—in the center of French literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. (See Yahalom 1978, 1980, 1984.)

No. 9. An appropriated repertoire does not necessarily maintain source literature functions.

The hypothesis about the regularity of mutation of a function transferred from its original position within a system, as can be formulated on the basis of Tynjanov's work (especially Tynjanov 1929), is sufficiently supported by interference studies. Any item appropriated from a source may assume, in view of the superiority of the domestic constraints, a different function within the target.

If taken within a larger structure, any literature—which may have evolved as either a full-fledged or a partial polysystem—may acquire certain items of repertoire (or other elements of the system) long after these may have succeeded to institutionalize themselves in the first instance. From this point of view, the products generated in any target literature at a later stage than its first instance are in all probability of a secondary nature when compared with the primary ones in the

initiating system. This, however, is of no importance to either, since what counts is the position assumed by such items within the target, not their comparable items within whatever source. It is only when a situation of reciprocity occurs, even a minor one (e.g., through peripheral translations), that such a state of matters reveals itself. This is definite evidence for the system-dependent value of any items within a given literature.

This implies that a target literature frequently ignores the contemporary elements of a source literature and goes back to an earlier diachronic phase, often outdated from the point of view of the center of the *source* literature. But while in certain instances the direction of interference may be a single homogeneous line, at other instances various competing and non-congruent attempts may be carried out by different groups within the target literature. Contemporary features may thus be mixed with those of earlier phases. This clearly implies that the systemic position of particular items in the *source* is not necessarily of consequence to the *target*. This position in the source must then not be taken for granted when the problem of the possible status of the item in the target is discussed. If in a specific case this position is of relevance, this relevance must be strongly supported by defensible evidence.

At the present stage of interference theory it does not seem possible to conclude under what conditions a target literature would tend to use a repertoire outdated or novel in the source. Members of a minority group, often remote from the centers of innovation (generally capital cities), acquire their knowledge of a source literature in a more traditional way than their more centrally situated contemporaries. But the very opposite may sometimes be true, too. It would not therefore be justified to generalize on the basis of restricted cases. At least we must admit that no research has been carried out on a sufficiently large scale in a large number of literatures to allow us the luxury of venturing solidly supportable generalizations.

No. 10. Appropriation tends to be simplified, regularized, schematized.

It is relatively established that peripheral activities using a secondary repertoire tend to regularize patterns that are relatively variegated in a given source. By implication, "regularized" entities are also schematized and simplified. This may mean that while a certain item may have an intricate or plurivocal function within the source literature, its function within the target literature may be more univocal or restricted.

Translation studies give ample evidence of this generalization. (See for illustrations Even-Zohar 1971; Toury 1977, 1980; Ben-Ari 1988.)

Yet the opposite is also true, since a target literature may take simplified models and elaborate upon them, with products generated by them in a non-simplified, non-regularized, non-schematized context.

Obviously, simplified patterns of behavior are common, but we lack knowledge about the specific conditions which determine when they are preferred and when they are not.

Translation and Transfer

Our accumulated knowledge about translation indicates more and more that translational procedures between two systems (languages/literatures) are in principle analogous, even homologous, with transfers within the borders of the system. The hypothesis of analogy/homology has been formulated before, notably by Jakobson (1959), but no consequences have ever been drawn for translation theory. Shall we go on ignoring this hypothesis or would it not be wiser to acknowledge the implicit practice whereby translation is discussed in terms of transfer and vice versa? In other words, would it not be profitable to think and work explicitly rather than implicitly in terms of a *transfer* theory? If so, where will inter-systemic translation be located, and with what consequences?

Sooner or later, I believe, it will turn out to be uneconomical to deal with transfer and translation separately. When, for instance, we maintain in translation theory that under certain circumstances secondary models are more likely to be operating because translated literature occupies a peripheral position (in the literary polysystem) and more often than not peripheries use secondary models, we have already transcended all question of "translation" proper to deal with potentialities of inter-systemic transfer. If we are fond of terminological games, we could then easily say that secondarization is obviously involved with *translational* procedures while, on the other hand, translation often involves secondarization. Rhetorical niceties aside, such

a formulation, however illuminating, is not very satisfactory. This is not because it does not point at any valid hypotheses but because a complex process, whereby certain features (or procedures) occur *inter*dependently and *simultaneously,* is thus presented as two discrete phenomena belonging, as it were, to two different spheres.

The lack of an explicitly formulated transfer theory thus creates the following results: (a) One body of phenomena homologous with another is dealt with as an object of study while the other is not recognized as such and therefore is taken casually, as if belonging to an altogether different semiotic set; (b) general procedures, valid in various co-systems, are conceived of as particular, that is, pertaining only to an officially recognized body. This not only implies exaggerated perspectives but hinders the discovery of what—once general procedures have been illuminated—the *particular* procedures really are.

On the other hand, there is always the danger that by making generalizations too gross, and if a transfer theory is to fully replace translation theory, the relatively solid body of questions already in existence will be lost. Maybe it would be better then to stick to our reduced theory, knowing it is not adequate; the alternative might be worse. Yet I am convinced that at our present stage in translation theory, we simply do not have much choice. If, that is, we wish to proceed with what has already been accepted as "new directions" in translation studies, where questions of transfer are dealt with in practice as inseparable from questions of translation.[1]

Some people would take this as a proposal to liquidate translation studies. I think the implication is quite the opposite: through a larger context, it will become even clearer that "translation" is not a marginal procedure of cultural systems. Secondly, the larger context will help us identify the really particular in translation. Thirdly, it will change our conception of the translated text in such a way that we may perhaps be liberated from certain postulated criteria. And fourthly, it may help us isolate what "translational procedures" consist of.

Let me now discuss in some detail the third and the fourth points. Our practice with products of translation has been rather selective, and, ultimately, inconsistent from a theoretical point of view. For the sake of a neat theory, we accepted, on the one hand, the fact that translation involves reformulation of a source utterance by means of a tar-

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1. These "new directions" (expressed and described, i.a., in Holmes et al. 1978; Even-Zohar and Toury 1981; Hermans 1985) involve accepting polysystemic stratification as relevant to translational behavior, its implications for the relations between general and translational repertoires, the priority of the Target Literature's state-of-system as constraint on translational behavior to the Source Literature's state-of-system. In short, major hypotheses that have won some support among a relatively large group of students of translation.

get utterance. Thus, the process of decomposition and re-composition was admitted to be of translational nature. On the other hand, however, when the result of this relationship did not conform with pre-postulated norms formulated by the culture concerned (and accepted on an abstract level by translation theory as a criterion of selection), the product of this relationship was considered not translation but something else—"adaptation," "imitation"—and pushed outside the realm of translation theory. As a result, there accumulated such a heap of "non-translations" that if we had bothered to make some raw statistics, we would have discovered that most products of inter-lingual transfer are considered out of bounds for translation theory. Although this had been, admittedly, a way to elaborate some solid fundamental concepts for discussing translation, such a position can no longer be held. This is because it isolates translated texts from too many other kinds of texts, rather than putting the former in the context of the latter.

If then we recognize all products of inter-lingual transfer as relevant to translation, two inferences follow:

(1) The problem of translatability must be reformulated. It is of no great value to "discover" that it is always of a lower probability that a translated utterance be identical with its original. A more adequate question seems rather to be *under what circumstances,* and in what particular way, a target utterance/text b relates (or is relatable) to a source utterance/text a.

(2) Since translational procedures produce certain products in a Target system, and since these are hypothesized to be involved with transfer processes (and procedures) in general, there is no reason to confine translational relations only to actualized texts. Competenced texts, that is *models,* are clearly a major factor in translation as they are in the system at large. By failing to realize this, translation theories (like most theories of literature in general) have been prevented from observing—just to take one instance—the intricate process whereby a particular text is translated in accordance with those target system models domesticated by model appropriation, and carried out by procedures of translational nature. So far, only actual text translations have been admitted as a legitimate source for theoretical induction, while the whole intricate problem of system interference, through which items of repertoire (including, naturally, models) are transplanted from one system to another, has been ignored. From the point of view of polysystem theory, or the general transfer theory called for, it does not make sense to regard penetration of a system A into a system B as "influence," while regarding the reformulation of texts belonging to the same system A by system B as "translation."

Let us now go back to the fourth point, i.e., to the question "What do translational procedures mean?"

As odd as it may seem, the notion of translationality is none too clear in translation theory. Much effort has been taken to describe the respective possibilities and preferences in inter-lingual translation. But even the most minute analysis of these could never explain the actual behavior of translation under various circumstances. For instance, when a certain function in system *A* happens to be lacking in system *B*, one can explain why it does not show in the language-*B* text when it is a target text. But when, in spite of its existence in the target system, it does not show in the target text, or, in spite of its *non*-existence, it *does* show (as a result of interference), one then has no explanation to offer. No doubt, a contrastive analysis *per se*, especially if it is carried out on the level of language only, does not explain more than what options there might be in translation on the level of ready-made lingual operation (choices and decisions). But if one wants to discover what *constraints* might have produced a certain behavior/product, it is necessary to discover the hierarchical relations between the various factors, as well as to recognize that under certain circumstances constraints may operate not only in selecting from among established options, but in producing options which did *not* exist before. It is only when systems are conceived of as homogeneous, static, and closed that such an understanding is not achieved.

What do we know then of constraints hierarchy, and which factors may function as such? Do we agree at all on the concept of constraint to begin with? For instance, is language structure to be taken as a constraint, or would it be more economical from the point of view of theory to consider only those factors which operate when various options are available?

Whatever the answer to these questions may be, one thing seems clear, namely that it has not been proved that the so-called "lower levels" of a target system are stronger constraints than "upper levels." Thus, standardized word order, a lingual model, is not necessarily stronger than, say, a model of replique in a novel, if certain features neutralize the "standard" word order and impose different rules. In the literary text (but not only there) literary functions may neutralize standardized lingual functions and replace them with non-standardized ones, if there is no rejection mechanism to prevent it. Such phenomena can no longer be dismissed as "abuse" of language or "misbehavior": they are there, and they may even constitute the central processing principle of a certain type of texts. As a result, "language" may have changed under pressure of such phenomena, rather than vice versa. When one observes the multitude of cases where no explanation is available on the basis of either "low" or "local" decision factors, one must admit that global models, whether explicitly

formulated or implicitly built-in, are probably stronger constraints on translational behavior, and hence more adequate explanations for the target text features.

How then can translational procedures be conceived of? Is "translational" to be understood just as the principle of transfer, the behavior and the result of which are determined by the *relations* between source and target, that is not "by itself"? If so, does it mean that with the exception of this principle, all the rest of translation theory is merely patched together from interference theory, contrastive linguistics, or semiotics, etc.?

I can think of two answers to these questions.

First, the fact that most of the hypotheses of translation theory are borrowed from other branches, such as interference theory, or contrastive poetics (if there is such a discipline), does not mean that we accept what we have long rejected, that is, that there is no autonomous discipline of translation studies. The eclectic character of many of the particular translation theories resulted not from that fact, but from the fact that the various hypotheses were not subjugated to any hypothesis about the principle of translation. Hence, one could not make any conjectures about any of the functions involved. But once translation is conceived of as a specific systemic principle, that is, a parameter of systemic manipulation—or processing—the conglomerate of disciplines becomes a separate discipline.

Secondly, translationality is not only a principle of processing, the results of which are determined by the semiotic constraints operating on the systemic/inter-systemic level. It is also a general process, the results of which are produced by its own nature. In a previous work (Even-Zohar 1971) I maintained that we can observe in translation patterns which are inexplicable in terms of any of the repertoires involved. It is the very activity of *translating* which directs any individual to make certain decisions. This activity must therefore be recognized as a fundamental constraint of systemic nature, an integral factor of transfer. In transfer theory, this principle will then be taken as the basic procedure which (due to the decomposition/re-composition unavoidably involved with it) processes the utterances/texts so that they behave differently from the source. Of course, this procedure is needed to explain the most basic processing principle for a target. The specifics of that processing are hypothesized to be determined by the hierarchy of the semiotic constraints, the strongest being those portions of repertoire promoted by the governing relations within the target polysystem.

In view of what has been suggested above, a tentative comprehensive law of translation can be proposed:

In a target system _B_, either within the same polysystem or in a different polysystem—depending on whether it is stable or in crisis, and whether it is strong or weak, vis-à-vis a source system _A_—a target text _b_ will be produced according to transfer procedures plus the constraints imposed upon them by the intra-target-polysystem relations, both governing and governed by the target-polysystem repertoire of existing and non-existing functions.²

2. For a discussion of the opposition weak-strong see "Laws of Literary Interference" and "Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems." An example of the possible law governing the relations between the weak-strong opposition and the existence vs. non-existence of repertoire may be the following: if a target polysystem is weak vis-à-vis a source polysystem, then non-existent functions may be domesticated, thus making a higher relatability (between Target and Source) possible, on condition that the position of the translated system within the target polysystem is central.

Interference in
Dependent Literary Polysystems

In "Laws of Literary Interference" (above) I suggested distinguishing between relatively *independent* and *dependent* literary systems. In the first instance, literatures develop more or less within their own spheres. Such has been the case of English or French literature during the last one hundred and fifty years. In the second case, a literature can be dependent upon another literature to a relatively large extent, and may use it as if it were part of itself. While for an independent literature (or for one or another individual in one or another particular situation), an alien literature may be of only secondary or temporary importance for a dependent one, it becomes a condition for its very existence over some longer period of time. This has been the case with most emerging European literatures in the Middle Ages vis-à-vis Latin, or with most literatures of new or re-emerging nations since the eighteenth century (Flemish [i.e., in Belgium] vs. French, Norwegian vs. Danish, Czech vs. German, or Ukrainian vs. Russian).

Most of the following chapters are dedicated to processes governing *dependent* literatures, with the case of Hebrew figuring prominently. Interference has dominated the Hebrew polysystem since antiquity, and for certain periods of its existence has truly become a *sine qua non* for its persistent vitality. Akkadian, Aramaic, and possibly Greek were succeeded by Arabic during the tenth century (Drory 1988), and by French, Italian, German, and Slavic languages in later centuries. It

therefore seems not out of place to make an attempt towards formulating some of the particular features that may be observed in interference of this type. This may help locate the somewhat particularistic and detailed discussion of the Hebrew-Yiddish-Russian case in a more general framework.

The main condition for a literature to become dependent is that it should be *weak*. This does not necessarily result from political or economic weakness, although rather often it seems to be correlated with material conditions which enable interference through pressure (such as subjugation) or otherwise (such as majority-minority or vicinity relations). Unless a community is cruelly forced to assimilate, if no cultural conditions arise to promote a "weak" situation, hardly any dependency ensues, even in cases of pressure. If we look at the history of conquests, we can hardly find a case where political power alone, as a sole factor, caused cultural interference between systems. The Germanic tribes which conquered *Romania* (Italy, France, Spain) adopted the Romanic vernaculars and the culture of the conquered peoples rather than vice versa, because their system definitely fell into a weak position vis-à-vis the systems of those countries they occupied. On the other hand, the Celts in Gaul had adopted Latin culture in earlier times not because they were forced to, but because it was a "stronger" culture than theirs, i.e., it could offer functions non-existent (or little developed) in their own culture. In the long run, however, Latin did *not* totally replace the local language and culture, but rather *interfered* with it so heavily that the result was a merged system. Similarly, "French" (both language and culture) developed under interference with the Germanic element. Neither Latin, however, nor the eventually merged system ever gained ground in peripheral regions (notably Brittany [Bretagne], still overwhelmingly Gaelic). Other striking parallel cases are those of Arabic and Persian. While it is true that Persian heavily borrowed Arabic lexemes and integrated them into its own system (not to speak of the Arabic alphabet),[1] Arab letters during the Abasside time heavily appropriated the Persian literary (as well as general cultural) repertoire. Both systems (Persian language and Arab letters) were restructured through these interferences. This ensued because both became mutually "weak": having adopted Islam, the Persians would not resist its language. Arabic literature, on the other hand, was confronted with a system that had much to offer just when its own old norms were in the process of breaking down, while its own domestic repertoires had no appealing alternative(s) to offer.

It is then the weakness of the literary repertoire vis-à-vis a situation

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1. In previous periods of its history, Persian had used a number of other writing systems.

with which it cannot cope that mostly determines whether an alien system may be accessed or not. In a weak situation, a system is unable to function by confining itself to its home repertoire only. In acute cases this repertoire is practically blocked and made unusable, which often leaves an option either to desert the system or to go on using it through some available *external* system.

Insufficiency of resources may mean either literally lack of resources (in the case of young emerging cultures, which have not yet had time to develop their repertoire) or blockage of resources (in systems with a sometimes rather rich repertoire) by various factors operating in the system. Naturally, insufficiency (or sufficiency) is a relative state: it is only when a system is confronted with another one, while certain conditions have concurrently arisen within it, that it may develop a weak behavior. There is no numerical value assignable to insufficiency, and therefore no universal rate for it. However, it seems possible to determine a general principle, a parameter, of insufficiency. This can be based on the notion of system optimum, suggested above ("Polysystem Theory") as an indispensable implication of the polysystem hypothesis. The concept of optimum is a hypothesis about the optimal (1) polysystemic structure (i.e., sets of hierarchical relations) as well as the optimal structure of (2) the repertoire(s) considered necessary for those mechanisms of production and consumption without which a system cannot function.

When faced with a state in which this optimum can no longer be maintained, and depending on the power of pressures exerted, systems employ a large gamut of solutions. In many acute cases, the insufficiency of the system in question may push it towards adopting other systems, thus creating bi- or even multi-lingual polysystems. The frequency of such solutions is clear evidence of their power to prevent disintegration of the system. Normally such structures are deserted once it becomes possible. This happens not because amalgamations (or symbiosa) cannot sustain themselves (our data demonstrate that they can do so very successfully for long periods of time), but because uni-lingual systems (where "uni" is a relative concept) are probably easier to maintain, and because their repertoire is more accessible to a larger number of the members of the community concerned. Rising nationalism since the eighteenth century has encouraged rejection of alien systems while democratization processes have enlarged the social range of high culture consumers, thus making lingual diversity undesirable. (Unless, of course, there is no agreement about the kind of nationalism through which the collective sense of identity can be expressed. In such cases, diversity will not be neutralized, but rather maintained and encouraged. For a short discussion of this issue see Even-Zohar 1986a.)

In less acute cases, a system, while prepared to employ another system, does not directly adopt the latter, but uses it through transfer. Thus it may innovate its own repertoire by imposing the other system functions on its own carriers. Obviously, in various stages of weakness, various degrees of interference are actualized, with possible alternations between them. Moreover, all solutions may be mobilized concurrently, that is adopting external systems both directly and indirectly, though not necessarily on the same level. For instance, a polysystem may consist of lingually different systems, while the repertoire of each (or just of one) may mostly employ transfer procedures rather than direct loans. The Russian polysystem of the 1800s, to take one possible case, concurrently adopted French (language, literature, and culture) as one of its systems and also replaced its solutions—on a variety of levels—with Russian innovations. It thus managed to maintain a systemic optimum through both direct and indirect uses of French. Of course, the richer the system, the more accessible the possibilities of *disguising* appropriations. On the other hand, conspicuous appropriation is sometimes required by a system in crisis situations where innovation must be blatant rather than concealed.

The Hebrew case, discussed in most of the following chapters, is an interesting case for all these processes. During its long history, Hebrew shifted centers with the decline of old centers for the communities which carried it. In the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it gradually moved from Italy and Holland to Austria and Germany, then to the territories of the Russian empire, where it stayed until the mass emigration from Russia and the decline of Hebrew culture in the USSR, finally reaching Palestine. In Russia, the Jewish intelligentsia gradually became acquainted with Russian culture. Very soon, Hebrew literature developed dependency relations with Russian, thus using it as its immediate repertoire for innovations. This relationship has had a long history of alternations. What seems most valuable in these is the strikingly "reverse" situation, which almost looks like a paradox. When Hebrew letters existed on Slavic soil, overt and direct appropriations were rejected in favor of subtler and indirect, often highly disguised, transfer devices. On the other hand, away from Russia, in British Palestine, a new generation which hardly knew Russian was prepared to embrace quite far-reaching appropriations, whose Russian nature was obvious and blatant. This seems to be clear evidence of the priority of systemic establishedness over changing conditions in "reality." We may probably draw the conclusion that as long as the home repertoire does not manage to offer alternatives while conditions for continuous contact are not eliminated, all other factors may be neutralized. Successful appropriations may function for quite a long time in spite of their for-

eign character in the systems outside of literature. Israelis who knew no Russian adopted in the 1940s Russian (or rather russified) models without hesitation, as have much later followers in the 1950s and even today. And even those areas where the russified repertoire has been pushed out of the center, it has still been perpetuated on its various peripheries (for instance, political verse, popular and children's poetry, nursery rhymes).

Alongside its dependency upon Russian, Hebrew literature maintained a long symbiotic relation with Yiddish (which eventually disintegrated towards World War I). For centuries, the Yiddish system functioned as the non-canonized system of Hebrew, thus enabling Hebrew to maintain both a polysystem and a periodically revitalized repertoire. Towards World War I, this polysystem fell apart. The center of Hebrew moved to Palestine, where Hebrew also became the spoken language of the community, gradually reaching self-sufficiency on certain levels. Yiddish maintained itself for a while in Eastern Europe and the United States, but was gradually replaced by the local languages in these countries and cruelly annihilated by the Holocaust and postwar atrocities (such as the elimination of the Yiddish top intelligentsia by Stalin in 1948). The centuries-long relation has thus been dissolved, but the role of Yiddish, as well as of Russian, in the making of modern Hebrew culture is still visible in the current situation, when the dependency relation no longer prevails.[2]

2. For a detailed discussion of all the specific issues mentioned see the chapters which follow.

System, Dynamics, and Interference in Culture: A Synoptic View

1. System

1.1. Network of relations which can be hypothesized for an aggregate of factors assumed to be involved with a socio-cultural activity, and consequently that activity itself observed via that network. Or, alternatively, the complex of activities, or any section thereof, for which systemic relations can be hypothesized.

1.2. The idea that any socio-cultural activity consists of such a network, i.e., that it can more adequately be analyzed, as a historical phenomenon, if conceived of as a system, emerged in the context of the development of the system idea in linguistics. By analogy to the latter, the purpose of the concept is to replace the search for data about material aspects of phenomena by discovering the functions of these aspects. Thus, instead of a conglomerate of material phenomena, the functional elements hypothesized by the system approach are considered as interdependent and correlated. The specific role of each element is determined by its relational positions vis-à-vis all other (hypothesized) elements.

1.2.1. This approach allows for greater economy in analysis in that it replaces a large number of categories of classificatory nature by a small number of parameters which can be viewed as governing rules. This can be considered a step towards accomplishing what has always been believed to be the goal of any scientific endeavor, namely the detection of those relatively few laws that govern the great

diversity and complexity of phenomena, both observable and non-observable. Naturally, the very status of "phenomena" has to be viewed in a different way, since it now becomes theory-dependent. The "borders," "size," or even "existence" of "a system" cannot be given in advance but becomes an issue of what is assumed to be, within a specific context, the most relevantly operating relations. Therefore, the study of any acknowledged or non-acknowledged activity is not confined just to the accepted or well-established "functions" attributed to it, but also can—or has to—hypothesize functions whose "existence" is yet either "unknown," barely "guessed," "unaccepted," or "unacceptable." Thus what may be viewed as "an activity" in the system approach need not (and often does not) overlap any prevailing notions within that activity itself, mostly expressed and vehicled by a variety of more or less institutionalized agents.

1.3. Whatever their type may be, functions are never equal. Depending on the specific activity (or any section thereof) at a given time, some functions are stronger in the sense that their contribution is assumed to be more indispensable ("important," "crucial," etc.) and are consequently considered to be more dominant than others. This implies that some are more acceptable (and hence usable) to, or compelling for, the people engaged in production, consumption, and evaluation. Stratification resulting from evaluative procedures is thus a built-in factor of the system. Consequently, although all items of repertoire strive in principle to be accepted and become generative (that is, serve as models for generating a large number of actual products), only a relatively small section acquires this position and becomes canonized ("official," "high," "legitimate"). As such, this section assumes the center of a given activity, where it is often identified by the establishment of that activity as the only "activity proper" ("only way of conducting politics," "correct language," "true literature," etc.). Meanwhile, the periphery, which may be in various degrees of institutionalization as non- or anti-establishment, attempts to replace those functions dominating the center (and succeeds, if conditions of dynamics [see infra] allow). Thus, the making of canonized products, i.e., both producing and propagating them, involves struggles between competing options. This struggle does not actually take place between the finalized individual *products* that are put on the market, but is already conducted on the level of *potential options,* i.e., models. Naturally, it is through concrete *products* that old models strive to persevere while new ones strive to be accepted, replace the old and become generative. It is only when we observe the relatively few survivors of such struggles that the model-product relationship is no longer transparent (or obvious), while it becomes so in the case when larger portions of the factors involved with production are taken into account.

1.4. Socio-cultural stratification implies the idea that heterogeneity cannot adequately be replaced by homogeneity. It is here that the

history of modern system thinking, partly known under the label of Structuralism (and sometimes Functionalism, which seems to suit it better), bifurcates. In linguistics, where these notions have been proposed in the first place, the Geneva School, on the one hand, has excluded "the dimension of time" in order to conceive of language as "a pure system," whose functions are neatly an issue of a network of relations made homogeneous. Clearly, for Saussure and his disciples, this strong reduction has been helpful in making tenable hypotheses about the question of how language functions "in principle." The emerging science of literature, and subsequently semiotics, on the other hand, moved quickly from the question of "how an activity functions in principle" to the question of "how it functions in principle as well as in time." In other words, a less abstract theoretical model, and a closer descriptive one, was postulated. (Perhaps the main reason for this development was that "minimal units" for semiosis could not be hypothesized with the same relative neatness achieved for language.) Not only did the desire, on the theoretical level, to preserve the idea of systemicity and structuredness not seem to clash with the recognition of heterogeneity (as systemic), but the latter has turned out to provide a useful explanation for change (which could not be integrated into the homogeneous system approach).

1.5. The system concept had, however, to undergo several modifications in order to accommodate the conception of *stratified heterogeneity*. Firstly, it became necessary to recognize that both synchrony and diachrony should be admitted as systemic dimensions, and therefore that the idea of system need not be exclusively identified with static synchrony (but could be viewed as dynamic polychrony). Secondly, it was necessary to recognize that the idea of system does not imply that there can be observed/hypothesized for any number of phenomena just *one* system, i.e., one network of relations. To speak of an activity, be it language, literature, culture, or "history" in general, as single systems is a heuristic simplification rather than an adequate theory. However, since such simplifications tend in the course of time to assume general theoretical relevance, it was felt necessary, already at an early stage of the development of system thinking, to take a clear stand against them. Such a stand was indeed taken by Jurij Tynjanov, the founder of system (function) thinking in the theory of literature (1929), by Roman Jakobson in linguistics (in the Prague School Theses [*Thèses* 1928] and other works, notably 1929 and 1934), as well as by both of them together (Tynjanov and Jakobson 1928; English 1975, rpt. with additional material in *Poetics Today* 1980, 2(1a): 29–31).

Following Tynjanov and Jakobson's approach, socio-cultural systems may be conceived of as "systems of systems" rather than single systems. This approach, only in part adopted by Prague Structural-

ism (for functional styles, language varieties, interference, and fusion
[*Sprachinterferenz, Sprachverschmeltzung*]), was, however, to a great ex-
tent neglected in literary studies and linguistics after 1930, when it had
enjoyed a short but intense (if not always theoretically self-conscious)
use, not only in the work of Tynjanov himself, but of many other
theoreticians. Nor has it gained any ground in the parallel endeavors
carried out by students of culture (anthropologists and sociologists of
whatever school). It seems to have been picked up, as if from the point
when it was laid down, by the present writer, who has been work-
ing since 1970 on renewing and further elaborating this conception,
for which he suggested the term *polysystem*. The polysystem, i.e., the
"system of systems," is viewed in polysystem theory as a multiply strati-
fied whole where the relations between center and periphery are a
series of oppositions. This actually allows for hypothesizing more than
one "center," although in many historical cases, centers are stratified
in such a way that chiefly one eventually succeeds in dominating the
whole.

The conditions under which such a domination takes place vary in
time. Depending on the relations within a polysystem and with other
systems of the culture, it is either an old-and-established repertoire
or an innovative one that is utilized by the center. The production,
domination, and change of repertoire are thus mainly constrained by
factors of the semi-autonomous dynamics of the particular system in
correlation with the socio-cultural dynamics in general. (See infra, 2.)

Polysystem theory, continuing the system thinking initiated in Rus-
sia and Prague, thus makes explicit the Tynjanovian idea of heteron-
omy versus (partial) autonomy of systems. It makes it possible to
deal with the idea of "connections" for both "positive" and "negative"
("*dis*connected") relations, while the single system approach imposed
the view of total connectedness and mutual "motivation" (which often
tended to be transferred by many theoreticians back to the organis-
tic ideas about both product and the entire activity). Thus, canonicity
is conceived of as a bundle of relations rather than a simple opposi-
tion. This allows the recognition of states of oscillations under shifts
as perfectly "systemic" rather than "violations of the system." (Oscil-
lations are discussed by Lotman under the concept of "ambivalence,"
introduced into polysystem theory by Shavit 1980 and Yahalom 1980.)
Intra-systemic processes (transfer of items of repertoire between cen-
ter and periphery involved with position shifts), the role of inter-
ference between various activities, and the channels and procedures
through which it occurs seem to be more adequately discussible and
perhaps accounted for in the polysystem approach. Moreover, whole
sections of production not only have become integrable into the study
of any sort of institutionalized activity, but have made transparent
various seemingly unrelated phenomena in that activity.

1.5.1. The possibilities offered by the (poly)system approach do not seem to have been accepted by large sections of contemporary scholars, especially in literary studies. Because of the static view of Structuralism, popularized by the 1960s French School of Structuralism (which is widely believed to have continued the work of Russian Formalism, but in fact has followed the ideas of the Geneva School), disappointment has led to criticism against "structuralism" as such and the functional approach as a whole, thus having given rise to various so-called "post-structuralist" attempts, which often ignored the existence of the dynamic brand of the functional-structural approach and what it implied for a historical and far from a rigidly schematic view of a given activity. As a result, many ideas and criticisms recently suggested as non-conformist views (including rather advanced programs by Schmidt) had actually been discussed and elaborated before, in what often seems to be a far more advanced way. Offering relativistically correlational concepts which allow for multiplicity, complexity, and heterogeneity not by giving up research, but by making it possible, the dynamic systemic approach does not seem to have been superseded by any other, although it has not yet become a leading paradigm.

2. Dynamics

2.1. The aggregate of change factors operating in a system. Since the system is dominated by its center, and the latter's main interest is to maintain itself over time, change will be introduced or allowed into the center to the extent that it can provide such domination. Thus, whenever domination is available by perpetuation (i.e., by non-change), the extent of change will be minimal to nil. On the other hand, whenever non-change would mean loss of domination, change will become the leading principle for the system. In either case, it is the general norms of the culture that make change desirable or undesirable. Therefore, change factors in any particular activity cannot be dealt with as separated from change factors in culture ("society") in general.

2.2. Various pre-functionalist doctrines (as different and distinct from each other as *Geistesgeschichte,* Hermeneutics, or Marxism) have assumed a unilateral and univalent subordination of a given activity to either "social," "spiritual," or "economic" forces in society. Contrariwise, Dynamic Functionalism, whose foundations have been laid down by Russian Formalism (for literature, and by analogy and implication other socio-cultural section), hypothesized any cultural activity as a "social force" and suggested conceiving of it as both an autonomous and a heteronomous system among a series of (semiotically) correlated systems operating in the "system-of-systems" of society (Tynjanov 1929; Tynjanov and Jakobson 1928). Therefore, whatever the social/cultural polysystemic factors might be, their possible function in cultural dynamics is one which is manifested/actualized through conversion (transformation). This conversion is carried out with the means available to, and conditioned by, the given cultural system.

Thus, while the need for change, its rate and tempo, may depend on the social/cultural norms (converted by the particular activity), its manifestation/actualization is determined by the specific intra-activity conditions.

However, since any socio-cultural activity is thus conceived of as an integral part of the totality of culture, it can, in the process of conversion, internalize certain norms, which subsequently become domestic factors. Moreover, these may lose contact with the circumstances of their emergence and eventually become incompatible with norms that might have crystallized with time in the culture. The principle of domination by innovation, popularly believed to be an inherent feature of such activities as literature, is relatively recent, as it was introduced by the Romantic Age in correlation with the changing *socio-cultural* norms of the time. Since it then became apparent that, in any field of social activity, one could gain power and control (position, influence, income) by offering novelties rather than by demonstrating proficiency in mastering a time-honored repertoire, literature managed to be among the very first semiotic activities not only to conform to the new ideology, but to participate in its very formulation and propagation.

2.3. It is against the background of the establishedness of the norm of change that one can understand why change was taken for granted in the twentieth century's historical poetics. Thus, Shklovskij postulated that means wear out as a result of repetitious usage and undergo automatization. As this makes them no longer efficient from the point of view of their desired function, de-automatization must follow, which is unavoidably carried out by innovation and subsequent change. Since de-automatization was suggested as the basic feature of such an activity as literature "as such," change was taken to be a built-in principle, one which enables literature to achieve its basic goals.

2.3.1. This theory of dynamics made it possible to discuss literary change exclusively in terms of intra-literary factors. It has forced, however, its adherents to hypothesize (functional) relations between canonized and non-canonized activities. Such a hypothesis was needed if one did not want to account for all innovations in a socio-cultural system with the help of the concept of sheer invention (the writer's/scientist's/thinker's/artist's inspiration, or inventive mind). Thus, Shklovskij and others (notably Vinogradov 1921) suggested that novelties are introduced into the canonized activity from the periphery, occupied by non-canonized behavior (products included). Nevertheless, from the point of view of the new theory then suggested, this was inconsistent with the de-automatization principle, since non-canonized products were by definition repetitive and "automatized." Their capacity to be accepted as "novel" derived from the fact that they had been pushed out of the center long enough for their models to have been forgotten. This incompatibility with the de-automatization hypothesis can be resolved either by rejecting this hypothesis or by confining it to canonized literature only. If confined to can-

onized literature, its pretended universal validity will be refuted by the periods in literary history when the center used to be that section of this activity where perpetuation of established (secondary) repertoremes (items of repertoire) was the rule. (Cf. Yahalom 1980.) If rejected altogether, some theories will have to look elsewhere for the sought-after distinctive features of "literature."

2.4. One way or another, admitting heterogeneity for the literary system has made the functional brand of historical poetics completely different from Geneva Structuralism. Heterogeneity, even in the Shklovskian formulation, let alone in the more developed views forwarded by Tynjanov, has become a *sine qua non* for the possibility of literary dynamics. In the framework of the de-automatization theory, heterogeneity was the condition without which innovation and change could not possibly materialize. In the framework of general functionalist theory, on the other hand, such as emerged in later years through the work of Tynjanov, Jakobson, Vodička, and more recent followers (chiefly Even-Zohar and the so-called Tel Aviv Group of Historical Poetics and Cultural Science), literature has been postulated to behave as a polysystem, that is a heterogeneous, multi-stratified, and functionally structur(at)ed system-of-systems. In analogy to language, and any other socio-cultural system, literary change has been hypothesized to be a built-in mechanism. This, however, does not result from some specific goal it is assumed to achieve, but from the unavoidable competition generated by the state of heterogeneity.

2.5. As indicated above, however, change in the polysystem should not be confused with change as a dominant factor of literary dynamics. While change is no longer conceived of as an "on-and-off" occurrence by the stratificational theory (advocated by the named [poly]systemic approach), it enables distinguishing between the permanent nature of change and the fact that only under certain conditions is it allowed to manifest itself in the canonized section(s) of a given activity.

It has been suggested that when such conditions fail to prevail in the long run, a socio-cultural activity is likely to collapse, i.e., be abandoned by its practitioners (the group/community maintaining it). This is true only when the socio-cultural conditions have changed beyond a certain level without implications in the given activity. Unfortunately, the precise constitution of that "level" cannot yet be formulated in general terms. Yet long before collapse there are likely to occur processes such as the pushing of the given activity to the periphery of the overall polysystem of culture. But there may well prevail, on the other hand, such socio-cultural conditions which make it possible for an activity to perpetuate the same repertoire of items for an almost endless number of generations. Although the cases when collapse (either fully or partly) occurs are more abundant and conspicuous than the cases of perseverance-with-no-change, the non-occurrence of change as a

dominant factor of dynamics cannot be hypothesized, without quali-
fications, to be a cause of collapse. (Latin, Byzantine Greek, Arabic,
and Church Slavonic are cases of abandonment; Chinese is a case of
perseverance.)

2.6. The repertoire with whose help change in the center is likely to be
carried out fully depends on the state of the system. This applies also
to the availability of items which are likely to be used, beyond the pos-
sibilities of "invention." Thus, whether non-canonized elements will
be adopted, or their employment will be blocked, depends on such
parameters as the nature of stratification (whether it is "developed"
or not), the age of the system (whether it is "young" or "old"/"estab-
lished"), as well as the volume ("richness") of the repertoire available.
Thus, when the use of the home repertoire is blocked by some of the
factors mentioned above (and others), it is interference with another
activity, either within the same culture or in a different one, that be-
comes the major means for supplying the needs of change. Moreover,
interference can become not only a supplier of items for the actualiza-
tion of change, but a factor of change in the first place. Very often, it
is the presence (and hence the potential availability) of a different set
of options that becomes a generator of change, though not necessarily
(or not necessarily immediately) as a dominant factor. It may, however,
become a powerful alternative or accelerator, by contributing to the
enlargement of heterogeneity. The correlations between the opposing
options of use of vs. disregard for interference may then range be-
tween complete unilateral active appropriation/adoption (by a target
of a source activity), on the one hand, and the (gradual) penetration of
changes (usually from the periphery to the center) under the pressure
of the enlarged heterogeneity (which often is accompanied by gen-
eral social pressures). However, whatever items are adopted, and from
whatever source, to replace established perpetuated items of reper-
toire, their function hardly ever remains the same as in the source.
Such a process, as any inter-systemic process, is involved with clear
conversions: non-domestic items are domesticated, secondary ones are
made primary, and so on.

   It is mainly due to this conversional nature of cultural repertoremes
(items of repertoire) that dynamics cannot be considered just "another
aspect" of any given activity, but must be considered a built-in factor
of that activity.

3. Interference

3.1. A relation(ship) between systems, whereby a certain system *A*
(Source system) may become a source for direct/indirect loans for

another system B (Target system). Interference normally occurs when a target system does not possess a sufficient repertoire for newly needed functions, or is prevented from using an extant, even a variegated, repertoire because of the latter's inadequacy (to fulfill the said functions). The need for these functions is generated by the conditions prevailing in the given polysystem, which are correlated with the overall polysystem of culture. Interference tends to be stronger when systems are either in a state of emergence (that is are "new"/"newly born"/"newly established"/"young") or at turning points in their history. Thus, whenever in need of innovation and unable to use its own (extant or non-extant) repertoire(s) to that end, a system tends to make use of whatever repertoire is within reach. Accessibility (for a would-be target system) is therefore a condition for a system to become a source system. Though accessibility may result from physical (co-territorial) contacts, such as domination, pressure, and/or prestige, it is nevertheless ultimately determined by the cultural promptness ("openness"/ "readiness") of the target system to consider a potential source "available." (A distinction is thus made between "accessibility," i.e., the possibility of getting hold of a source, and "availability," i.e., the legitimacy of implementing what the state of accessibility can offer.)

3.2. Interference is actualized through transfer procedures. They may be either direct or indirect. When direct, items from a source system repertoire are transferred (transplanted) to a target system repertoire as ready-made combinations of means and functions. When indirect, transfer takes place via domestication (domestication procedures), that is, by imposing source system functions on target system extant (home) means/carriers.

3.3. The conditions which determine the rate of direct vs. indirect transfers depend on the specific state of the target polysystem and the extent to which its needs are unprovidable by the home repertoire. In the longer run, however, transfer(s) may be either a "success" or a "failure." In the first case, transferred items manage to be fully absorbed by the target system, while in the latter they are immediately or subsequently rejected. Rejection mechanisms are thus built-in functions of systems.

3.4. The channels of interference are often undetectable if the heterogeneity hypothesis is not used. Shklovskij had earlier pointed out the possibility that items may wander from peripheral to central strata of literature. Interference may thus occur first in peripheral sections of a given activity before it is ever manifest in its center. For comparable reasons, translated (and transplanted) products may constitute the initial channel for interference, depending on the particular position the

transplanting activity assumes in the culture. (This is true of literary translation as well as of industrial activities working to transplant foreign repertoire. Cf. Yahalom 1978, 1980, 1984.)

3.5. The active role a target system plays in interference makes it clear that (a) the position and role of the source system repertoire in the source system itself are in principle irrelevant for the target system (source system-employable items may thus be transferred regardless of their perceived position in the source system); and (b) the function of the (directly or indirectly) transferred items in the source system is irrelevant for the target system, as long as they are employable for target system functions. Thus, transfers often involve functional shifts.

Polysystem Studies

Russian and Hebrew:
The Case of a Dependent Polysystem

1. Slavic-Jewish Contacts between the Middle Ages and the Nineteenth Century; 2. Russian and Hebrew since the Nineteenth Century: Patterns of Interference; 3. Russian and Hebrew since the Nineteenth Century: Periods of Interference.

1. Slavic-Jewish Contacts between the Middle Ages and the Nineteenth Century

The history of contacts between Slavs and Jews is old and long. In West Slavic territories, particularly Bohemia, the Jews of the late Middle Ages—probably engaged in selling Slavs as slaves (a verbal tautology at that time)—used to write West Slavic in Hebrew letters. This was a language they adopted under the name "The language of Canaan," where "Canaan," as in the Bible, stood for "slave," identified with "sclavus"/"Slav" (Jakobson and Halle 1964). In Poland, a certain Abraham Prochovnik, alias Pech, supposedly ruled as a legendary king for one day. Of less legendary character are the famous Polish coins with Hebrew letters ("Mšk krl polski"), which are evidence not only of the high position and privileges enjoyed by the Jews in Poland, but plausibly also of a widespread knowledge of the Hebrew letters among tradesmen. As for East Slavic territories, the presence of the mighty Jewish country, "zemlja zhidovskaja," as Khazaria later came to be called in the Russian heroic lore (Skaftymov 1924: 177–178; Propp 1955: 147–

160), had long been a fact of life for the oppressed Slavs, both a threat and a model for imitation. Thus, in spite of the Russians' success in eventually liberating themselves from the Khazar yoke, cultural, economic, and political Khazar influences seem to have persisted in *Rus* for a while. The principle of the double kingship seems to have been adopted from the Khazar system, as were such details as the title of "kagan" for the supreme Russian ruler (Chadwick 1946; Dunlop 1967: 237), or the Hebrew letters borrowed by the Russian alphabet (*sh, ch, c, shch;* Istrin 1963), a solid Russian tradition which goes back to Saint Constantin's *Vita*.

Needless to say, the idea of Khazar impact on Russian history has never been too popular among Russian scholars.[1] On the other hand, Jewish historians have been equally inhospitable to the probability that the mass of the Jewish population, at least in Podolia and Wolynia, came not from Germany but from the previously Khazar territories on the Black Sea, where an autochthonous Jewish population had existed since Hellenistic times.[2] Thus, neither of the groups was particularly

1. Professor Artamonov, one of the most prominent researchers of Khazar and Khazar-Rus history, was taken to task for having mildly expressed support for it (*Pravda*, 25.12.1951). In his monumental 1962 work, *Istorija xazar*, an astounding criticism of the Khazar's conversion to Judaism is voiced, describing the Khazar rulers as more or less parasitic exploiters of the Khazarian working masses. In his *Conclusion* (pp. 457–459), the author vigorously asserts the insignificance of the Khazar influence for Russian history. These statements are not completely compatible, however, with the rest of the work, the fruit of several decades of serious research. Yet it is astonishingly typical of what might be called the Khazar complex in the Soviet Union, expressed in many popular as well as scholarly discussions of history. In this, the Russian attitude is consistent with the anti-Norman theories prevailing among large circles of Russian historians (and probably still part of the official version). Yet it seems that the anti-Khazar approach is sometimes even more emotionally heated than the anti-Norman one. In its vehemence, verging upon the ridiculous (one sometimes gets the impression that it was motivated by fear that some Jewish group might reclaim "the Jewish country" from its current rulers), it does not differ that markedly, however, from the negative *Jewish* approach to the same question. New research and recently discovered evidence have, however, shed new light on the relations between the Rus, the Jews, and the Khazars. Pritsak (1981: 70–71) assigns quite an important role to the Jews of Tmutorakan in the making of Slavonic culture, while his interpretation of Geniza documents on the relations between Kiev and Khazaria (Golb and Pritsak 1982) supports certain of Polak's (1943) hypotheses, hitherto scornfully rejected.
2. This hypothesis has been distorted and vulgarized by various groups for purposes often alien to historical research. For instance, anti-Zionists enjoyed citing the "fact" that the majority of the Jews who arrived in Palestine were not "Semites" at all. On the other hand, Hungarian Jews promoted for a while the suggestion that they were themselves of Khazar rather than authentic Jewish origin, and hence legitimate Hungarians no less than the Magyars. But no serious researcher has ever claimed that Eastern European Jewry was of overwhelmingly *Khazar* lineage, but only that it is plausible that a sizeable portion of them had arrived from

eager to have their communities linked culturally—or otherwise—from ancient times. Both preferred, rather, to see the Jews as recent guests on Slavic territories, little intermingled with their hosts.

So much for the very beginnings. But even later periods pose riddles, the solutions of which are not easy to come by. Such a case is that of the Yiddish language in the Slavic lands, which deviated remarkably from the Western Yiddish the Jewish immigrants were supposed to have brought with them to the new countries. There are data indicating that in Podolia and Wolynia Yiddish was *not* as widespread among Jews as in the regions closer to urban and commercial centers. Consequently, several scholars have been inclined to describe Eastern Yiddish, at least in part, not as a language brought by all members of the community from another territory (Germany), but rather as a language introduced by the socially and culturally influential immigrants, and gradually adopted by their brothers, who were already there. In the course of this process, major changes were introduced into the language itself, and the more remote its speakers were from the cultural centers, the less adequate was their appropriation of it. Thus, the possibility of conceiving of at least part of Eastern Yiddish as a Germanic vernacular structured upon a Slavic substrate ought to have been dealt with more seriously by linguists, who have thought it satisfactory to explain the case by standard processes of interference. However, even if the substrate hypothesis should turn out to be false, the impact of Slavic on Eastern Yiddish is undeniable.

Other cases pertaining to our subject are not better illuminated. There is no documented or well-elaborated explanation for either the "Jewish heresy" (eres' zhidovstvujushchix) in Russia of the fifteenth century or for the emergence of various judaicizing sects, from the seventeenth century on (relatively abundant in southern Russia). The same holds true for the phenomenon of *Hassidism,* a Jewish movement that spread through the southern regions towards the end of the eighteenth century. Can one say that the affinity of this movement with popular Slavic cultural and religious ideas was completely coincidental? The very fact that such an affinity was acceptable in the South while it was objectionable in the North (Lithuania) should be taken as evidence for the presence of some deeply rooted long-standing tradition. Although rejected and despised by the (Northern) Jewish establishment, Hassidism succeeded in gaining ground and finally becoming a major cultural trend in modern East European Judaism. Its

Khazarian territories after the fall of the kingdom. Obviously there were many converted Khazars among them, but the bulk must have been of traditional Jewish stock. Koestler, in his otherwise considered narration about the Khazars (1976), unfortunately became himself a victim of such a misunderstanding.

affinity with local Slavic folk cultural ideas, music, and dance, and the fact that it arose precisely in those areas where this affinity may have existed of old, cannot be accounted for by the most detailed explication of the economic and social background alone. The a priori receptiveness of the cultural system to Slavic repertoire must be recognized too.

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with slavicized Yiddish (partly manifested through the late use of Eastern Yiddish as a literary language while Western Yiddish—though dying out—was still used), the strong resistance to Hassidism in the North, and the perseverance of Hebrew as the only commonly accepted language of culture—all these indicate that the establishment, that is the dominant powers at the center, tried to resist the penetration of an alien repertoire from the Slavic foreign system. Moreover, it seems striking that none of these types of interference involved any high Slavic culture. The latter was not accessible at all to the Jews, even if they had considered it worthwhile to try and establish contact with it. In Germany, although Western Yiddish did not differ considerably from the contemporary German literary language, Jewish readers could become familiar with its literature only through transliterations into Hebrew characters. The Latin alphabet, identified with Christianity, was ignored, rejected. It seems, therefore, most reasonable that the contacts Yiddish literature gradually established later with canonized Polish literature should have begun by being mediated by Hebrew and should have remained that way for a long time (Shmeruk 1975: 74).

It is only with the emergence of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, which penetrated the Russian empire from Germany and Austria in the 1820s, that we witness a growing contact of both Hebrew and Yiddish literatures with the high Slavic cultures, first and foremost with Russian, but also gradually (although never to the same extent or enjoying the same position) with Polish.[3] This new stage was of a basically secularized nature and consequently clashed considerably with traditional Jewish culture. Jewish literary culture thus entered a new phase, but the major structural features of the previous periods persisted. Thus, cultural stratification persisted in the different roles

3. The role of Polish in the making of modern Hebrew and Yiddish cultures has been acknowledged (let alone investigated) even less than the role of Russian. The high position acquired by Russian long before legitimization of contacts with Polish may have drawn our attention away from the Polish role. But there is no doubt that, at least in the case of modern Hebrew culture (especially as it developed in Palestine after the beginning of the twentieth century), Russian enjoyed a position Polish has never even remotely approached. For Yiddish, however, Shmeruk's contributions (and insistence) should be noted. Among recent attempts one can quote Shavit (1986).

assigned respectively to Yiddish and Hebrew. Hebrew continued to be the vehicle of high and official culture, though now secularized, while Yiddish stuck to its old function as the lower cultural and literary stratum. Both have thus continued to constitute one polysystem, separating gradually from each other only after World War I.[4] Both used Russian repertoire to produce their own new respective repertoires, but they also used each other, and thus the channels of appropriation were often oblique rather than direct. Moreover, if we take into consideration the already slavicized features of Eastern Yiddish, which in this new phase were adopted by the new writers, we will not find it easy to distinguish between Slavic patterns directly appropriated and those which penetrated via the use of Yiddish by Hebrew (literature and language).

The above discussion makes it clear, I believe, that the function of the Russian system for the Hebrew-Yiddish polysystem cannot be detached from the previous stages of (unilateral or bilateral) contacts between these cultures. Nevertheless, the revolutionary character of the new phase and the shift it represents on both the ideological and structural levels will justify a separate discussion, at least until more knowledge of the previous stages enables us to better integrate our data. Moreover, it is precisely these shifts which constituted the beginnings of the modern era, and whose features persisted long after geographical and political proximity (or co-existence) ceased. It is here, then, that our major concern begins.

In conclusion,

(1) The fact that Jews lived among Slavs for centuries, in privileged positions for short periods but most of the time in unprivileged ones, did not automatically result in the penetration of Slavic cultural repertoire into the Jewish cultural system. This was conditioned by the structure of the Jewish system. Thus, in certain regions the penetration was very heavy, while in others, the mechanism of rejection had the upper hand.

(2) Even when the Slavic system penetrated the Jewish one to a great extent, it seems that this took place mostly with the lower strata, such as vernacular, popular (or oral) literature and peripheral cultural aggregates. High Jewish culture, mostly through the vehicle of Hebrew, either rejected foreign repertoires or was affected by them to a lesser degree, more often than not only through mediation, such as the Yiddish vernacular.

(3) Direct contacts between high Slavic and high Jewish cultures were initiated only as late as the nineteenth century. This was a turning

4. For a detailed discussion of this polysystem see "Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem" below.

point in Jewish social and cultural history, the beginning of a process which has brought it to its present stage.

2. Russian and Hebrew since the Nineteenth Century: Patterns of Interference

The new phase of Hebrew following upon the Enlightenment is generally called the "Revival Period." This should not be taken literally in the sense of a resurrection of a dead culture, since Hebrew had always been in current use. Only this use now became more intensified and variegated, producing literary works, newspapers and journals, and ultimately, towards the end of the century, the revival of Hebrew as a *spoken* language in Palestine. In the course of this period, Slavic literature (mostly Russian) functioned not simply as the closest available system. One could say that Hebrew literature behaved as if the Russian system were a part of it, to be either appropriated or rejected, according to its home interests. Thus, Hebrew culture enlarged its repertoire by adopting Russian as a major set of possible options on the levels of both active and passive appropriation.[5] The role of Russian for Hebrew was not confined then to secondary or occasional "influences." Rather, Russian participated in the very making of the new Hebrew culture—literature, language as well as semiotic systems (social and political ideologies, models of the world, and behavioral repertoire in general). Under such circumstances, Hebrew came to depend heavily on the Russian for a certain period.

Gradually, and with different components of the possible repertoire available on all the said levels, russified items were appropriated. However, we are not dealing here with an indifferently open repertoire of a not yet established system. The Hebrew system was at the same time both established and non-established. Therefore, not only is there a mechanism according to which items are appropriated or rejected, but there is also another mechanism which regulates the degree of *overtness* in appropriations. These mechanisms are a direct result of the fact that the literary repertoire available to the Hebrew writers was established through a long tradition, and one could make one's choice among many varied options on all levels. On the other hand, the new phase required new models, and a good portion of the available options had to be rejected because they could not serve the new

5. By "active" appropriation I mean those items transferred from a system A to a system B either as direct borrowings or through translational devices. "Passive" appropriation, on the other hand, are those items in system B which system A may use indirectly, by intertextual allusion, pastiche, parody, and the like. Even in these latter cases we have to admit the functions of the alien system for the home system, although they may be more difficult to detect.

purposes. Thus, the linguistic and stylistic traditions of many genera-
tions became neutralized. The new writers tried to use only so-called
"Classical Hebrew" because the more contemporary Hebrew symbol-
ized the norms of the orthodoxy, against which they were fighting.
Similarly, other options available through the established repertoires
(e.g., on the level of text composition and organizations) had to be re-
placed by yet other options which could clearly indicate the innovatory
nature of the new stage. Under such circumstances, then, Hebrew, in
spite of its time-honored traditions, entered a situation of "weakness,"
that is a situation in which a system is unable to function by confining
itself to its home repertoire only. This "weakness" is a result of the
relative insufficiency of the home repertoire vis-à-vis an external sys-
tem within reach, whose repertoire happens either to suit its needs or
to exert pressures upon it (or both).[6]

The contradiction between the existence of an established reper-
toire and the need for one at least partly imported naturally created a
strong clash of interests. While it was vital for the new writers to use
the Russian repertoire, it was also in their interests to demonstrate the
usefulness and independence of Hebrew. This was not a question of
national pride, but a fundamental interest in self-preservation, a de-
sire not to destroy the very basis for persisting in the use of "a dead
language," as it were. It seems precisely this clash of interests that can
explain the function of the regulating mechanisms towards appropria-
tions. Thus, we witness a permanent oscillation between unhindered
direct borrowing, on the one hand, and an endeavor to avoid, on the
other hand, such borrowings by supplying domestic items on which
the foreign ones can be imposed.[7] The rate of use of each of these op-
tions during the last one hundred and fifty years has been determined
by the state of the Hebrew polysystem. The varying needs of overtness
have been intermingled with stronger or weaker consciousness of the
alternative procedures. Thus, for instance, items already assimilated
into the spoken vernacular might have been felt as less objectionable.

6. For a more general discussion of these issues see "Interference in Dependent
Literary Polysystems" and "Laws of Literary Interference."
7. An example of direct borrowings can be various lexical items, mostly interjec-
tions like *ax, nu* (which also have been adopted by Yiddish), or *trax, xa-xa-xa, tfu,*
and the like. Graphic conventions developed in the Russian repertoire are also a
clear example of direct borrowing (three dots [. . .] or various phonetic imita-
tions of speech). Indirect borrowings are normally loan-translations (or *calques*),
which are sometimes created with new combinations in the target language, but
otherwise are imposable on extant items. Among these, many current expressions
for everyday interaction take a prominent place (like "good morning," "how do
you do," and many other phraseological units [collocations]. The latter procedure
often gives them a character of domestic authenticity. (See more details for all these
types also in "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models" below.)

The same holds true for items not directly verbal, on both higher and lower levels, the penetration of which simply has not been noticed.

On the lower level, for example, intonational and rhythmo-intonational functions penetrated easily not only because there existed hardly any established counterparts for them in Hebrew for either everyday speech or its literary simulations, but mostly because awareness of "foreign intonation" could not emerge before a native sort of intonation started to prevail. (See "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948.") Thus, prosodic models appropriated from Russian also involved to a certain extent declamation models current in the Russian tradition (Ejxenbaum 1927c), and subsequently constraints of textual organization. The emergence of this declamatory tradition side by side with the new poetry is corroborated by the fact that it persisted long after the appearance of newer literary models and started dwindling in Israeli poetry only in the 1950s. For, although Hebrew gradually became a spoken vernacular in Palestine, and people became more aware of the use of non-Hebrew words and non-Hebrew syntax, nevertheless for quite a time there could hardly be a strong awareness of, or any rejection mechanism for, intonational models or phonetic features transferred from either Yiddish or Russian. It should be mentioned here that Jewish immigration after 1905 into Palestine (commonly called "the second immigration") consisted of people some of whom had already been "russified" to a certain extent. Strange as it may seem (and the question has never been properly investigated), people unable to speak *Russian* with a properly authentic pronunciation nevertheless introduced many Russian features into their *Hebrew* pronunciation. For instance, palatalization, neutralization of unstressed vowels, and lengthened quantity of the stressed ones (in Hebrew the length of vowels is phonemically neutralized) were accepted by spoken Hebrew for some time and can still be heard among people of that generation.

Much more complex is the case of higher-level features, that is the level of interactional semiotics and the models of reality in general. On this level, manifested verbally (though not exclusively so), modern Hebrew culture, in both everyday activities and literary repertoire, heavily structured (modelled) itself on the Russian repertoires, which could hardly ever be detected or rejected. In literature, these repertoires have never really been replaced: making a narrative situation ("scene") with its indispensable items (such as describing space, time, objects, and personae, subjects of conversation, gestures, and physiognomy, and so on) basically remains the same today as in the past. While various "palpable" details or more complex structures have been detected, identified as foreign, and gradually replaced, the semiotic models utilized in literature—and to some extent in everyday culture as well—have persisted and been digested by the modern culture.

As a rule, then, it seems that russified items penetrated most easily into domains where the Hebrew repertoire(s) was (were) weakest, on whatever level. The successful institutionalization of the literary repertoire(s) on the semiotic level made these repertoires strong enough to persist in a culture which might otherwise have developed other semiotic models. But it might well be that, since at least part of these models have also been successfully absorbed by regular culture, some of its features can still be identified as "natural" rather than "pertaining to the specific repertoire of literature" (and thus acceptable as a separately legitimate system in the culture).

3. Russian and Hebrew since the Nineteenth Century: Periods of Interference

Roughly, four periods can be discerned in the history of the dependency relationship of Hebrew with Russian:

(1) the emergence of the dependency relationship, roughly between 1820 and 1860;

(2) the first "russification" period, roughly between 1860 and 1920;

(3) the second "russification" period, roughly between 1920 and 1950;

(4) the decline of the dependency relationship, from about 1950 on.

Of course, the borderlines between the various periods are by no means sharp, and each period can in turn be further divided. Yet both the external conditions of the Hebrew system and the strategies of its repertoire(s) towards the Russian option seem to justify such a division.

During the first two periods, that is roughly until 1920, the center of Hebrew literature, where its dominant repertoire was being produced, was on Slavic soil, in Russia and in Poland. In contrast, from about 1920 on, the center of Hebrew culture moved definitely to Palestine (where it had started to crystallize as a modern system towards the 1890s). Although some activity persisted in Poland and Germany up to World War II, it became peripheral. This geographical shift was caused, on the one hand, by the growing migration to Palestine after World War I, but no less by the physical destruction of Hebrew activity in Soviet Russia. Oddly enough, it was not the initiative of the leaders of the revolution to persecute Hebrew. For a while, Hebrew-language culture flourished in the very center of Russia: the first Hebrew language theater was established in Moscow *after* the revolution,[8] sup-

8. The theater here referred to is *Ha-Bima* ["The Stage"], which moved to Tel Aviv in the mid-twenties and became Israel's National Theater. It became famous for its adoption of Stanislavskian expressionism on stage and functioned as an avant-garde of its time, a clear refutation of the current charges of archaism brought against Hebrew culture by its Yiddishist opponents.

ported by the Ministry of Culture, but after 1920 the anti-Hebraists
had the upper hand and there was no longer room for Hebraic ac-
tivities. It was the Jewish Yiddishists, the leaders of the Jewish Section
(*evsekcija*), who ultimately created the kind of hostility which has ever
since identified Hebrew with anti-Soviet interests for officialdom in the
new regime. As a consequence, Hebrew language and literature, both
secular and religious, were deprived of all means to exist. Educational
activities were stopped, writers exiled or imprisoned, presses confis-
cated. Had there been no alternative, however poor and unpromising
(as the Palestinian alternative definitely seemed at the time), Hebrew
secular culture probably would not have survived. In Russia it was
suppressed and replaced by Yiddish and Russian.[9] It had little sup-
port among the masses of immigrants in the United States, where it
was replaced by Yiddish and then English. It had only feeble support
in Poland and the rest of Europe (with the exception of Lithuania,
where it succeeded for a while in establishing a relatively strong edu-
cational system). It was therefore only in Palestine that Hebrew could
find its recourse, liberate itself from its previous relations with Yid-
dish, and become the main language, both literary and spoken, of the
new community.

   Nevertheless, despite the geographical and political shifts, and the
tragic fate of Hebrew letters in Russia, not only did the dependency
relationship persist, but new russified repertoire fully participated in
the emergence and crystallization of the new literary trends in Pales-
tine. Moreover, the literary establishment in Palestine, which gradually
became part and parcel of the labor movement, identified itself, in
spite of Soviet hostility, with the ideals of the Russian revolution. Sym-
pathy for Russia reached a real apotheosis during World War II. As a
consequence, the intimate relationships with Russian did not remain
confined to classical Russian literature, but extended themselves to *So-
viet* Russian literature as well, not only in the making of the domestic
Hebrew literary repertoire, but in decisions in many other sections
of literature (for instance, selecting texts for translation, carrying out
public and educational literary activities). Thus, the second russifi-
cation period, although physically detached from Russian soil, and
gradually from the Russian language too, was by no means less impor-
tant for the history of Hebrew culture than the preceding periods.

   Further, it seems that direct and active appropriations from Russian
during this second period were even bolder and more overt in the
major and central sections of the system than during the first period.

9. On top of this, the kind of Yiddish made valid in the Soviet Union adopted an
extremist policy of expurgation of the Hebrew-Aramaic element, which was either
now eliminated or rendered with unidentifiable new spelling (including reforms of
the Hebrew alphabet). This norm, made slightly more moderate, is still prevalent
in current Yiddish publications in the Soviet Union.

During the first period, when the very existence of secular Hebrew culture was in doubt, Hebrew poetry largely adopted procedures of what might be called "disguised appropriation." The option of rather elaborate domestication (through impositions of the foreign functions on what seemed perfectly established and time-honored home items) was preferred to both direct or loan-translations (with their more conspicuous alienness). Thus, although it was open to russified declamatory models, poetry neither required them nor made them visibly pertinent as its major organizing textual principles. Dialogue in fiction unavoidably appropriated Russian items, but the degree of this appropriation varied greatly, and those who followed the option of heavy appropriation initiated by Mendele were not actually recognized or made part of the canon at the time.[10] Older options largely persisted in both original and translated literature.

In the 1920s, the new generation of Hebrew poets was strongly dissatisfied with the established repertoire. The latter suggested no major alternative options, and one had to make a choice between secondarized models and new violations. It was, therefore, quite natural for the new poets to turn to the most legitimized adjacent system available, which clearly could offer an avant-garde modernistic repertoire with which they could identify themselves in opposition to the established home one. Disguised and discreet procedures had to be rejected now, because this would mean a continuation of, not a break with, the established norms. Besides, the modernistic *Weltanschauung* would not be satisfied with moderate means; the new age was supposed to be "revolutionary." The new poets, therefore, did not hesitate to introduce overt appropriations *en masse*. Thus, prosodic and intonational models, syntactic constructions, numerous individual glosses, *calques,* morphological items (through loan-translations; e.g., diminutives) virtually invaded the Hebrew repertoire. For at least twenty or twenty-five years these overt russified models persisted in Hebrew poetry. At first, the poets who introduced these models elaborated them on the basis of direct acquaintance with the Russian language and literature; gradually these models acquired an independent dynamics in the home system. They were thus adopted, for the first time in the history of Russian-Hebrew relations, by producers who no longer had direct access to Russian literature. Within the second period of russification, then, a *secondary* kind of russification gradually developed.

It should be stressed that the mechanisms which governed literature

10. Although Mendele (1836?–1917; a founding father of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literatures) almost immediately occupied a major position in the Hebrew system, his models were not immediately followed by others, and those who adopted them, like Brenner and Gnessin, were recognized only much later, actually during the second russification period and even later. (On the practices of Gnessin see below, "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models.")

and specifically the literary language were not identical to those which governed the non-literary language of the time. On the one hand, literary language appropriated Russian items in a much more intensive way than non-literary (written or spoken) language *ever* did. Literary language thus continued the structural patterns initiated in Eastern Europe, which had evidently produced such powerful solutions for making models with which the new local reality could not really compete. The spoken vernacular, on the other hand, developed along separate lines, only partly linked with the literary language,[11] and towards deeper hebraicization and neutralization of features incompatible with the Hebrew system.[12] On the other hand, however, spoken Hebrew became less puristic in its relation to direct loans, by contrast with the strong insistence on loan-translations still prevailing in the language of literature.[13] The same holds true for many profane expressions which penetrated and settled in Hebrew slang. These have never been acknowledged by literary language. They were always replaced, *even in translations from Russian,* by "literary" words, some of them inventions nobody has ever used. This situation (i.e., the readiness of the spoken language to accept direct loans but reject appropriations, while the literary language filtered russification down to appropriation procedures only, but was ready to go a long way with them) is paradoxical but not incomprehensible. This can partly be explained by the simple difference between canonized and non-canonized culture: a behavior allowed in the first is simply not allowed in the second. The official policy has always been that of preventing Hebrew from becoming a mixed language in order to maintain its historical continuity. Official culture has hardly ever recognized actual Hebrew, which it preferred to consider ephemeral and transient. As indicated above, the established repertoire already could successfully

11. See below: "The Role of Russian and Yiddish in the Making of Modern Hebrew," "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948," and "Void Pragmatic Connectives."
12. For example, the phonological system was neutralized and various non-phonemic features were eliminated, such as palatalization or supra-segmental qualifiers. See "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948" below.
13. For example, such suffixes as *-nik* and *-chik* have become acceptable and productive repertoremes (at least as far as *-nik* is concerned), never, however, admitted into canonized literature. However, their origin can be assigned to Yiddish rather than Russian (whence they also have been introduced into modern American ["beat*nik*," recently "refuse*nik*," etc.]). Current expressions are "kibbuts-*nik*" (member of kibbutz), miluim-*nik* (soldier in the reserve army). However, *-chik*, as in "Bahur-*chik*" (old chap; actually no new creation but a direct loan from Yiddish, where it was combined of its bilingual elements) or "qatan-*chik*" (tiny), seems to be on the retreat in the modern vernacular.

present itself to the users as "authentic," and the convenience it could offer overruled efforts to stylize the actual language (and culture at large) for literary use. Moreover, the long separation in Jewish cultural history between literary language and vernacular possibly has made it easier to perpetuate this relationship even though it was now not different languages that were involved but different varieties of the same language. And there also was the relation of antecedence, which counts heavily in the history of cultures: the literary repertoire was long established before the spoken vernacular started to develop.

What seems to be most remarkable about the new writers who perpetuated the literary tradition is that they knew hardly any Russian. They were acquainted with Russian literary models through appropriated models introduced into Hebrew either in original or in translated literature. They used russified items of a highly heterogeneous nature, as they either were not aware of the russified nature of the items they were using or did not really know very much about it. Consequently, they used them in varying degrees, intermingled with items drawn from different models. Yet, in spite of the existence of a living spoken Hebrew (which was the mother tongue of the majority of these new writers), they were prepared to perpetuate a linguistic repertoire that was absolutely incompatible with either classical or modern living Hebrew. In poetry, such models persisted late into the 1950s, when they (or at least their most conspicuous features) were abruptly rejected as artificial and inadequate. In prose fiction, however, this process of elimination has not yet come to an end.

A very remarkable role was played during this period by translated literature. Unlike the case of poetry, no new prose models penetrated Hebrew, and no modernistic generation emerged. The younger generation that started producing around the late 1940s was faced with the relatively dull repertoire of models available for fiction. Most of the established Hebrew writers at that time did not appeal to them, and their social and ideological background, as well as the popular texts accessible to them, directed them to use literature translated from Russian, which also consisted of several Soviet texts repeatedly returned to, as well as literature translated via the Russian norms. These texts were now often translated by those poets who initiated the second period of russification and their followers, and who largely adopted the highly russified treatment developed by some nineteenth-century writers (like Mendele, Brenner, and Gnessin; see "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models"). They virtually created a special "Hebrew for Russian texts," which gradually became commonly admitted and acknowledged. This kind of language was more heavily overloaded than its origins with non-existing words, collocations, imaginary stylistic differentiations, and syntactic constructions. How prestigious it was

may be inferred from the fact that translation from English and other European languages often made use of it (thus imparting a Russian flavor to such texts). One may say that translated literature in this case functioned not only as a channel of literary contacts. It actually assumed a vacant position within the home system and functioned there as a generator of new repertoire, on both verbal and semiotic levels.

As Hebrew secular culture evolved, it gradually created peripheral strata of its own, not vehicled by Yiddish or other languages (and cultures) as before. Thus, when certain russified models were pushed out of the center, they could still persist on the periphery. For example, political poetry went on using models rejected by lyrical poetry, popular songs persisted in using models of Russianized origin, and so did children's literature, school and public ceremonies with their specific materials and mise-en-scène. The same holds true for political discourse. Thus, while the dependency relationship with Russian dwindled and ultimately stopped as a major option for certain sections of Hebrew letters, it has remained active in others, still part of the sometimes hidden face of everyday life.

The Role of Russian and Yiddish in the Making of Modern Hebrew

1. The structure of relations between Hebrew and Yiddish in Eastern Europe throughout the ages was that of *high* vs. *low* culture. This division of labor manifested itself on all levels of verbal and textual activities. On the level of textual activities, which partly overlap what today we would label "literature," transferring a text from one language to the other meant either canonizing it (in the case of transfer from Yiddish to Hebrew) or popularizing it (in the case of transfer from Hebrew to Yiddish). (For examples see "Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem," note 1; more details in Shmeruk 1977.)

2. One of the governing principles operating within one diglossic cultural polysystem is that there is never confusion between the different carriers (vehicles) of the different functions of culture. The division of labor is accepted to such a degree that expecting the one to function instead of the other is absolutely unthinkable for the people-in-the-culture.

Depending on the situation, an attempted transgression may be considered either a punishable violation of good order or ridiculous and therefore negligible. Thus, while depicting quotidian life in Hebrew and employing it to represent colloquial speech seemed perfectly natural for such a writer as Mendele Mokher Sfarim,[1] the idea of trans-

1. 1836?–1917; a founding father of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literatures. While oscillating for years between the two, he decidedly stopped writing Yiddish in 1886 to devote himself completely to Hebrew.

forming Hebrew into a full-fledged vernacular seemed both ridiculous and outrageous to him. Hebrew was to remain a vehicle exclusively of high culture and to be confined to the written medium only. Only in this capacity did Hebrew have the power to bring canonization to one's work (which was what Mendele sought after 1896). To use Hebrew *instead* of Yiddish was to debase it and rob it of its status. The opposite holds true of the ideology, gradually emerging during the nineteenth century, which strove to autonomize Yiddish and liberate it from its dependency upon Hebrew.

3. This very strict division of labor did not restrict, however, either deliberate or non-deliberate mutual usage of both languages. *Embedding* Yiddish in a Hebrew text, or vice versa, had various functions and established conventions. But this kind of mutual utilization was not symmetrical: while Yiddish constituted, as Harshav has suggested (Harshav [Hrushovski] 1986), "an open system"—and therefore both permitted and encouraged embedding of any elements whatsoever from Hebrew (as well as from certain other languages)—Hebrew allowed for only a restricted number of loan categories. The pressing need, however, to cope with ever-changing functions within the culture could not leave Hebrew untouched without its becoming obsolete and useless. As a result, *indirect* use of Yiddish by Hebrew became the governing principle.[2] No doubt a large part of this can be attributed to deficient linguistic proficiency. Yet this is by no means an exhaustive explanation, since we have to admit, I believe, that individual shortcomings often overlapped shortcomings of the language itself vis-à-vis the new conditions to which it had either to adapt or fail.

4. In the course of the nineteenth century, when Hebrew became more and more a vehicle of *secular* (or semi-secular) culture, while the nature of relations with Yiddish did not change in principle, various changes occurred precisely in the proportions between direct and indirect, deliberate and non-deliberate use. The *Haskala* (Enlightenment) movement rejected what it called "rabbinical style," a rejection which involved elimination of the Yiddish component, both direct and indirect, to a large extent. It has even been argued that it was precisely the tinge of Yiddish, perceived through the characteristic components of post-biblical Hebrew which already constituted established elements in Yiddish, that played a decisive role in this rejection.

2. A fascinating question in this context is whether at least some of these transferred Yiddishisms into Hebrew were not items originally transferred from old spoken Hebrew to a chain of subsequent Jewish vernaculars, whose ultimate link was Yiddish, as intuitively suggested so powerfully by Bialik (1935: 146–147) and recently partly supported with much sophisticated and ingenious evidence by Katz (1986).

Yet, after a certain period of time, the rejection had exhausted its advantages, and general cultural needs, as well as particular literary needs, recycled Yiddish overwhelmingly into Hebrew writing. Mendele, who played the major role in this process, not only reintroduced most of the traditional techniques that had formerly been rejected (by the *Haskala* movement), but went much farther in deliberately using Yiddish through indirect loans on *all* levels, most of all, although most imperceptibly, on the level of *intonational* organization of the language. The effect, as we know, must have been electrifying in the sense that contrary to the highfalutin and sterile *Haskala* pseudo-biblical style, Mendele's language was perceived as vivid, natural, and contemporary, although it would be a mistake to believe it was enthusiastically acclaimed, let alone embraced, by everybody. Indeed, sharp criticism was voiced by purists (most forcefully by Druyanov 1919).

Mendele, as I have suggested in various papers (Even-Zohar 1970, 1978, 1982, 1982a, 1986; see various papers in this section), created a major new option and legitimized it, thus making it possible for a new generation to adopt it, not as a novelty one had to fight for, but as an established element of an accepted repertoire. Brenner, Gnessin, and a host of other writers now had at their disposal a sophisticated and powerful device for authentication of reported speech as well as other desirable elements.

5. Side by side with the employment of Yiddish by Hebrew, which in principle did not constitute any change of relations between the two, a new source language—and culture—emerged as a decisive factor during the nineteenth century for both, namely Russian. In "Russian and Hebrew," "Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem," and "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models" in this section, I have attempted to sketch the historical relations chiefly between Hebrew and Russian but also, in less detail, between Yiddish and Russian. Although the relations of Hebrew with Russian can be traced back to the Middle Ages, and although there is a considerable Slavic element in Eastern Yiddish, neither Hebrew nor Yiddish made direct contact with *literary* Russian before the nineteenth century. Each made intensive but different use of literary Russian. For Yiddish, the problem was *not* lack of repertoire per se, but lack of stylization and simulation procedures through which such a potential repertoire might successfully be established and developed. Contrary to popular belief, the process of stylizing and/or simulating a vernacular for standardized literary use is *not* a free and painlessly non-mediated process. The making of New Yiddish, which constituted a remarkable break with the past, and the employment of this new language for a host of genres to which it had not been adapted, very much depended on the *source* of these new genres, namely Russian. Russian did not provide Yiddish

with completely new *elements,* but rather functioned as both a pointer
and a legitimizer for employing domestic items. Thus, domestic items
were often identified and recognized as suitable in the first place due
to their parallel existence in *literary* (stylized, not colloquial) Russian.
Only then could they be legitimized for use.[3]

For Hebrew, however, Russian played a different role, although the
outcome on the formal level may look the same. Hebrew did not need
Russian as a medium for either detection or legitimization of already
extant elements, but rather as a primary *source* of such elements, to
which it eventually supplied domesticated elements from its own his-
torical repertoire. Thus, reported speech often became a simulation,
through domestication, of Russian literary dialogue, with the purpose
of indicating the characters' colloquial speech, which, in many cases,
had by that time already become Russian. The Hebrew reader could
appreciate this novelty by identifying the characters' speech as "au-
thentic" and "natural," and therefore "realistic," thanks to his knowl-
edge of the Russian conventions. This very powerful relationship be-
tween Hebrew and Russian has undergone a series of transformations,
where the major distinctions between the phases can be formulated
as varying degrees of readiness to make the Russian features overt or
covert. While in one period the governing technique was maximal dis-
guise, in another period it was maximal overtness.[4] Prose and poetry
also behave differently, even during the same period. Last but not
least, it should be stressed that one of the most remarkable features
of this relationship consists of its strong institutionalization. As I have
demonstrated in other studies (see this section), the deliberate use of
Russian, whether overtly or covertly, continued long after Hebrew and
Russian ceased to maintain any direct contact, manifesting itself in
translation as well as in original work produced by people who had no
knowledge of Russian at all.

6. These kinds of utilization must be understood within the frame-
work of the diglossic (or triglossic) situation. It is only within such a
structure that division of labor can be maintained without confusion.
Therefore, we must bear in mind—and this is a point often over-
looked because the conditions of Hebrew have changed so drastically
—that all procedures were carried out within that division of labor.

3. The "existence" of an item in one of the repertoires available to a system does
not necessarily cause its identification as an adequate candidate for (imposing on
it) a certain function. A different system (either within or outside of the given
polysystem) can be a "detector" of such potential candidates in the first place, *then*
legitimize them for use through prestige.
4. On phases and periods in the Hebrew-Russian relationship see "Russian and
Hebrew: The Case of a Dependent Polysystem" in this section.

Thus, developing tools for reporting speech in the Hebrew novel was not designed as a measure to liberate Hebrew from its partners by creating a domestic stock with which it would be able to operate in independent colloquial speech. Whether the repertoire actually elaborated eventually *was* utilized or not in the course of putting Hebrew back in use for everyday speech is therefore an altogether different matter and not necessarily connected with the circumstances under which this repertoire was created.

Using Yiddish and Russian by Hebrew, deliberately or non-deliberately, directly or indirectly, *made it possible to go on using it as a written language* within the traditional role assigned to it, a role that did not change even when Hebrew transgressed the range of domains to which it had been confined in the pre-secular stages of its history. Thus, whatever procedures might have been adopted, promoted, or rejected by the language *qua* language throughout its literary history during the nineteenth century, none can be accounted for in isolation from the *economy of literary functions* to which it was subordinated. In other words, we are dealing with a system of *literary* solutions, not a system of *linguistic* solutions purporting to cope with a variety of socio-cultural necessities. Thus, some of the key generators for linguistic behavior turn out to be such parameters as *composition, segmentation* and *concatenation, formal organization of stresses and sounds* (rhymes and rhythms), and so on. All of these, and many more, must be investigated and analyzed in the context of the state of the *literary* polysystem and its stratificational factors, the level of accomplishment of repertoire, that is the availability of ready-made models, and the availability of devices for innovation and change. In short, the history of Hebrew during its diglossic periods is overwhelmingly the history of its *literature*.

7. The significance of this formulation becomes apparent, I hope, when one turns to the period during which Hebrew was gradually made a spoken ("living") vernacular. This is normally referred to as its "revival." Distressingly, this label has been taken so literally that many normally well-informed linguists (to say nothing of the uninformed) have been led to believe that Hebrew had indeed become a "dead" language, or that it had been confined to "liturgical use only," which, as we know, is utter nonsense in view of its widespread use on the one hand as an everyday standard written language and on the other as embedded within other vernaculars.

There is another, more important misconception, caused not by ignorance but rather by naïveté and lack of research. This is the belief that Hebrew was brought to life again by utilizing literary language in speech. All that was needed, according to this account, was the simple employment of the written text in speech—the transformation of let-

ters to sounds. When one looks at the state of the language in the
literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries one can-
not avoid being impressed by the highly developed repertoire that was
now in principle accessible to the potential speaker. Ideally, one might
think, the phraseology of quotidian language had actually been pre-
pared in the literary dialogues: nothing should have been simpler than
adopting them as they were. Yet no such direct employment seems to
have taken place in reality. In creating the modern vernacular, liter-
ary language was exploited as only one of several sources. What had
been developed to cope with *literary* problems remained *solutions to
literary problems,* and persisted as such for decades within the literary
system and its adjacent activities (such as the theater and public politi-
cal discourse), with very little impact (if any) on colloquial language.
Solutions for the latter were found more often than not in almost
complete disregard of what literature made available.

8. To be sure, the discrepancy between literary language and the ver-
nacular that eventually manifested itself in everyday Hebrew can only
in part be attributed to deficient proficiency. Admittedly, the degree
of control that one can achieve in writing a language is higher than in
speaking it, especially in a language with no native speakers to turn
to as authorities in matters of usage. But I believe that we must con-
clude from the available evidence that the elaborated literary stock
only partly coincided with the speech situations people encountered
in everyday life. Moreover, when Hebrew was first put into use again
in speech by the Jerusalemite circle of Eliezer Ben Yehuda, and later
by some of the new Jewish colonies in Palestine, the literary language
they were familiar with and the literary taste they cherished belonged
to an outdated stage from the point of view of the contemporary
East European center of Hebrew literature. Reading Ben Yehuda's
journals and periodicals, not least the one for children (*Olam Qatan,*
issued seven times 1893–1894), as well as other everyday texts of the
period (including school compositions, letters, and reports), one is
struck by the archaic flavor of the language adopted in Palestine, in
comparison with the new style and modernized (post-biblical) gram-
mar currently accepted in the major literary center abroad. The rather
outspoken contempt which the Russian center of Hebrew letters in
Odessa heaped on Ben Yehuda, his journals, language, and literary
style, is undoubtedly connected with the general disrepute into which
the once dominant *Haskala* norms, now considered backward and un-
sophisticated, had fallen.[5]

5. The situation reversed itself, sometime during the 1920s, when Eastern Europe
became a periphery of Hebrew letters while Palestine took the lead. At this point
archaic grammar was more prevalent in the Hebrew texts produced in Poland

This criticism of the literary-written version of Palestinian Hebrew was also coupled with skepticism towards the new vernacular. People as dissimilar as Ahad Ha-Am and Yosef Hayim Brenner expressed their dissatisfaction with Palestinian Hebrew. On the strength of their descriptions of Palestinian Hebrew, however biased, as well as other, perhaps more objective, testimony, it seems clear that however "alive" contemporaries might have considered it to be, spoken Hebrew fell far short of the possibilities literary language could offer. In contradistinction to the literary language, its phraseology (stock of collocations) derived from various sources, among which Yiddish figured prominently, chiefly through loan-translations.

It is not an easy matter to trace the imprint of Yiddish on Hebrew during the years of emergence and fermentation. Most evidence is by now completely lost: written sources are only partly reliable, and even if the role of Yiddish was substantial in the very beginning, official condemnation of Yiddish or quasi-Yiddish features has succeeded in eliminating much of it. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between official written language and the actual vernacular cannot be ignored. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the colloquial language was not recognized by the establishment: indeed, it is not really recognized even today. Various items that are unmistakably of Yiddish origin, such as interjections, void pragmatic connectives (either directly borrowed, like *nu,* or disguised, like *az;* see "Void Pragmatic Connectives" below), various specific tones (the rise-fall tone [see Weinreich 1956; Catford 1965: 54], the syllable-doubling tone [see "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948" below]) and intonational patterns at large, and—above all—*the semiotic models of interaction,* are all still there, in various degrees, in our actual spoken Hebrew. I would therefore like to argue that under the pressure of immediate speech situations confronting inexperienced new speakers, only a minuscule portion of the highly developed literary repertoire could be utilized or even remembered by them. What appeared, both consciously and unconsciously, deliberately and non-deliberately, to be more immediately accessible in the great majority of cases was the *actual old vernacular,* that is Yiddish.

That this is no wild surmise can be gathered from our general knowledge of the relations that may obtain between a new language and its predecessor in a given community. A comparable case to Hebrew is the Italian one, which is so much more fully researched and documented, although in many ways perhaps less dramatic. The Ital-

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(Russia had annihilated Hebrew culture by that time) than in parallel texts in Palestine (though change here lagged in children's literature, both original and translated).

ian case, in its totality as well as in the particular relations between local dialects and literary Italian, seems to support what is surmised above about the relations between Yiddish and spoken Hebrew. (The Italians united as a nation and started using a literary language, which only very slowly has become their natural tongue, but they did not have to move into a new territory in order to establish their new statehood. For a detailed description and analysis of the Italian case see De Mauro 1984.) Michael Zand (1965), even though he was so remote from the actual realities of spoken Hebrew (still living in the Soviet Union without access to modern Hebrew), boldly suggested the substratum relation hypothesis.

9. It is an accepted hypothesis that speech has at least several fundamental exigencies that no written notation can supply. A written text does not compel one to make clear-cut decisions about pronunciation, but there is no possibility of *speaking* without having made such decisions. Ben Yehuda decided to select a pronunciation remotest from his own East European ("Ashkenazi") pronunciation (which by contiguity recalled the spoken vernacular, Yiddish), namely the so-called Sephardi (Spanish-Portuguese) pronunciation. As we know, it was not implemented at once, and even when it eventually gained ground, it never freed itself of a host of phonetic and para-phonetic features that partly overlapped those of the old vernacular.[6]

Para-phonetic, mainly intonational patterns seem to have been of even greater importance in the long run, however. As we know, most elements of intonation are neither easily controllable nor even easily identifiable, especially in the case of modern spoken Hebrew when there was no background against which intonation could be perceived as either congruent or discordant. While several relatively isolated intonational features are discernible, such as the above-mentioned rise-fall tone (or end-of-string syllable-doubling), the origin of intonation is important not only because this aspect of the sound shape of language in the large sense makes its euphonic quality, but because intonation is a major constraint on other organizational levels of speech, chiefly syntactic structures and set phrases. Thus, the selection of elements and their ordering, concatenation, and disjunctions in speech are dependent upon intonation no less than the other way around.

10. The role of higher vis-à-vis lower levels in all instances of transfer are now fully recognized in the literature. Since general questions

6. Among the most conspicuous phonetic features one can count the deeply rooted velar "r" (rather than the dental one, considered obligatory in Radio Hebrew since its very inception in the 1940s) and, although of less permanent (or stable) character, the partial or full diphthong "ei" (rather than "é"). (For more details on phonetics see "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948" below.)

of transfer are widely discussed in my other papers, I would here just like to emphasize my contention that it would be erroneous to look for transfer on the level of linguistic structure alone. I argued above that the nature of the language in Hebrew literature could not be accounted for unless one understood in what ways it was subordinated to the needs of literary functions, which had very little, perhaps next to nothing, to do with the interests and needs of an everyday tongue. Similarly, the penetration or rejection of particular items from one system to another is conditioned by the semiotic interests that can be achieved through such transfers. Items never migrate in isolation. To take literature again as an example, when nineteenth-century Hebrew writers made use of Russian verbal conventions, they also necessarily adopted at the same time large portions of the Russian models where these conventions belonged in the first place. Thus, the adoption of principles of characterization, scene construction, personal interaction, and so on occurred together with the adoption of formal elements, either in original form or via domestication procedures. In other words, together with the *tools* of description—to take one instance—one accepted the *principles* of description, that is those principles which determine what can be recognized in the culture to be a legitimate model of the world.

If this analysis is valid for transfer on the literary level, it is doubly so for the colloquial activity. For, while one is able to learn grammar, dictionary, set phrases, and to some extent even pronunciation and perhaps some intonational features of a foreign language, one encounters often insurmountable difficulties in adopting patterns of interpersonal interaction to such an extent that would eliminate one's own automatized habits. If this is the case for the regular shift from one established language to another by an individual, how much more so is it the case when the language in question actually has no such patterns at its disposal. As we all know, these had to be invented for Hebrew, and since it is inconceivable that people should be able to invent something new without any connection to their old, efficient, and well-established habits, it is no wonder that the semiotic repertoire in Palestine, where Hebrew was gradually becoming a living vernacular, should be inherited from the previous cultural phase, where these patterns—at least as far as daily activities and interactions are concerned—had been vehicled chiefly by Yiddish.

In my other studies on this subject I tried to underline the difference between features that were officially recognized and others of which there was hardly any awareness at all. I contended that intonation was one of those unrecognized domains, which is why language purists could criticize what they considered "wrong grammatical constructions" but never got annoyed about intonation. It was only when a feature was recognized, for instance, as typical of Yiddish that it was

objected to. Yet the semiotic level, that is the level of communication models available in the culture, was never identified with a specific *language*. Therefore, as long as a model did not disturb one or another new ideological point of view, it was not detected and could be peacefully perpetuated. It is for these reasons that when we translate texts such as the novels of Philip Roth into colloquial, *not* literary, Hebrew, we are sometimes struck by some astounding similarities between his Jewish-American variety of English and spoken Israeli Hebrew. Besides such details as various tones, set phrases, and the like, the similarity consists of *the semiotic structure of the text*, which in concrete terms manifests itself on the level of argumentation (conversation negotiations), patterns of persuasion and influence, stock attitudes towards events, joys and troubles, luck and misfortunes, and the like. This is the most complicated, yet the most promising field of investigation, because it can give us clues to the functions not only of the Russian *language* vis-à-vis the Hebrew *language*, or of the Yiddish *language* vis-à-vis Hebrew, but of the *cultures* of which these languages are vehicles of expression.

Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem: A Case of a Multilingual Polysystem

Studying the Hebrew-Yiddish relations is a worthwhile endeavor even if the phenomena involved are in themselves of little interest to the student. It is the richness, long duration, and complexity of the case which makes it, from the point of view of cultural history and the semiotics of culture in general, a fruitful tool for achieving a better observation of cultural mechanisms in human history. It is not that the case is in any sense unique. Cases of permanent interference and multi-functionality are as old as history, if one takes the Sumerian-Akkadian case to be old enough an illustration. Moreover, Jewish history alone discloses such comparable cases as Hebrew vs. Aramaic, Arabic, Ladino, Italian, or Persian. Yet in none of these do we find the complexity and variety of the Hebrew-Yiddish case. And, besides, none of these still has such significant bearing for the present-day situation.

The fact that two different tongues, "genetically" remote from one another, can function side by side within the same society is by no means peculiar. It is only in recent times, since the emergence of the new national ideas, that such a situation has been looked upon as undesirable and eventually abnormal. For many modern nations, the idea of a non-unified national language has become intolerable. Thus, for instance, the admissibility of dialects in official French culture[1]

1. The very recognition of language varieties other than the official standard as "dialects" of that standard is practically non-existent in French culture. The so-called "patois" are, for French official culture, the *opposite* of "français," not affiliations of it.

has been utterly restricted by comparison with the German and even
with the English case, where, at least in literature, these non-standard
varieties have played specific roles. It is obvious how these ideas even-
tually influenced attitudes towards the societal role of language in the
emerging Jewish (modern) nationalism of the late nineteenth century,
which resulted in a total divorce between Hebrew and Yiddish. Yet as
late as the late nineteenth century, for all Jewish communities around
the world, there never existed any doubt as to what language had what
status. Hebrew has always been the vehicle for canonized culture, re-
gardless of whether it had a counter-register linguistically related to
it or not. Moreover, as the functions of high culture, especially in the
medieval societies, were rather clearly specified, the use of the vari-
ous vernaculars could not pose any threat to it. Thus, the emergence
of Yiddish written texts, which developed from the fulfillment of an
auxiliary function—an aid for understanding the Scriptures for the
unlearned ("women and children")—to a burgeoning separate liter-
ary system, has not been without obstacles. To begin with, it had to
be justified by a clear assignment of functions which could no longer
be accomplished (for the speakers of Yiddish) by Hebrew. The label
"women and children" employed under this activity gradually became
only a euphemism, as uneducated people of both sexes, and all ages,
became consumers of such writings. On the other hand, the growing
willingness to supply popular needs by producing literary products in
the vernacular clearly took place under the pressure of the spreading
consumption of German adventure literature, either in the original or
via transliterations (as pointed out by Shmeruk 1978: 33–35).

   Yet, whatever additional functions were undertaken by Yiddish, its
position vis-à-vis Hebrew has remained unchanged until very recent
times. The language itself, and any writings in it, always had to behave
as the non-canonized stratum within a larger system, the canonized
stratum being occupied by Hebrew and its writings, old or new. This
clearly applied to all social activities, most conspicuously to legal situa-
tions: anything that had any juridical status was recognized only when
formulated in Hebrew—contracts, testimony in court, and other docu-
ments. Even when forced to use the vernacular for official texts of
the community, the officials-in-charge invented a special register, the
so-called "scribes' language," where abundant Hebrew embeddings
were evidently assigned the role of elevating the text to an authori-
tative and indisputable dictum which was, nevertheless, at the same
time at least partly comprehensible to all (Weinreich 1958). Moreover,
while certain genres were freely admissible into Yiddish when they
conformed to norms of contemporary popular literature, others had
first to be canonized by Hebrew before their transcription and circu-
lation in Yiddish would be permitted, although the Hebrew versions

were, to begin with, written renderings of the original oral Yiddish.[2] Similarly, even interference, mainly in the post-German period, was actualized via the Hebrew (Shmeruk 1975) and not via direct contacts.

Recognizing this division of labor between Hebrew and Yiddish has nothing to do with the respective value, importance, impact, or growth of either. Being "non-canonized" does not involve being inferior from a linguistic or literary point of view. Any reluctance then to accept this analysis on such grounds is totally unjustified for this type of analysis, because it is not concerned with evaluation of any kind. On the other hand, there is nothing essentialistic in hypothesizing polysystemic relations between Hebrew and Yiddish. There is nothing inherent which compels us to prefer a priori the polysystem model: we could quite as well proceed with comparable general functional concepts, thus considering them separate (though not isolated) systems rather than two systems constituting one whole. In its initial "German" period, "Yiddish" (imprecise as this label may be) was closely modelled—in both language and literature—on German, and is thus clearly definable, for that period, as a highly dependent system vis-à-vis the latter (cf. "Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems"). Why not say, for instance, that it was German rather than Hebrew which then constituted a polysystem with Yiddish? Now, Hebrew in its turn quickly evolved during the nineteenth century by heavily transferring from the Russian, thus maintaining dependency relations with the latter. Why not hypothesize a Russian-Hebrew polysystem? And, as far as Hebrew and Yiddish are concerned, why should they not be regarded as mutually dependent rather than co-systems in a larger structure? Would this not be more satisfactory, with the advantage of eliminating the polysystemic straitjacket imposed on two cultural systems which, however close, eventually separated from one another?

First, I believe that although one can observe stratum-like relations of Yiddish vs. German and Hebrew vs. Russian, no "polysystems" were thus established, as neither Yiddish nor Hebrew played any role for German and Russian, either directly or indirectly. Though we might even think of such a structure as a polysystem, little would be gained in terms of analytical clarity. Intersystemic interference (in this case, involving dependency relations) seems therefore to be more adequate for describing the Hebrew-Russian and Yiddish-German relations. Secondly, it must be stressed that hypothesizing polysystemic relations

2. Just one illustration out of many: the stories of Rabbi Nahman of Braclav, told in Yiddish, and probably taken down in Yiddish by his secretary (though possibly sometimes in Hebrew), were published in a bilingual edition, where *Hebrew* figured at the top of the page with Yiddish under it, typeset, as was the custom, with a different character set. (Shmeruk 1978: 220–227, etc. For details on the case of hagiographic literature see Shmeruk 1978: 218.)

between Yiddish and Hebrew is no straitjacket. The cherished formulation of "one Jewish literature" is more of a straitjacket, I believe, as well as an inadequate analysis. (That it may appeal to some vague Jewish sentiments—especially among those who know very little about Jewish history—is another matter.) Even if this formulation may be useful on the level of "general ideas," it is vague in the sense that it cannot provide us with some manageable working hypothesis which would allow research aimed to clarify the nature of the relations in question. The idea of "fusion," at least as understood by the adherents of the concept of "Jewish literature" regardless of tongue and period, is simply incompatible with the concepts of "relations" (i.e., functions, positions, and roles). Therefore, besides its a-historical bias, even when applied to periods where it seems valid, this concept fails to account either for the general mechanisms characteristic of the situation or for its specifics. For when one speaks of stratification functions, it is not only the principle of hierarchy which is meant, but the specific consequences of such a structure for the procedures undertaken by the various products within the respective strata. I therefore maintain that only the polysystem approach, and not the idea of fusion, respects the separate, partly autonomous structure of each system without thus contradicting its heteronomous relations.

What specifically constituted the polysystemic relation between Hebrew and Yiddish?

The major problem any polysystem has to deal with is how to maintain itself and avoid disintegration. As a rule, disintegration is caused, more often than not, by the inability of the system controlling the polysystem center to continue fulfilling the socio-cultural functions required. For the canonized culture, then, the main problem is how to avoid losing control of the polysystem. If, under the pressure of new needs, the central system does not adopt some new repertoire or allow the replacement of some old repertoire with a previously non-canonized one (thus allowing some peripheral system to become central), the whole polysystem is endangered. It is in the interest of the center to absorb new options from whatever source might be available, although for the contemporary occupants of this center this must mean their own evacuation from it. Change is therefore hardly carried out completely peacefully. But when a polysystem develops a relatively smooth mechanism of continuous adoptions by the center of peripheral repertoires, it becomes easier for it to prevent petrification thus coping with new needs that may emerge in the community to which it belongs and for which it functions. On the other hand, a non-canonized repertoire, where there is a vital center (i.e., one that generates innovations), benefits from the latter by drawing from it new

models which have the advantage (from the peripheral point of view) of being established enough and therefore acceptable. When the center, however, defends its occupants not by imposing innovations upon them but by blocking transfer from the periphery, non-canonized repertoire becomes the main generator for alternatives and the potential replacement of the repertoire occupying the center. When one observes the behavior of Hebrew (both language and texts) during the centuries of its confinement to written use only, one cannot but be impressed by the way it maintained itself, not by sticking to its sacredness but by coping with the changing needs. This is not equally true, of course, of all periods, but would be an accurate description of the history of Hebrew in general. In other words, it has never really become a "dead" language, confined to certain restricted areas of uses and kept as a sacred corpse in the national museum. I believe that such a phenomenon is inexplicable if one does not take into account the role of the Jewish co-systems, as well as of the adjacent non-Jewish ones. It makes no difference, from the point of view of functional analysis, whether transfers from these systems have occurred deliberately or through unavoidable infiltration. The appropriation of high Arabic literary models, to take one conspicuous example, which started in a non-deliberate way, eventually became a highly conscious elaboration. (For the process of Arabic interference with Hebrew see Drory 1986.) On the other hand, oblique reflections of the vernaculars, manifested in syntactic constructions, prepositions, tense coordination, sentence rhythm, and lexical loans have, for the greatest part of history, been an outcome of "infiltrations." In either case, however, interference has been made possible, to begin with, by the state of the target system, Hebrew, definable as a state of "deficiency," that is lack of means to accomplish necessary functions. Clearly, in such a state, the capacity of the system to reject either "badly needed" or "ancillary" features (i.e., such features that are not "badly needed" but come in a package deal with the latter) is greatly weakened. This explains the transfer of features which managed to infiltrate not because of any "need," but because, in a state of need, a target system generally becomes more open to interference.

As with most cases of interference, both direct and indirect transfers have taken place between Hebrew and Yiddish. Naturally, their extent, proportion, and particular actualizations have been different in different periods. As far as Hebrew as a target is concerned, direct transfers have had two different manifestations: (1) simple loans, mostly of lexical material, and (2) transfer of intonational patterns. Indirect transfers, on the other hand, have mostly gone through loan-translations (*calques*), but also through a very peculiar use of a third language, Ara-

maic, which was made to represent Yiddish in a Hebrew text without actually using it, thus making it possible to both use it and avoid using it at the same time. Let us now have a brief look at these procedures.

(1) *Direct use of Yiddish in Hebrew* normally occurred, in both legal and literary texts, when denotational precision was imperative but could not be provided by Hebrew alone. Thus, Yiddish glosses have been introduced either directly or with auxiliaries, such as the expression "that is called" (*ha-niqra* or *she-qorin*), usually together with a Hebrew word of unclear denotation preceding the Yiddish one of clear denotation. This is, as pointed out by Werses (1969: 57–58), a time-honored tradition which, since it was so established, could be manipulated for various purposes (such as parody and satire) in literary styles of various periods. Naturally, in less formal texts, the embedding of Yiddish within the Hebrew is of much higher frequency. There, it possibly also serves, in addition to (or besides) the need for denotational precision, such purposes as register shifts. (This is comparable with the Hebrew embeddings within the Yiddish text, current in the scribes' language and elsewhere, which also serve mirror-opposite functions.) This procedure maintained itself for quite a long time, even after the Hebrew-Yiddish polysystem had fallen apart, in spoken Hebrew in Palestine. (Cf. "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948" and "The Role of Russian and Yiddish in the Making of Modern Hebrew.") Far more complicated, perhaps subtler and more fascinating, is the transfer of sentence rhythm and intonation, a feature normally neglected (even ignored) by scholars, since, due to the exclusively written use of Hebrew, there has been little awareness of its sentence euphony. But it is precisely here, with rhythm (and the intonation implied by it), that a pioneering writer such as Mendele (1836?–1917) achieved in Hebrew perhaps his most unique innovation, which has had far-reaching consequences for the entire subsequent development of Hebrew literary language. Mendele introduced rhythmo-intonational patterns into the Hebrew sentence clearly modelled after the Yiddish ones, which made, I believe, the strongest effect of "naturalness" on his contemporaries. Breaking with the puristic norms of the preceding Enlightenment style, so alien to the long tradition of Hebrew use, this feature probably has become the most decisive, though the least explicitly remarked. Even Mendele's harshest critics (such as Druyanov 1919) did not pay any attention to this pattern. But once this technique was introduced, it successfully settled down in Hebrew prose, notably with such writers as Gnessin and Brenner. (On Gnessin's behavior in this connection see "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models" in this section.) The latter transferred it to treating Russian speech mediated by Hebrew, from where

it has been adopted to persist through more than sixty years of Hebrew letters. The significance of this procedure for innovations, urged by the lingual-literary needs, cannot be exaggerated. Since Hebrew has naturally tended to employ a body of ready-made expressions taken from the sanctified literary sources (a tendency that had reached its extreme manifestation in the Enlightenment period), petrification has been a constant danger. And, since petrification could be felt mostly in dialogue (at least when "realistic" norms started to prevail in Hebrew literature), the rhythmo-intonational transfers turned out to be a real breakthrough. One must of course add that these were combined with a rather sophisticated use of other procedures, notably *calques*. It is not a simple matter to determine to what extent these intonational patterns are univocal transfers from spoken Yiddish. In his Yiddish writings, Mendele makes use of Russian models to such an extent that one can rightfully claim that high Russian penetrated into the emerging Eastern Yiddish just as it penetrated the emerging new phase of Hebrew literary language. But, since interference with other Slavic tongues preceded that with high Russian, these sentence-intonational patterns potentially existed in Eastern Yiddish before they had to be imported, as it were, from stylized Russian dialogue. Russian seems therefore to have functioned for the newly emerging Yiddish literary language as a legitimizing paradigm. (For a more detailed discussion cf. "The Role of Russian and Yiddish in the Making of Modern Hebrew," above.)

(2) *Indirect transfers by loan-translations* (*calques*) are the commonest procedure with systems which, on the one hand, need to appropriate from another system but wish, on the other, to keep their integrity and prevent the possibility of being transformed into "another language." There is nothing peculiar in the way Hebrew has coined Yiddish *calques*, in comparison to other known cases of heavy interference. They are most frequent on the lexical level, both with single items and larger units.

Another procedure of indirect transfer, and quite a unique one, has been the use of a third language in order to represent Yiddish within Hebrew. In order to avoid a direct use of the Yiddish, yet retain some of the flavor and specific features of "the other system," Aramaic has been employed to render Yiddish (and sometimes other non-Hebrew languages). In such a way, Yiddish was on the one hand incorporated in a more legitimate way, as it were, and yet there was on the other hand a clear indication, especially in literary style, that "a lower register" was being employed. Though of a relatively recent date as a systematic technique (frequent with late-nineteenth-century Hebrew narrators), this was not a frivolous invention, but deeply rooted in

time-honored traditions. (On Aramaic as provider of diminutives lack-
ing in Hebrew see Even-Zohar 1970: 297; Shmeruk 1978: 57–60 and
discussion of the Aramaic text of the Passover song *Ḥad Gadya* as a
translation from Yiddish in connection with diminutives.)

While the lingual-literary role of Yiddish for Hebrew is in principle
clear, and even partly investigated, this is not quite the case with fea-
tures whose nature is not linguistic, though more often than not ex-
pressed by verbal means. I refer here to such elements as thematics
and composition. Have Yiddish texts ever exerted pressure on the
canonized Hebrew texts to such an extent that the latter had to intro-
duce changes in its repertoire the way it did on the linguistic level?
There is no satisfactory answer to this question, for what we have here
is precisely the opposite of interference operating in a polysystem,
namely blockage and differentiation. There are innumerable Hebrew
texts made simple in Yiddish renditions in order to accommodate a
less sophisticated public. I assume the opposite must have taken place,
too. At least this has been observed with bilingual writers, for which
writing in each of the languages did not involve just using different
languages for the same textual policies. It was the entire cultural and
literary tradition assigned to each of the languages which played a role
in taking decisions. (For a discussion of such bilingual Hebrew-Yiddish
writers see Perry 1984.)

It is no wonder that the young Shalom Alekhem, to take one very
famous example, quickly left Hebrew to go over to Yiddish. Although
he mastered Hebrew at least as well as most of his contemporaries,
and although there already had emerged the option for transfers from
the vernacular, which would bring about change, the narrative model
Shalom Alekhem was interested in employing must have been un-
thinkable for him within the framework of high culture. He seems to
have altogether ignored the drastic changes in Hebrew which took
place at the time and probably always kept the old, pre-Mendelean
image of Hebrew, its nature and position. Thus, although described
as the real founder of the institutionalized separate Yiddish literature
and the inventor of its "home mythology" (Miron 1973), he never con-
tested the position of Yiddish as "the Lady's maid." His obsession with
being translated into Hebrew cannot be explained except in terms of
desire for canonization. Typically, however, when he had to select a
preferred translator, he obviously picked one in accordance with what
he imagined to be the preferable style, which no longer conformed to
the new options made available to Hebrew. Examining the fragments
of translation carried out by the Hebrew writer Brenner (Alekhem
1972; see also Bakon's analysis 1972) of *Tevye the Milkman*, which is
much more compatible with these new options, one wonders why this

did not appeal to Shalom Alekhem. Perhaps these options, though initiated by Mendele himself, the same Mendele who was proclaimed by Shalom Alekhem as "the grandfather of Yiddish literature," were too recent and seemed a little too revolutionary to the latter, and at any rate incongruent with the established relations between the two systems. On the other hand, the model selected for translation—undertaken by D. B. Berkovich (whose Hebrew rendering is still the officially recognized Hebrew Shalom Alekhem)—was in perfect harmony with older literary traditions. Similarly, even Mendele himself behaved, on other levels of his texts, in conformity with the constraints Hebrew, as a central system, imposed. The examples provided by Perry (1968: esp. 92–99, and 1984), demonstrating the different repertoire of realia inserted in the Yiddish and the Hebrew texts respectively, are highly instructive. It is also highly illuminating in this connection that people like Mendele did not really approve of the contemporary attempts to make Hebrew a spoken vernacular. In spite of dissatisfaction with the prevalent state of affairs, that is the disparity between the written standard and the spoken vernacular, it was the only one which was manageable and had the advantage of being well organized and established. Making Hebrew a full-fledged language, ultimately detached from Yiddish, was difficult to grasp and threatened to annihilate a century-long cultural balance.

These considerations impel us to conceive of the Hebrew-Yiddish polysystem first and foremost as a cultural polysystem. The behavior of the languages participating in this polysystem, in whatever types of texts, as well as the literatures involved, must therefore be analyzed not sui generis, but in terms of the overall cultural structure. As we know from other, seemingly less "problematic" cases (such as the French case; Yahalom 1978, 1980, 1984), in a conservative society cultural division tends to overlap social divisions. One should not forget in this connection that in the realm of Hebrew and Yiddish we are not really dealing with two homogeneous systems, unified blocks, as it were, stratificationally related. Within each of these systems, there has been internal stratification, too. "Proper Hebrew," for instance, was carefully distinguished, on the phonetic level, from Hebrew as appropriated by Yiddish. In Hebrew, on the other hand, versified prayers conformed to Sephardi ("Hispanic") pronunciation, though not actualized as such, and the same holds true of the Hebrew Enlightenment poetry, as demonstrated by Hrushovski (1971). Thus, even Hebrew, at least among its secularized consumers, maintained synchronically concurrent options, mutually opposed (as more vs. less canonized). When Bialik introduced Ashkenazi (East European) pronunciation into Hebrew poetry, it was no less a break with tradition than any transfer from another language, Yiddish included. Indeed, this is exactly what

I mean by the multi-stratified nature of the polysystem. As far as Yiddish is concerned, too, value-bound use of formal units has always been present. And, due to the Western-Eastern Yiddish shift, as well as the respective position in social hierarchy of the Yiddish dialects, it has been not less variegated and differentiated than Hebrew. Yet it cannot be insisted upon too often, especially in view of the many studies devoted to digging up "facts," that it never has been the material available but the systemic values (functions) this material was capable of carrying which ultimately determined its specific behavior, i.e., its usability (insertability into texts, utterances, discourse). The cultural images confronted under the process of disintegration of the Hebrew-Yiddish polysystems (the "language of exile and misery" [Yiddish from the Hebrew point of view] vs. "the language of bourgeois enemies-of-the-people" [Hebrew from the Yiddishist point of view]), in spite of their negative nature, reflect the awareness of the people-in-the-culture of the cultural oppositions inherent in the linguistic multiplicity. Nevertheless, materials, although not constraining their own behavior, can modify the nature of constraints imposed upon them by the systemic structure into which they enter. Consequently, one should not overlook the peculiarities of the conditions caused by the bilingual nature of the Hebrew-Yiddish polysystem. Our knowledge of intra-systemic mechanisms has not yet progressed to the point where we are able to formulate the difference between "bilingual" (or pluri-lingual) and "non-bilingual" cultural polysystems ("mono-lingual" would never be really correct). But it seems that when systems are bi- (or pluri-) lingual, transfers are of a more complicated nature and stratification more resistant to change. But this may be just an induction from the particular case analyzed here and hence not generally valid. As usual, many answers are still lacking, though we have at least gained some good questions.

Gnessin's Dialogue
and Its Russian Models

1. Dialogue in Modern Hebrew Literature: "Mendele's Method"

Writing dialogue in narrative has been one of the most difficult problems for Hebrew writers since the nineteenth-century Hebrew Enlightenment. The beginning of that period concentrated upon depiction of biblical times; thus imitations of biblical Hebrew dialogue could be accepted as "natural." The moment, however, that narrative moved forward in time, especially towards the present, one could no longer justify this model of dialogue, which subsequently began to be pushed from the center towards the periphery of Hebrew literature.[1] In its place came the option of renewed use of other diachronic levels of Hebrew.[2] This had already begun with the late-Enlightenment writers,

1. This periphery mainly consisted of translated and children's literature. In these sections of the literary polysystem, both principles and items of the "Biblical" dialogue persisted until quite recently, i.e., perhaps until the end of the 1950s in Israel. On the position of children's literature in the literary polysystem see Shavit 1978 and 1986.
2. Obviously, Mendele did not invent the synchronic use of different diachronic components of Hebrew. This had been a time-honored habit in the so-called rabbinical style, subsequently looked down upon as "impure" (and therefore "ridiculous") by the Hebrew nineteenth-century Enlightenment people, much along the same lines as European classicists mocked the "impure" use of Latin. But it was Mendele who made it possible to go back to a more flexible use of the rich variety of historical Hebrew, which resembled the previous rabbinical style, without, by any means, being identical to it.

but it is first and foremost Mendele Mokher Sfarim to whom the elabo-
ration of a new synthetic Hebrew (generally referred to as "the style")
has been attributed. The non-biblical features of this style as regards
vocabulary have often been discussed, but it seems that little attention
has been paid to the fact that it was not only vocabulary or grammar
—and at any rate not these alone—which accounted for the nature
of some sections of the new model. Particularly in the segments of
reported speech, this new model relied heavily on the possibility of in-
terpreting syntactic elements (word order and pauses) on the level of
sentence rhythm and intonation in a way that made it possible to im-
pose upon them features of another language, namely those of spoken
Yiddish. Thus, while on the one hand "original Hebrew" components
were used, on the other, totally new functions, instead of being re-
jected as "alien," were cleverly introduced into Hebrew. The probable
reasons for this were the following:

   (1) The new functions belonged to a linguistic section entirely lack-
ing in Hebrew, i.e., for which there was no inventory of established
constituents or patterns. For, as far as the rhythmo-intonational fea-
tures of spoken language are concerned, no Jewish tradition of read-
ing aloud (the canonized texts) could have preserved such features
of Hebrew which dated from the time when it had been a spoken
vernacular.

   (2) Moreover, there is normally a very low self-awareness of
rhythmo-intonational features in any language. This entire field,
although it constitutes one of the most conspicuously distinctive
features of any living language, has no institutionalized status for
speakers of the language comparable to the powerful normative status
of grammatical and lexical conventions. In other words, the Hebrew
reader did not really possess an "ear" with which to hear "non-
Hebrew" intonational patterns, because he had never heard "Hebrew"
patterns in the first place, and therefore could not possibly have been
aware of the fact that he had not been hearing them, or that he was
hearing others "instead." As long as the grammar and vocabulary, as
well as the various micro-combinations governed by them, seemed not
to violate the accepted standard, the whole discourse was accepted as
"genuine Hebrew." Larger combinations (on the sentence level and
beyond) were not conceived of as categories relevant to the norms re-
quired by the standard. Against this background, Mendele's method
of rhythmo-intonational transfer eventually rescued Hebrew from a
dead end and opened up new and fresh possibilities. Hebrew litera-
ture was subsequently moved from a situation where it suited only a
highfalutin style and romantic fascination with the distant past into
a situation where it could cope quite effectively with the present—in

other words, from a situation where it could function for just a narrow segment of life to one where this segment could vastly expand.

2. Yiddish vs. Hebrew and Their Relation to Russian

The "Mendele method" quickly became a generative model for Hebrew literary language, i.e., it was adopted as an aggregate of practical principles ("instructions") for writing dialogues, alongside many other sorts of loan-translations. Nevertheless, it was not at all a simple transfer of an unstylized version of Eastern Yiddish vernacular into Hebrew. This would not be an adequate description even for the Yiddish of Mendele (Mendele was a bilingual writer).[3] True, Yiddish, unlike Hebrew, was a living spoken language (with a number of varieties). Yet it was far from being standardized, and moreover, it barely possessed techniques for stylized literary simulation. In contrast, at the same time, the most available adjacent literature, namely Russian, had already established and fully elaborated a repertoire for dialogue writing, as well as for correlation with other textual levels (such as composition, plot, "characters," and thematics). Naturally, the need for literary dialogue in Yiddish was just one of a large range of textual-literary needs, which had to be fulfilled as quickly as possible with whatever available means. But using Russian dialogue patterns for Yiddish might even have been particularly convenient in comparison with other textual levels, because some of those features of the spoken Russian language which had been transferred through stylized simulations into Russian literary language nearly overlapped with Slavic features already absorbed by the Eastern Yiddish vernacular (especially in the regions of Podolia and Volhynia, but later over all new territories of "the Ukraine"). This was the result of the process of interference which had been taking place between Slavic vernaculars and Yiddish in Slavic territories for some centuries (see above, "Russian and Hebrew"). It thus became possible for the Yiddish-writing Mendele (in contradistinction to the Hebrew Mendele) to make massive use of Russian literary models, probably without creating an effect of "foreignness." I do not contend that Yiddish literary dialogue was not a stylized simulation (or at least an attempt at such simulation)

3. Only naive approaches to literary language assume that any part of it is a direct registration of the writer's "natural" and "authentic" language. This is never the case, even in literatures where the gap between standard and colloquial language is relatively small. Normally, literary patterns are much more powerful than the writer's "natural" language, and while using them may seem quite "normal," introducing elements from "natural" speech would very often look "awkward." On Mendele's bilingualism see Perry 1984.

of spoken Yiddish. I merely claim that this simulation went through
Russian models, i.e., made use of the principles of stylized simulation
which were current in the Russian literary language. Thus, although
one could say that this is a case of "double stylization" (involving both
stylized Russian and living spoken Yiddish), dialogue in Yiddish could
nevertheless be considered a rendering of living authentic language.

This, however, was not the case for Hebrew. The calque (loan-
translation) method could not be taken to represent any "authentic"
language, but only a successful game of make-believe, i.e., a style
which successfully and in quite a sophisticated manner reflects some
authentic language, definitely different from the one actually em-
ployed in reality, that is, not Hebrew. Moreover, the double stylization
available to Yiddish became established even more strongly in Hebrew
because of the basic make-believe state of its dialogues. In addition,
just as Yiddish literature made use of Russian as the closest available
repertoire of literary options, so gradually did Hebrew, as its center
moved from Germany-Prussia to the Czarist Empire. Mendelean He-
brew dialogue, much as it sometimes seems a successful imitation, via
calques, of Yiddish speech, is in fact more often than not a Hebrew
transfer of Russian literary dialogue. Where one does find more in-
dicators of calques from Yiddish (as in many of Brenner's stories), or
when the characteristics of Russian literary dialogue are more con-
spicuous (as in most of Gnessin's later novels), one can play at solving
the riddle of "what language the literary figures really used in life."[4]
But, as indicated above, Yiddish and Russian features often overlap,
and solving the riddle becomes difficult. This is quite a complicated
situation, which can be understood only when one takes into account
the historical circumstances of Hebrew and the literary needs it had
to fulfill. One can also understand how it was possible for the Hebrew
reader to decipher such a complex model. One way or another, even if
the Hebrew reader was not perfectly trilingual, he had already become
familiar with the Russian conventions. This is, of course, no longer
the case with the modern Hebrew reader (Israeli in most cases), who,

4. Such a question is neither esoteric nor peculiar to Hebrew literature. One can
raise the same question for many of the heroes populating nineteenth-century
Russian prose. For instance, such writers as Pushkin or Tolstoj do not always take
the trouble to report the original language of their heroes' speech, although they
would go quite far in quoting French (or, more rarely, English). Yet there is no
doubt that part of the repliques written in Russian in fact represent speech in
some other language, notably French. For instance, many of the conversations be-
tween Prince Andrej Bolkonskij and Count Pierre Bezuxov, although reported in
Russian, were probably conducted in French, as can be inferred from the features
of the Russian they supposedly speak. (On "authenticity" in reporting speech see
below, "Authentic Language and Authentic Reported Speech.")

though acquainted—through literary tradition—with quite a few conventions, is likely to miscomprehend just as many. This applies even to "professional readers" such as critics and text analysts, who either have forgotten or never learned the peculiar history of their own literature.

3. Gnessin and the Russian Context

Uri Nissan Gnessin is one of the major Hebrew writers who widely utilized the Mendelean method, while developing it and going his own way in elaborating literary models employing a Russian and general European repertoire. He became, no doubt, both source and precedent for new means of translating Russian literature, adopted much later (in the late 1920s) by Shlonsky and his followers. On the other hand, certain principles and items prevailing in the narrative prose in Palestine of the 1940s definitely emanate from his writings, although more often than not mixed with repertoremes from other sources. In spite of the major role he played in the history of Hebrew literary repertoire, Gnessin has been viewed as quite an esoteric writer, a view which has some basis if Hebrew literature is considered in isolation. But Gnessin's esoteric nature, his uniqueness, bizarre elements, stylistic eccentricities, decadent and fragile figures, elegiac nature descriptions, the giggling and laughter of his "heroes" and "heroines," as well as other elements take on a very different appearance when viewed in the context of Russian literature. In this context, Gnessin appears solidly rooted, anchored in a luxuriant literary tradition, and, consequently, "more comprehensible." He turns out to have been a child of his time and its fashions no less than an individual writer with unique ways of expressing his "personal Weltschmerz."

The "classical" historical-comparative study of literature (generally known as "Comparative Literature") has tended to deal with texts rather than models, with individual writers rather than with historical mechanisms of literature as a whole, with the center of canonized literature exclusively rather than with non-canonized strata or even peripherally canonized literature. As a result, links between literatures have often gone undetected even when they exercised a decisive influence on these literatures' development and nature. Links have tended to be sought only in the expected places. Yet intercultural contacts in general, and inter-literary contacts in particular, are not always so simple and overt as they might seem, and it is not always the most famous and central writers who serve as the source for features borrowed and adopted by a target literature. More often than not, this transfer, or movement of models, takes place through less renowned writers who have not gained a central canonized position and who were likely to have been quickly forgotten after their deaths, yet who

might have been extremely popular and widely read. This may have been due partly to the fact that the models such writers tend to use are more transparent and "digestible," but partly, too, it is precisely their non-central position in the literary polysystem which makes an easier penetration possible. In this connection, Shmeruk's (1969) suggestion that the "prophetic poems" written by the Hebrew national poet Bialik were linked to a long "prophetic tradition" in Russian poetry and most particularly to models elaborated by a minor (but popular) Russian poet, Nadson, is indeed "a lucky discovery." Unfortunately, such neat and beautiful discoveries are infrequent. Yet the assumption that such links might exist (in this or that particular moment of literary history) has by now become indispensable for historical poetics. With this idea in mind, an examination of Gnessin's prose indeed reveals many affinities with some less notable Russian writers. It is thus neither Tolstoj nor Dostoevskij nor even Turgenev who seems to have been important in this connection, but rather such writers as Gleb Uspenskij, Vsevolod Garshin, Leonid Adreev, Aleksandr Kuprin, Mixail Arcybashev, as well as the more famous Gor'kij, Chekhov, and Ivan Bunin. Many of these writers, and above all Andreev, were among the most popular and widely read of their time, and probably nowhere more widely renowned and admired than among the young Jewish intelligentsia in the provincial towns of White Russia and the Ukraine. This list of names is certainly incomplete and will undoubtedly acquire further names once additional research has been done.

Out of the broad range of relevant aspects of the Gnessinian model's connection with the Russian literature, dialogue seems to be one of the most central and interesting junctures. The problems of Hebrew dialogue as described above on the one hand, and the conspicuousness of dialogue in narrative on the other, make it an interesting matter for investigation. The following pages will present the findings of such an investigation, based on four of Gnessin's late stories: "Aside" (1905), "Meanwhile" (1906), "Not Yet" (1910), and "At" (1912–1913; published posthumously).

4. Russian Dialogue: Principles of Composition and Style

Dialogue can be observed from two different aspects: composition and style.

(1) The compositional aspect consists of the network of relations between the dialogue-units and other textual components as well as the relation of one unit with others: the relations between the separate repliques or between replique groups, and the relation of both with non-dialogic textual segments, i.e., narration. These relations are normally manifested through elements of replique concatenation and

the levels of coherence of repliques in the text. In conventional and
well-established dialogue in narrative prose, the repliques are regu-
larly concatenated and are accompanied by ancillary phrases (" - x
x x, said Y nodding"), while the transition from them to other nar-
rative segments is actualized either by formalized connectives ("after
that," "then") or by elements expressing the space-and-time succes-
sion (e.g., a sentence following a replique: "X fell silent. Over his head
the sky shone brightly . . ."). Naturally, the degree of concatenation
tightness varies with the model preferred. With the so-called "sym-
metrical" dialogue (the "question-and-answer dialogue"), tightness is
strong enough to resist any attempts of "realistic" prose to break away
and create "natural conversation."[5]

(2) The stylistic aspect consists of the micro-structural features of
the individual repliques, i.e., their linguo-stylistic features such as vo-
cabulary, grammatical characteristics, syntax (rhythm and intonation
included), and register.

As far as can be generalized about such a prolific and variegated
literature as nineteenth-century Russian literature, it seems that both
central and less central Russian prose writers normally employ dia-
logue composition of the "conventional" type. Nevertheless, the indi-
vidual replique is not always a well-rounded and complete sentence,
conveying coherent information and constructed according to stan-
dard written norms. Russian writers have always had a "good ear"

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5. Here is an example of a tightly concatenated dialogue:

> The next morning host and guest had their tea out in the garden under an old
> lime.
> "Maestro!" said Lavretsky during the course of their talk, "you'll soon have to
> compose a triumphal cantata."
> "For what occasion?"
> "The occasion of the marriage of Mr. Panshin and Liza. Didn't you notice how
> he was courting her yesterday? It seems that everything's going along fine between
> them."
> "It will not happen!" exclaimed Lemm.
> "Why not?"
> "Because it's impossible. However," he added after a short pause, "anything's pos-
> sible. Especially among you, here in Russia."
> "We'll leave Russia out of it for the time being: but what do you find wrong in
> such a marriage?"
> "Everything's wrong, everything." [. . .]
> (Ivan Turgenev, *Home of the Gentry*. Richard Freeborn, trans. Penguin Books, 1970
> etc.: 96; first Russian edition: 1858).

This dialogue segment is concatenated almost in a classical way: an element *a*
in replique 1 generates element *a*1 in replique 2, and so on. (For what occasion?
→ the occasion of // everything's going along? → it will not happen // why not? →
because // here in Russia → we'll leave Russia out // what do you find wrong? →
Everything's wrong; and so on.) These repliques are coherently constructed in the
question-and-answer fashion which makes the scene one of plot-advancing.

for the spoken language, and even literary "classicists" introduced elements of natural speech into their repliques. As is well known, this tendency became stronger from Pushkin onwards. At its height it produced very far-reaching simulation (actually "islands of simulation" in most cases) of the spoken vernacular on the level of the individual replique. In addition to introducing elements from non-literary vocabulary and some techniques of phonetic imitation, two basic principles seem to have characterized the nature of Russian repliques at least since Pushkin's time:

(a) *Void pragmatic connectives (VPC's)*. In the "stock" of Russian language as well as in Russian literary repertoire, VPC's are highly developed. Indeed, despite the fact that VPC's are universal—English, for instance, possesses such VPC's as "well," "then," "I say," "look," "why," and "what"—there is no parallel in other literary languages to the variety and intensity of VPC usage in Russian. Beside the various functions that VPC's play for characterization, mise-en-scène of narrative situations and segmentation, they also help in disturbing the bookish nature of reported speech. For early-nineteenth-century Russian prose, it sufficed to insert two or three VPC's into an otherwise standard stylized replique in order to completely alter its rhythmo-intonational structure and at least to partly simulate living spoken speech.

A particular category of VPC's as regards both form and function consists of the various onomatopoeic sounds such as *Mts, Tss, Tc,* spitting *(Fu, Tfu)*, coughing or clearing the throat *(gm)*, hesitation *(e-e* [= eh eh]), laughter and giggling *(Ha-ha-ha, Hi-hi-hi, Hé-hé-hé* [all registered with "x"]), various *aspirations*, puffs and whisks *(Ha, Ha-Ha, Hé?* [registered with "x," sometimes with "g"; thus, "Ga" = "ha," etc.]), moans *(Ax, Ex)*, disapproval *(Tèk* [variant of *tak*], *Fu)*, and many others: *A, Aha* (written "aga"), *Ps, Psh, Ksh, Xmy, Trax* (= English "bang"), *Brr* (denoting shivering), and so on. (Most of the sounds quoted here are taken from Chekhov's writings, where they abound, but the majority also occur in most Russian writing.)

(b) *Stops and pauses*. Just as any spoken language would use VPC's verbally to fill void intervals, so would there be a high proportion of elliptic sentences, stops, and pauses, i.e., time intervals void of verbal material. In Russian narrative prose, ellipsis, stops, and pauses are all conventionally marked with three dots (. . .). In contrast to most other European literatures, Russian has made far-reaching use of this universal principle to the extent that it has almost become a distinctive feature of Russian style (and a great headache to translators). This device made it possible to disturb the bookish nature of repliques, probably even more drastically than with the use of VPC's.

5. Gnessin's Dialogue: Composition

Although plausibly borrowed from the Russian repertoire, Gnessin's principles of dialogue composition operate differently. Rarely do we find replique groups making successive and coherent scenes, as was traditionally adopted, in principle, by the Russian writers. The Gnessinian replique groups, even when they approach a scene-making dialogue, are not directly interlinked. More peculiarly conspicuous are the single repliques inserted into the middle of narration segments. In both cases (replique groups and single repliques) the text quickly retreats from repliques to other reporting techniques: narration and inner monologue (combined discourse included). As a result, the proportion of repliques in the Gnessinian text is much lower than the average among both Russian fiction writers and Gnessin's Hebrew contemporaries. For instance, the average of repliques per page in the four stories (novels/novellas) discussed in this article is 2.19 as opposed to an average of between 3.5 and 5 in the case of Russian writers, or 3.22 in the case of another Hebrew writer, Brenner.[6] Many functions, then, which in Russian prose are normally imposed on dialogue are here transferred to narration and monologue. This is by no means merely a quantitative matter, but one which has immediate implications for the nature of repliques, taken both individually and as dialogue. Even when the repliques appear in groups which come close to coherently concatenated dialogue (let alone when they appear singly),

6. The rates were drawn from samplings of 100 successive pages chosen at random. Obviously, such average rates do not indicate the specific nature of any one text or another, but only indicate general preferences of writers as regards their policy with repliques and their function in narrative. The numbers here do not bear any significance *per se*, but rather serve as indicators of norms when taken on a comparative basis. Here are some figures:

Dostoevskij (*Crime and Punishment*): 4.9, Uspenskij (various stories): 5, Garshin (various stories): 4, Chekhov (various stories): 4.35, Andreev (various stories): 3.9, Bunin (various stories): 5, Kuprin (various stories): 3.5. The average rates for Gnessin's stories are: "Aside": 1.1, "Meanwhile": 3.13, "Not Yet": 2.33, "At": 2.1. In Brenner's stories the following rates have been found: "In Winter": 3.34, "Round the Point": 2.77, "From A. to M.": 3.36, and the general average rate: 3.22, which is higher than Gnessin's but lower than most Russian writers checked.

(The following texts have been checked: Brenner 1937, *Kol kitbe* [Collected Writings], (Tel Aviv: Shtibel), I: 1–107 ("In Winter"), 131–232 ("Round the Point"), 237–305 ("From A. to M."); Dostoevskij 1973, *Prestuplenie i nakazanie*, in *Polnoe sob. soch.* (Moscow: Nauka), VI: 3–106; G. I. Uspenskij 1955, *Razoren'e ocherki i rasskazy*, in *Sob. soch.* (Moscow: Goslitizdat), II: 98–199; Vs. Garshin 1909 (St. Petersburg: Lit. Fond), 111–213; A. Chekhov 1966, *Rasskazy 1886*, in *Sob. soch.* (Moscow: Goslitizdat), IV: 215–315 (and also 166–197, 466–510, 210–214); L. Andreev 1971, *Povesti i rasskazy v dvux tomax* (Moscow: Xud. Lit.), I: 47–148; I. A. Bunin 1965, *Povesti i rasskazy 1890–1901*, in *Sob. soch.* (Moscow: Xud. Lit.), I: 7–108; A. I. Kuprin 1953, *Sochinenija* (Moscow: Goslitizdat), 112–220, 275–305, 384–433.)

they never constitute an attempt to record a whole conversation or even a segment of it. They are based on the principle of "conveying the tone of speech" rather than "conveying speech itself," as if the writer were somebody sitting at a distance, overhearing a conversation without catching every single word but only fragmentary sentences. This kind of reported speech, which is consistent with impressionistic aesthetics, determines a whole set of specific decisions on the stylistic level of the individual replique (see below).

From the point of view of composition, the subject of this section, this principle explains how Gnessin's repliques are relatively liberated from temporal and spatial coherence constraints. It seems natural, therefore, that they should appear not in continuous or successive blocs, but with intervals (spaces) between.

5.1. The Single Replique

The single replique device, where a single replique appears on its own in the middle of narration, probably distinguishes Gnessin's composition. Obviously this kind of replique is intended to break up the monotony of large narrative blocs. It is obvious that these repliques serve to present elements mentioned in the narration segments prior to their appearance. There seems to be, however, yet another function, less transparently obvious, but perhaps more decisive for composition, which has become a systematic structural principle for Gnessin, and a central item in his narrative model. It is an organizational function, an indispensable "construction," without which a writer (of *any* text) cannot take the elementary steps of text making, namely concatenation of the textual elements: linking one sentence to another and one paragraph to the next in accordance with certain prevailing norms. The single repliques in Gnessin's text serve to *advance the text*, i.e., to generate one segment from a preceding one and to create an "elegant" transition. The single replique frequently appears (sometimes with an ancillary phrase) as a finalizing element for some prior narration segment, often illustrating, as indicated above, an item already mentioned. Segment-finalizing elements are quite a standard item in the various models of textual segmentation in European, including Russian, literature. In nineteenth-century narrative prose a norm prevailed which required clear demarcation between segments. But alongside devices of direct demarcation (especially words/particles denoting space-and-time relations) there also began to evolve devices of indirect demarcation, those which could not immediately be identified as such. Gnessin's single replique is clearly used in this manner. On the one hand, this makes it possible for him to smoothly concatenate a new segment with a preceding one; on the other hand, this
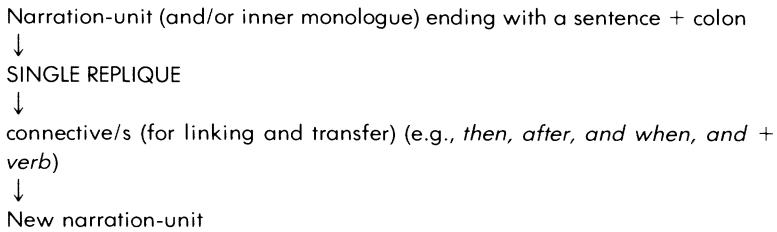
smooth concatenation is achieved not by an "artificial device" imposed by an external narrator, but conveyed, as it were, in a subtler manner "by events themselves," which of course divert our attention from the story's organizational aspects. Nothing could have been more admirable from the point of view of either "realism" or even more explicitly "impressionism," both of which required that organizational aspects be concealed or "blurred." The "slice of life" aspired to by these literary movements was meant simply to "tell itself" rather than be told by somebody whose (alien) presence is conspicuous. Thus, the use of an element such as the replique, which conventionally draws attention to the representational level of narrative, is also a sophisticated means of accomplishing the altogether different purpose of organization/construction while satisfying the requirements of the relevant norm. In this connection, it is neither content nor length of replique that matters for composition (Gnessin's repliques consist very often of one syllable only, such as "nu," "ha," "ah"), but rather its textual *position* alone.

Another standard textual advancer similar to the single replique, and one which was adopted by Gnessin from the Russian, is that of segments of songs or declamations, inserted by one character or another. Taken literally, it seems an incredible "tranche de vie": was it actually likely that people would suddenly stand up somewhere (a room, street, road, forest, pavement, public park), open their mouths in the middle of a conversation or moment of silence, and either recite some famous strophe or sing a song? This behavior, which undoubtedly strikes us as theatrical and unrealistic, was no fantastic invention, but based on habits, or rather mannerisms, of the intelligentsia. Nevertheless, like so many other items of reality, its transcription has ultimately become an item of "official realia in the cultural repertoire," a conventional realeme gradually carrying fewer and fewer representational functions and more and more stylistic-organizational functions, such as those of breaking monotony and diverting us with some "living piece" of life, but above all, that of serving as a textual transition, a sort of *deus ex machina* of textual construction, mobilized out of the blue to save a writer stuck with a certain segment he knew it was high time to end, without knowing how to do so elegantly. In Gnessin's stories, this device takes on an even stronger power to mislead (i.e., to draw attention away from its organizational function) than in Russian prose due to the fact that some parts of the declamations and songs are quoted in Russian, without any Hebrew translation. This emphasizes, as it were, the "authenticity" of the item, as do the graphic conventions indicating intonations, with the help of which the reader is reminded of the tune. It is possible that the relative independence of coherence constraints in these passages suggested to Gnessin a way of developing his single replique device, though this is only a guess.

5.1.1. *The Single Replique: Illustrations and Notes*
The segmentational function of the single replique is normally manifested in the following way:

Narration-unit (and/or inner monologue) ending with a sentence + colon
↓
SINGLE REPLIQUE
↓
connective/s (for linking and transfer) (e.g., *then, after, and when, and* +
verb)
↓
New narration-unit

Here are some illustrations. Translations are as literal as possible:

(1) [*narration segment, last sentence:*] [. . .] and he was getting excited and
asking every other minute: [SINGLE REPLIQUE:] - Do you understand? Do you
understand me? [*connective + new narration segment:*] And when Rosa was
reluctant even after, [. . .] ("Aside," 14).

(2) [*narration segment, last sentence:*] [. . .] and again she pointed with her
finger at the huge pile of cushions and pillows on the bed, to say: [SINGLE RE-
PLIQUE:] - And here it will be possible to sleep . . . [*connective + new narration
segment:*] After that they took Hagzer [. . .] (ibid., 15).

(3) [*narration segment, last sentence:*] [. . .] and his lips were issuing a stifled
reproach: [SINGLE REPLIQUE:] - Vera . . . [segment-finalizing phrase:] And the
latter was liberating her poor fly and digging her head in her book. ("Mean-
while," 41).

(This segment-finalizer was needed in order to have a sharply marked new
segment; the one-word replique "- Vera . . ." is the vehicle which made it possible
to insert this required finalizer.)
    Here is a comparative illustration from Leonid Andreev's "Pet'ka v dache" ("Pete
in the summer house") of the same compositional device:

[*narration segment, last sentence:*] [. . .] he smiled with embarrassment
replying: [SINGLE REPLIQUE:] - Good! . . . [*connective + new narration seg-
ment:*] And then he went back to the cruel forest [. . .] (Andreev, cf. n. 6,
73–74; for other examples [though without connectives] see ibid., pp. 68, 72,
and perhaps 78).

5.2. Replique Groups

Replique groups, with the exception of those approaching a classical
concatenated set, behave very much like the single replique. They, too,
are used to concatenate narration segments (and inner monologues),
even within a spatio-temporally united episode, and thus advance the
text. In other words, even when a group of repliques appears, it does
not advance the text scenically, i.e., not by direct inter-replique con-
catenation, but by linking a replique to a preceding narration segment
(which sometimes does not even belong to the same spatio-temporal
unit), to the next new replique and so on. Moreover, these repliques
are often just an enlarged statement ("speech unit") of one character

(i.e., a character says something, then comes a narration segment, then s/he continues the sentence started before, and so on). Clearly, this kind of alternation prevails also in the classical dialogue convention (or at least there one has replique ancillary phrases as linking units between repliques, i.e., elements of text advancement). But it is the degree of deviation from this convention, with the purpose of imposing a predominantly organizational function on the replique, which determines, in most cases, Gnessin's particular usage.

5.2.1. Replique Groups: Illustrations and Notes

The compositional principle governing replique groups is the alternation between repliques and short narration segments, instead of a successive set (series) of repliques. Here are two examples:

> (1) [narration segment, last sentence:] [. . .] And Hagzer exclaimed with joyous frivolity: [replique No. 1:] - How much light and life, there! But no, you will not go home now! [connective + narration segment, last sentence with colon:] And after a short while they were already walking [–], and he was slightly slapping her nose now and then with a trembling hé-hé [replique No. 2:] - Ay, Hanna! [connective + 3rd narration segment + colon:] And Hanna was laughing loudly, [–] and his head tended aside and his lips chattered: [replique No. 3:] - But a kiss, Hanna? A kiss is permitted - isn't it? [connective + 4th narration segment with combined speech:] and she laughed with a loud and tinkling voice [–] how strange is that man, ha-ha-ha! And only one thing she would like to know, who taught him such things, ha-ha-ha? (The last sentences are combined, not reported, speech.) ("Aside," 28–29.)

> (2) [a narration segment opening with a connective from the preceding segment, which ends with a single replique + segment-finalizer:] And once he was sitting like that [—] and replying with a menacing tone to all those who would then address him: [replique No. 1:] - Popka, I'm hungry! [a narration-transferring segment:] At that moment his eyes caught sight of little Vera [—] and there his lips uttered: [replique No. 2:] - Popka . . . [a passage sentence to replique No. 3:] But immediately his eyes were hovering around and he added: [replique No. 3:] - Eh, Vera, this is how you prepare your homework? (Here another narration segment follows, which brings us to another time: "and many days later it happened that [. . .]" and ends with a colon and a single replique, followed by a narration segment which starts with the word "later.") ("Meanwhile," 41.)

A compositional model closer to the one described here can be found, for instance, in Gor'kij's Childhood, a novel of reminiscence. Indeed, Gnessin's device in this respect is quite similar to one generally used in reminiscences: the narrator summarizes events which took place in the past, skipping and omitting events in his journey through space and time, indicating the repetitive nature of the various events and actions (usually expressed by the continuous tense form + "and": "and when he was x-ing," "and he was x-ing," etc.).

6. Gnessin: Style on the Level of Individual Repliques

On the level of style, Gnessin's adoption of the Russian conventions is even more far-reaching than on the level of composition. Here, too, the Russian principles are adopted in a systematized and schematized manner. Gnessin adopted the principle of VPCing and that of stopping-and-pausing and made them almost exclusive features of repliques. These principles, though highly characteristic of Russian prose, are by no means the only ones employed. Rather, they are used side by side with other more classical devices, and their character is therefore much more variegated. Even in the case of Russian writers who come very close to Gnessinian proportions, such as Gleb Uspenskij, there is no relinquishing of the classical scene as plot-advancer, nor of the well-rounded full-sentence repliques. Gnessin's selection of only *one* out of a larger variety of options in the Russian repertoire seems not only to have been dictated by the universal law of systematization and schematization normally involved with transfer, but, as it turned out, also to have been compatible with his compositional decisions, perhaps even dictated by the latter, if we seek stronger constraints. These decisions reduced both the interest and need for full-sentence coherent repliques, because the kind of concatenated dialogue designed to advance the plot by scenes had been almost totally eliminated.

6.1. VPC's (Including Onomatopoeic Sounds)

I have pointed out above how essential VPC's seem to be for a successful simulation of speech, even in cases when the structure of a reported utterance is quite close to that of a standard written one. But the use of VPC's was entirely different for Russian than for Hebrew. Russian literary language had to make only one major decision, namely which of the VPC's current in the spoken vernacular it would be worthwhile adopting. *Hebrew* literary language, on the other hand, could adopt no VPC's from any spoken Hebrew vernacular. The only decision facing Hebrew writers involved which elements it would be possible to *impose* a VPC function on by making a calque of Russian literary language (and/or Yiddish mediated by the Russian). Naturally, only those writers prepared to utilize the Russian repertoire were in a position to do this. Brenner and Gnessin "opened the door" for all subsequent writers as regards adoption of VPC's, but their contemporaries, many of whom never actually accepted "the Mendelean method," were often unwilling to adopt VPC's, even in translating from the Russian.

    Gnessin's VPC repertoire is fairly rich, including mostly the follow-

ing elements: *and, but, there, "nu," yet, why, here, and is, seemingly, look here, s-o, good, m-yes, at any rate, so-so,* of which the most frequent are *and, but,* and *there* (in the story "Not Yet"—also *nu*). These three VPC's illustrate the degree of sophistication sometimes achieved in modern Hebrew with the use of calques. For all three frequently appear in authentic historical Hebrew, and the fact that they regularly appear in initial positions made it relatively likely for them eventually to be accepted as VPC's. It is no wonder that some, at least, have also been absorbed into modern Hebrew speech. As for the high frequency of "and" as a connective in the general fashion of impressionism, this undoubtedly facilitated its acceptance even in combinations deviating from the traditional language.

Moreover, the Russian repertoire was even more helpful, for there are limits to how many new functions can be imposed, at least to begin with, on forms current in any target language without creating effects of artificiality. Therefore, the fact that Russian literary language had massively adopted onomatopoeic sounds for VPC functions undoubt-edly helped Gnessin control the number of VPC's, at least to a certain extent. The quantity of onomatopoeic sounds in his stories is higher than that of the other kinds of VPC's, in initial as well as other posi-tions. Surely this preference for sounds is intimately linked with the clear and conspicuous nature of these "Ah"s, "Ha-ha"s, "Eh"s, which more readily evoke the impression of "living speech" than morphemic elements whose deciphering—at least as far as the habits of language comprehension are concerned—is not automatic to the same degree, in Hebrew as well as in Russian.

6.1.1. *Replique with VPC's: Illustrations and Notes*

(1) [. . .] they laughed very much at her remark, namely that: - And here one will be able to sleep . . . ("Aside," 16). (initial VPC: 'and.')

(2) [. . .] and he was rubbing his hands with glee and kicked vehemently with his foot and exclaimed in a loud cheering voice: - And here is also winter, Rosa! (ibid., 16) (initial VPC's: 'and' and 'here.')

(3) [. . .] and his head leaned on his hand and his face looking outside and there he says with a weary and gloomy naive smile to Mina, who for some reason pressed her little hand into his, once, twice and three times, and her face was so sympathetic and sad: - Here I go . . . perhaps *you* will tell me what for? ("Meanwhile," 61) (initial VPC: 'here.')

It should be noted that in illustrations (1), (2), and (3), not only are the Russian VPC's transparent, but so are other Russian elements as well. In illustration (2), it is not only "and here" (= Russian *nu vot, a vot,* or *da vot*) which is typical, but especially the word "also" (in this particular context = Russian *i,* which means both "and" and "also"), which is used in Russian for emphasis, while it is not com-patible at all with the authentic Hebrew usage (in English, too, it seems that this

"also" makes "no sense"). *"A vot i zima" would be perfectly colloquial in Russian. It would roughly mean: "Look here, it is already winter, isn't it?" or "Well, why, it's winter already," or the like.

In illustration (3), not only is "here" Russian (= Russian *vot*), but so is the use of the present tense (accepted in such contexts in modern Hebrew, too). In all other respects, the phrase needs translation to contemporary Hebrew. In English, it should read "So (there) I am going/Well, I am going/gone."

As indicated above, "and" is the Hebrew equivalent for Russian both "a" and "i" (sometimes even for Russian "da"), which are the most frequent literary VPC's in Russian. Unfortunately, there has been no research as to which kinds of "and" are still acceptable to modern Israeli Hebrew speakers, although most speakers seem to have no difficulty indicating which cases are and which are not acceptable. For instance, the following would probably be accepted as "authentic" Hebrew today (but does not seem to be acceptable in English):

(4) Later, when he recalled [. . .], a thought came up: - And maybe he is right [. . .] ("Not Yet," 72).

On the other hand, in the following illustrations, the Russian "and" is still transparent:

(5) When she was inside the train, outside of which door were the arm-rests of Uriel's seats, she breathed heavily and added: - And what? Linka has gone her way? (ibid., 106).

(6) [. . .] and he was somewhat frightened and lifted her head a little and drew his face to hers and asked with a serious and generous mood [spirit]: - And you here - here you get yourself old, Ah? (ibid., 115).

(7) But when she was already standing on the platform of the train, which was ringing and hurrying, and her hand was put inside his to bid farewell, she laughed somewhat brokenly and exclaimed: - And good-bye . . . and good-bye . . . Ha-ha [. . .] (ibid., 135).

In illustration (6) the Russian model is transparent even for other components: sentence structure, rhythm and intonation (expressed graphically by a long dash), and VPC of the syntagm ("here"), the reflexive verb ("you get yourself old" expressed with one verb + preposition), the finalizing VPC "Ah?" All these features have not been absorbed by the living modern Hebrew, but remain totally alien. An English translation should probably read: "Well, folks, you here are getting a little old, what?" / "going and making yourself old, what?" In all illustrations, the Russian is easily reconstructable: (5) "and what" = Russian "A chto?" (6) "and you here - here you" = Russian "A vy zdes' - vot vy . . .], and (7) "And good-bye" = Russian "I proshchaj . . . ," all perfectly colloquial and established conventions for literary reported speech.

6.1.2. *Onomatopoeic Sounds: Illustrations and Notes*
Gnessin's repertoire of onomatopoeic sounds is almost totally identical with the Russian, even in those cases in which the Russian representation of certain sounds is awkward, or unmotivated, for Hebrew. Some of the most common sounds are: *Hm, Xme, Ts-e, Ax, Ex, Ah, Eh, Mts, Fu* (rather than Yiddish "fuj," also current in

Russian!), *tfu, no-no-no, Aha, Kxm, s-s-s, Xm-xm, Trrax! Pss, Xa, Xa-xa, Xa-xa-xa, Xi-xi, Xe-xe, Xo, Hi, Ho-ho, hé-hé.* There is no answer whatsoever why this series of laugh and breaths should be rendered in Hebrew by "x" instead of "h." It is "x" rather than "h" *in Russian* because the latter has no "h," while Hebrew has! Nevertheless, as is often the case with interference, it was the Russian *model* which prevailed, and the use of "x" became the norm not only for literary transcriptions in Hebrew (as well as in Yiddish) literary language, but also for modern Hebrew colloquial as "the natural onomatopoeic sound for laughter" or "for mocking" (in such expressions as "Xa-xa [or Xa]!" = "very funny!").

Here are some illustrations:

(1) - Ax, dog! Ah? ("Meanwhile," 57).

(2) - Xa-xa-xa, look. The same frivolous spirit, the doctor's, xa-xa-xa. One of the notebooks of the wretched doctor, xa-xa-xa . . . ("Not Yet," 77).

(3) - Ax, with his grace's pardon, at the harbor we'll meet . . . M-selle Rootless is also going today . . . Ax (ibid., 79).

(4) - Eh, a brave one she was. I swear! Where is she now. Ah?

(5) - N-r-r-r . . . s-o! What else? Perhaps you were thinking - it is *in vain* we are living, Atlis? N-r-r . . . (ibid., 109).

(These sentences, read against the background of modern Hebrew, would sound as awkward as they do in this English rendering. They are however easily "re-translatable" into their possible Russian models.)

6.2. Micro-Phonetic Simulation

Another of the interesting cases of transfer from Russian on the level of micro-phonetic simulation is the initial "M," normally inserted before initial VPC's to denote "start of speech from the state of closed lips" (something like a continuous "mmmm" sound before one opens one's mouth). The regular Russian forms are *N-net, N-da, M-da*, while in Gnessin we get *M-ken* ("Meanwhile," 46), *M . . . nu* (ibid., 59), *M-na!* ("Not Yet," 79).[7] It should perhaps be noted that while the sound string *md* (in the Russian *M-da*) is phonetically motivated (as regards articulation base), the Hebrew string *mk* (in *M-ken*) is definitely not, as it combines a back with a front sound, which only makes it more obvious how little simulation of real speech there is here, but rather an imitation of speech in another language. (Also, whereas Russian has either "M" or "N," only "M" was adopted by Gnessin.)

7. *Da* means "yes," *Net* means "no" in Russian, and the Hebrew *ken* ("yes") is a verbal translation of *da. Nu* means "well" in Russian, and has been adopted with the same meaning in both Yiddish and Hebrew. "*Na*" is a Yiddish exclamation, never adopted by Hebrew, but apparently not rejected as "alien" by Gnessin.

6.3. Stops-and-Pauses

As previously indicated, Gnessin makes almost an exclusive use of the Russian device of stops-and-pauses. The further the distance from Gnessin's time, the more this device was interpreted in Hebrew literary criticism as an expression of characters' psychologies, namely their "incoherent souls." The three dots, which are the normal graphic convention for representing stops-and-pauses (see 6.3.1 below for details), are normally taken in Hebrew as in English to denote "unfinished thoughts" as well as "hesitations and doubts," which came to seem perfectly compatible with the sort of characters populating Gnessin's novels. Such a reading, however, is anachronistic. Characters who are by no means "rootless, confused, hesitating and doubting" in Gnessin's writings (as well as in the writings of others who adopted the same convention) also speak with stops-and-pauses. It is true that according to a certain prevailing aesthetic conception, especially the one which highly appreciates a positive (univalent) correlation between the various textual levels, an "unrelaxed" mode of speech must be an expression of the "unrelaxed nature" of characters. But the general distribution of this device makes it clear that its main purpose is to conform to certain norms of representing speech in literature. It certainly solved for Gnessin the nagging problem of how to report speech in a manner that would not sound artificial, constrained, or "bookish," and more especially the problem of how to convey the "tone of speech." The Russian technique was adopted by him almost rigorously with only one meaningful difference. Having become almost a total principle in his texts, it is much more monotonous and repetitious than in normal Russian literary prose. It seems worthwhile to note in this connection, if only to underline how ridiculous some interpretations of correlations in literary works are, that Leonid Andreev's rootless and erratic heroes, whose similarity to Gnessin's characters is sometimes striking, do not normally speak with stops-and-pauses at all. On the other hand, Gleb Uspenskij's heroes, who are neither rootless nor erratic, utter a remarkable quantity of unfinished sentences.

As with all the other techniques described above, this too is not exclusive to Gnessin in Hebrew prose, although it seems that he carried it further than anybody else. It was this concentration of so many Russian principles in one and the same narrative model that may explain its impact, greater than any other Hebrew model, on the "second russification generation," which dominated Hebrew literature between the 1930s and the 1950s in Israel (for details see "Russian and Hebrew: The Case of a Dependent Polysystem"). From this "second generation," many such Russo-Hebraic elements were passed on to the repertoire of Hebrew fiction written ever since.

6.3.1. *Stops-and-Pauses: Illustrations and Notes*

There are several ways of expressing stops and/or pauses. The most frequent, though not the only one, is the three dots (. . .) convention. However, not each case of three dots represents both stop and pause. In order for both to take place, there needs to be some syntactic deviation as well: unfinished syntagms, omission of some element (e.g., after preposition: "to say to . . . ," "this one that"), or incoherent concatenation. On the other hand, a stop can take place without any dots at all, while three dots can express only a pause (i.e., without a stop) when they follow unstopped sentences. Quite often, the onomatopoeic sounds also serve to achieve a stop and/or pause (especially "xa" and "xa-xa"). E.g.:

> (1) - I, in these last days . . . not only the business of writing - in general . . . Supposedly, you don't even know what it was . . . it seems and [i.e., that, = Russian *i*] nothing . . . what? But you look well, and here - not this, something different, not this - and everything is here! ("Aside," 25).

> (2) - What are you muttering there, fellow? She's overcooked something? Xa-xa . . . Et! Nonsense! [. . .] ("Meanwhile," 49–50).

> (3) - M-selle Rootless? Ax, M-selle Rootless, the one that . . . - The one that? . . . Ax, you joker from the family of clowns, Ah? Clearly the man knows already some unmistakable features of her, Xa-xa; but why don't you finish? ("Not Yet," 79).

> (4) - You follow this iron rule. That is . . . since we are as fond of that "life," as you say . . . an iron rule. The lot, I say, of such ones like us - is those women that . . . that are ripe. Xa. You see? You are delicate soul - and I say: who are ripe . . . Ax, please. This face-of-a-lamb-whose-hair-hasn't-been-cut-yet of a babychild who hasn't sinned - what is it for? Xa-xa. [. . .] ("Not Yet," 154).

> (5) - Seems so, Xe-xe. Cogito - ergo sum, xe-xe, Cogito . . . there . . . already a new flesh and blood, a new "xe-xe." . . Nausea! ("At," 251).

> (6) - Another? possible . . . What would you mean by another? Ax, true - as regards what she said before; goat . . . he would like - but again this fried porridge [= messy business], xa-xa . . . [. . .] ("At," 229).

(As with many of the preceding illustrations, these are almost as awkward in contemporary Hebrew as they are in English, with the exception, of course, that one normally accepts them as a natural part of traditional Hebrew literary style, while no such possibility could ever be the case for English. "Translating back" into Russian would, however, go very smoothly, and indeed, it would be quite difficult to explain to a Russian reader why some of these repliques are rather peculiar for a non-Russian literature.)

6.4. Rhythm and Intonation

In vocal performance, or while hearing/reconstructing "with one's inner ear," all the replique elements described contribute to the rhythmo-intonational level, which, as already indicated, does not per-

tain at all to the language in which the text is written, but to another language, notably Russian or Yiddish. The stops-and-pauses, VPC's and onomatopoeic sounds, as well as elements of micro-phonetic simulation, all participate in making the rhythmo-intonational pattern. In addition, Gnessin even takes the trouble to mark rhythms, tones, and intonations using other accessories. On the syntactic level, one of the conspicuous means he uses for creating a "living rhythm" is repetition (" - In vain you think so, in vain you think so" ["Meanwhile," 57]; " - And if the unimportant, my dear doctor - if the unimportant, the [. . .]" ["Not Yet," 73]), which is characteristic of almost any spoken vernacular, yet has most clearly become a standard item in Russian literary style, from whence it is taken here. (Such repetitions, although possible in colloquial English, do not, however, seem normal for stylized literary style.)

Another item is word order, which is also highly typical of the "other language" that Hebrew follows. This is achieved by embedded (interpolated) VPC's, such as "for example" or "that is" (= Russian "naprimer" and "znachit" respectively), which unavoidably evoke a certain recognizable intonational pattern: "Here is, that is, your Hagzer . . ." ("Aside," 30: = *Vot eto znachit, vash Xagzer).

When word order does not seem to suffice as an indication of intonation or pitch, Gnessin employs the technique of spaced letters (equivalent to English italicizing). Another means is putting a pause between two elements of a sentence, normally "in the place of a copula" (there is no formal copula for the present tense in either Hebrew or Russian), that is, between subject and predicate. This is quite a typical Russian construction, and is normally expressed by a long dash: "Do you understand? *By us* people — spitting!" ("Meanwhile," 55. A rough equivalent translation would be: *"You understand, people [human beings] in this place [society] of ours don't have any value," or perhaps *"You get it, here they spit on you." The Russian would be easier to reconstruct: *"Ponimaesh? U nas ljudi — t'fu!").[8]

Still another conventional device for indicating tones, prolonged syllables + specific pitch (normally a rising one), or just a prolongation is interpolating syllables with dashes: Tu-niks, Wa-it ("Not Yet," 86), N-o (ibid., 87), Run-ning ("Aside," 21), Fa-act! Yes, Fa-a-act . . . (ibid., 29), Wha-at? What did you sa-ay? ("Meanwhile," 41), Fo-orgotten ("Not Yet," 119), and so on. Most of these "make no sense" in English, as no

8. The long dash is utilized, however, by some Russian writers instead of three dots, but probably with a *reverse* stylistic purpose, i.e., to emphasize the continuation of the sentence rather than its incompleteness. This makes it necessary to actualize a different intonation altogether: "Here — [do you] hear — [he] goes!" (Gor'kij, *My Universities*). "Indeed, this way — you will lie down!" (ibid.), "From afar I've seen you — going." (ibid.).

specifically recognizable patterns can be actualized here, but are quite current in Russian, rendering easily recognizable tones. The same holds true for Yiddish, too, and perhaps some can be found in Jewish American English (which has partly penetrated non-Jewish speech in the United States).

7. Conclusion

The dynamic development of Hebrew over recent generations, and its departure from Russian (both in literature and in all verbal-textual cultural activity) since the end of the 1950s, in fact altered, for the modern Israeli, the nature of a sizable proportion of literature written at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, the lexical and grammatical linguistic continuity, as well as the established habit of both accepting and actively reading a literature written in a "literary" language (i.e., which does not resemble contemporary language), still create and sustain the illusion of "immediate understanding." No such immediate understanding would be the case, for instance, with either the French or English reader for sixteenth- or even eighteenth-century French and English texts respectively. A child in an Israeli elementary school is, however, expected to be able to read Biblical texts fluently, with no other aid than supplied by "word explanations," whereas recent literature does not *seem* to demand any such explanations at all. Yet we have seen that this is not really the case; late-nineteenth-century Hebrew literature sometimes needs *more* explanation than ancient Hebrew (for a contemporary Hebrew speaker).

One should not really wonder why research into these problems has not developed. The view that Hebrew maintained intimate and close links, not only with Russian or some other modern literature, but with many other literatures and languages throughout the ages, has not been favored by modern attitudes. Since Romanticism and its ideas about "genuine identities" of nations, carried by their language and literature, the manifestations *par excellence* of national "spirit," intercultural interference has become a touchy subject. In all European literatures, many scholars devoted both time and energy to "prove" that "influence" has *not* taken place (notably in French "Comparative Literature"). The struggle of Hebrew for new recognition and revival, so intimately linked with the social and political struggle for national revival, did not encourage treatment of an undesirable past which one wanted to shed. For the new generations who grew up with Hebrew as the sole language in Palestine (and later in the State of Israel), Hebrew literature has been presented as autonomous, free of any links to anything else. Severing Hebrew literature from its surroundings

throughout the ages does not make it possible to understand its his-
torical development, and the profile of many central texts is distorted
as we lose clues to the many and varied decisions taken to ensure He-
brew literature's survival. Moreover, with the a-historical fashion still
dominating some centers of literary studies, the reading of all Hebrew
texts as if they had been written during the same period and in ex-
actly the same language, has meant that Hebrew research has mostly
ignored particularities and differences.

Hebrew writers, from the beginning of the Hebrew Enlightenment
period, struggled to find new narrative models appropriate to the
new literary norms to which they aspired to conform. This strug-
gle was carried out under specific circumstances—the writer's liter-
ary language was not his spoken vernacular and nobody yet knew
what an everyday "natural" Hebrew sentence sounded like in real life.
Even when spoken Hebrew did start to emerge in Palestine (probably
towards the mid-1890s), the peripheral position Hebrew-Palestinian
culture assumed in the system of Hebrew letters in general prevented
it from being taken into consideration. It was under these circum-
stances that the Hebrew writer had to produce a text which would not
look "poor" or "inferior" even in the eyes of the most highly trained
readers when compared to texts they could potentially read in other
languages.

No doubt, the constraints of both Hebrew language and Hebrew
literature determined the directions taken by Hebrew writers. Never-
theless, as I have tried to show in this and other papers (in the present
collection), these constraints did not constitute the only decisive factor.
Obviously, many writers simply succumbed to them, and certain ten-
dencies were naturally encouraged more than others. Those writers,
however, who became actively involved with the elaboration of central
models did *not* give up describing *realia*, to take one instance, just be-
cause there were difficulties with word denotations, nor did they give
up reporting speech, to take another instance, because nobody knew
how a "Hebrew" should actually speak. In these cases, i.e., when the
literary norms required it, literary interests (functions) did not subju-
gate themselves to the state of the language, but rather maneuvered
to find solutions in spite of it. In this struggle, the massive use of
Russian repertoire became a central option for an effective and quick
elaboration of new models. Evidently, Gnessin was one of the major
figures in developing tools for this use. It makes no difference whether
one values his writings today or not (in the Hebrew literary milieu,
people are never neutral about Gnessin) for one to be able to appreci-
ate his literary skills, the professional manner in which he handles the
making of a text, and his deep awareness of key principles of the nar-

rative activity. Many of his solutions, created under specific pressures, have either become obsolete or standard stock for certain antiquated products, irrelevant to the new circumstances. For this he cannot be blamed. The trouble is that, observed through this blurred looking glass, his portrait often looks deplorably distorted to us.

Authentic Language and Authentic Reported Speech: Hebrew vs. Yiddish

1. Authentic Language and Reported Speech in Modern Literature

During the nineteenth century, European Romanticism and Realism encouraged the introduction into literature of elements from "natural language," that is, which reflect "authentic" features of the characters' speech. The employment of dialects for reporting authentic speech became legitimate and in some regions an exclusive dialect literature emerged. Gradually, this kind of "authenticity" was viewed as indispensable for literature. Naturally, in no European literature (except for dialect literature or some extreme cases such as Hauptmann's *Die Weber* [1892]) has there been any real transcription of speech. Rather, each literature, in the context of its polysystemic constraints, has developed a repertoire of speech *markers:* grammatical, lexical, and other elements (such as syntactic patterns actualizable on the rhythmo-intonational level) which could fulfill the function of "speech" for the opposition "preserved literary language" vs. "authentic vernacular." It should be recalled in this connection that the concept of "authenticity" as an active norm dominated various sections of nineteenth-century culture. It was required that the description of reality be "authentic," that man be "authentic" (that is, "sincere" and "himself"), and linguistic authenticity was identified with true and unfalsified character, "naturalness" and "sincerity." The waves of national awakening which now flooded Europe on the one hand stirred all regimes to impose a unified language on the territories ruled by them, often using

violent means; on the other hand, various ethnic minorities started seeking their "identity" through their "true language." In Catalonia, Provence, Serbia, Moravia and Bohemia, Norway, and many other places there were attempts by minorities whose aboriginal language had been pushed aside by more powerful tongues (Spanish, French, German, Danish, Russian) to revive their old vernaculars, standardizing or re-standardizing them. In this struggle, the new (or renewed) literatures which started using these languages played a major role not only as a vehicle for elaborating linguistic standards, but also in propagating and winning acceptance for these languages in the first place.

2. Hebrew and the Case of Reported Speech

The use of Hebrew for secular culture, which definitely belonged to this general European movement, encountered different problems than those faced by other languages, among them its inability to pose as "authentic" (in the sense described above) for contemporary life. Nevertheless, the central position it occupied in Jewish cultural life made it possible for Hebrew not only to avoid being rejected, but to succeed in developing a set of means by which it could be accepted as if it were authentic. Thus, a sort of "pretend authentic language" emerged, which, due to its enormous success, managed to make itself an integral part of the canonized repertoire and to stay in use long after a genuine Hebrew vernacular had established itself in Palestine.

3. Yiddish as Superior to Hebrew for the New Norms

No doubt the elaboration of the repertoire for the pretended authentication of Hebrew speech, in spite of its eccentricities and awkwardnesses, has greatly contributed to making it richer and more flexible. It may also have facilitated the revival of speech in Palestine, towards the 1890s, in the sense that many loan-translations (mainly from Yiddish, but also from Russian) were no longer felt to be "non-genuine Hebrew." On the other hand, however, this "artificiality" and "inauthenticity" of Hebrew made a growing part of the Jewish intelligentsia reluctant to go on using it as its vehicle of high culture. The new Yiddish language (Eastern Yiddish), put into use by the Enlightenment movement during the nineteenth century, was gradually taken to be a successful *alternative* to Hebrew rather than its companion. After all, Yiddish possessed some very conspicuous advantages over Hebrew at the time. Accepting it as a canonized language mainly involved liberating oneself from long-standing ideological and psychological blocks. Obviously, its naturalness, immediacy, and prolific variants had enor-

mous appeal even for those writers who no longer took an interest in propagating the ideas of the Enlightenment movement or needed to legitimate their use of the language. Not that Yiddish was a fully "completed" and stylized language; but from the point of view of the interests of narrative prose, for example, such as representing characters and situations by economical, immediately comprehensible, and established verbal means, one did not need to invent, but could select from what was ready-made, whether unchanged or via stylization.

Thus, while the Hebrew writers were suffering the "tortures of hell," as the Hebrew national poet H. N. Bialik once put it (1930), in their pursuit of expressions, especially for reporting the speech of their protagonists, Yiddish writers must have felt that they had an ample supply despite the fact that on many levels Yiddish was wanting, too, and major Yiddish writers (such as Gordon and Peretz) also expressed frustration at the lack of obligatory conventions. Yet as far as reporting "authentic speech" is concerned, Yiddish literature could consider itself, and rightfully so, far superior to Hebrew from the point of view of its possibilities.

4. The Short-Lived Glory of Yiddish

The "high times" of Yiddish did not, however, last long. When Yiddish literature reached its peak, it already had to face problems no less acute than those which Hebrew had faced earlier. True, it had liberated itself from the dependency upon Hebrew and from its inferior position in the Jewish polysystem of culture (see above, "Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem"). Moreover, it had managed to push Hebrew very much aside, and the latter would no doubt have disappeared as the vehicle of secular high Jewish culture had it not been adopted by the new community in Palestine (which kept it alive as never before). But the rapid and massive assimilation of precisely those secularized or semi-secularized potential consumers of Yiddish letters created a difficult situation. As a matter of fact, already towards the end of the nineteenth century, that is at the same time as Yiddish gradually crystallized as a modern literary language, sizable sectors of the Jewish intelligentsia started using other languages, such as Russian and Polish. These not only became vehicles for high culture, but were adopted as everyday, family languages. In the families of many of the Yiddish writers themselves (among whom one finds the pillars of Yiddish literature, Mendele, Peretz, and Shalom Alekhem), either the wife or children spoke Russian or Polish. No longer used for a large range of subjects current in the daily life of a central social stratum of the Jewish people, Yiddish thus was actually prevented from developing ways to relate to these subjects. Subsequently, a new situation

arose, where this "authentic language" ("super-authentic" in popular views) ceased to be so for a considerable section of Jewish life.

This situation impelled Yiddish literature to seek solutions to problems with which it had not previously been acquainted. Theoretically, several options were possible: to follow the Hebrew model and create a sort of pretend authentic language through loan-translations, ad hoc inventions, transfers of syntactic and rhythmo-intonational patterns, etc.; to reduce the proportional quantity of reported speech in narrative prose and replace it by free indirect style, inner monologue or other stylizations; to give up describing and representing characters and/or social settings which involved reporting authentic speech, reducing the reality represented in literature to those layers of society where Yiddish was still a living vernacular, or to those periods in the past when Yiddish was a living tongue.

It seems that during this period of Yiddish literature's flowering, the first option was not really available, because it was incompatible with the very *raison d'être* of the language as an alternative to Hebrew. Yet no research allows us to say with certitude what the actual proportion was between (stylized) authentic and invented language in Yiddish literature. The state of the other two options seems somewhat clearer. Nevertheless, lack of detailed research does not even permit a statement of certitude regarding either the distribution of these options or the specific means by which they were actualized. There is, however, no doubt as to the existence of these options and of the fact that some very central writers were fully aware of the problem, although it certainly did not become a matter of common knowledge to the general Yiddish reader.

5. The Case of Bergelson: Free Indirect Style rather than Dialogue

One interesting example of this awareness is the Yiddish writer David Bergelson (1884–1952). Bergelson is quoted as having disagreed with the Yiddish literary critics who assigned the use of free indirect style ("dialogue in the third person," as they called it) in his novel *Nokh alemen* (1919) to the fashion of impressionistic style dominating the novel. "According to Bergelson, it is due directly to the fact that Mirl and her milieu speak Russian, and it was difficult to render a direct equivalent for it in Yiddish. There had to be created an indirect form" (Liberberg 1934: 73).[1] The same idea is quoted many years later by Hersh

1. Reducing dialogue proportions (with the option of replacing dialogue by inner monologue, which is free to be more stylized, that is, "less natural" than reported speech) is undoubtedly the most direct and unsophisticated way out of a situation when authentic speech cannot be reported. No doubt Hebrew literature made

Remenik, an establishment critic in the Soviet Union, in his memoirs recently published in the Yiddish journal *Sovetish heimland*:

> [. . .] When in 1961 I prepared, together with the writer's widow, Tsippe, a volume of his [Bergelson's] Yiddish Collected Writings, I was concerned, while working on the Introduction to the volume, among other things, with the issue of the inner monologue in Bergelson's pre-revolutionary writings, and all these silences and reflections which replace speech and living conversation in the dialogue among the characters. Tsippe explained the matter to me saying that Mirl Hurvitz and other boys and girls in Monastirishch already did not speak Yiddish at that time, and hence the writer could not quote a living dialogue [of their speech] in Yiddish. That this indeed is the case has not yet been established, but it cannot be ignored. (Remenik 1980: 112)

6. Isaac Bashevis Singer's Awareness of the Deficiency of Yiddish

It seems that among Yiddish writers, Isaac Bashevis Singer has displayed great sensitivity to the problem, pointing it out on various occasions. He even attempted to analyze the problem and its consequences for various contexts, sometimes perhaps going overboard. In a critical review of Yiddish literature in Poland between the two world wars, written and published during the Second World War itself (1943), Bashevis pointed out the fact that Yiddish literature avoided describing considerable sectors of Jewish life in Poland, and hinted that the cause for this retreat lay in the state of the language:

> In the Yiddish prose written in Poland you will hardly find a Jewish doctor or lawyer, teacher and party leader, secondary school student ("gimnazist") and university student. You will not encounter the strange metamorphoses of the Jewish communist, the Zionist Pioneer ("Haluts"), the Revisionist, the assimilationist, the Bundist, the Jewish member of Pilsudski's legions and the supporters of Pilsudski, the Galician doctors, the ladies of the health resorts, the elegant young Jewish ladies who filled up the Polish theaters,

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widespread use of this solution. It is, however, an open question in the case of Yiddish, including the specific case of Bergelson discussed here. The dominance of impressionism in *fin de siècle* Russia cannot be ignored, and the protests against taking Bergelson's style as "impressionistic" (with an insinuation of "decadence") may very well be explained by the far from favorable attitude of official criticism in Soviet Russia towards impressionism. Remenik's attitude is quite clear on this point: he clearly expects a novel to "quote living dialogue," not to report silences or report speech indirectly. But even if this is just a clever invention to exonerate a sinner (that is, Bergelson), it still carries valuable evidence of the state of Yiddish. The likeliest explanation in this case would seem to be a combination of both linguistic and literary solutions: the difficulties of the language could very well be reinforced by the dominant style, as in the case of the Hebrew writer Gnessin (described above in "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models").

cafés and cabarets, and who did not realize up to the last moment that they
would perish together with their orthodox grandmothers. Something had
happened to Yiddish literature in Poland—and not in Poland alone—some-
thing contrary to all literary history and all literary philosophy. (Bashevis
1943: 470)

According to Bashevis, while it was easy for the classical Yiddish
writers (Linetski, Mendele, Shalom Alekhem) to mock the far-flung
Jewish "Beggartowns" of Imperial Russia, it was difficult for their "lit-
erary grandchildren" to make contact with contemporary life for two
main reasons. First, the Yiddish writer had very slight experience of
secular life ("veltlekh lebn"). Generally, his life experience was con-
fined to the Jewish cultural institutions and the Jewish quarters. He
could not describe "farmers, hunters, fishermen, miners, sportsmen,
train workers, mechanics, policemen, soldiers, boats, horse-races, uni-
versities, society salons and a thousand and one other objects and
people, which constitute the life of secular society" (1943: 471). Sec-
ondly, the Yiddish writer *had no words* in his language for all those
objects and subjects associated with the various aspects of life. "He
[i.e., the writer] could not even label in Yiddish all those flowers [. . .],
which he saw on his way out of town" (ibid.). "It was even difficult
for the Yiddish writer to describe his own blood brother, the Jewish
intelligent" (ibid.). In the opinion of Bashevis, the attempts made in the
United States or in Soviet Russia to depict figures belonging to that
social layer were not successful. The only ways out for Yiddish litera-
ture were either to return to the convention of mocking the past or "to
dig in the depths, to look back, to search for greatness in the debased,
the deep, eternal Jewishness" (ibid.)—in other words, to turn back and
describe the past, which unavoidably made Yiddish literature a "the-
matically limited literature, a literature of nooks and crannies of the
unusual" (ibid.).

Parallel to this review of Yiddish literature in Poland Bashevis pub-
lished a pungent article on the status and chances of Yiddish literature
in the United States, where he expressed similar views, only formu-
lated more explicitly.[2] In this article, from which the editors strongly

2. According to Bashevis, on the very day of his arrival in the United States, on
the way from the port to the home of his brother (the Yiddish writer I. I. Singer),
he already sensed how problematic it was to write about Jewish life in America in
a language brought from Eastern Europe. In his memoirs, published in the Yid-
dish American newspaper *Forverts*, November 14, 1964, under the title "From the
Old and the New Home," he reiterates many of the ideas expressed in his articles
published back in 1943. His first problematic encounter was upon entering a drug-
store on the way home. "He introduced me into something that was a combination
of a pharmacy, a restaurant, a candy shop. [. . .] and many things besides [. . .]. -
what is this? I asked Kristal [a friend of the Singers'], to which he answered: - This

dissociated themselves,[3] Bashevis expresses the notion that "when a certain community starts using for some purposes a language other than its original one, many words, which once possessed precise denotations, lose their precision and acquire a pompous value. Other words are forgotten altogether, while new ones are not created [. . .]" (Bashevis 1943a: 2). Thus, "you will hardly find a Jew who can express in Yiddish all that he sees and all that he thinks. [. . .] Sworn Yiddishists are compelled to employ many English words and expressions in their daily speech" (ibid.: 3). For instance, instead of using such Yiddish words as *shraybmashin, eybike pen, damen tash, kikh, tepikh, shraybtish, pomidor, karrafiol, pomerants, kino, kinder-vegele,* one says *typewriter, fountain-pen, pocketbook, kitchen, carpet, desk, tomato, cauliflower, orange, movies, baby-carriage.* Whoever tries to talk "pure Yiddish" becomes a "laughingstock" (ibid.).

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is a drugstore, a pharmacy. - Do you eat in a pharmacy? [. . .] - Yes, in an American one you do." On this experience Bashevis comments: "That pharmacy was for me a symbol of the generation of language confusion. The word *apteyk* [pharmacy], which in Poland represented a clear image, had acquired not one but many meanings and subsequently lost its content." Over and above the feeling that the landscape was strange, as if suddenly he had been transferred "to another planet," "it hurt me to discover that all of a sudden I had no words in Yiddish for a large number of objects. [. . .] How could one describe in Yiddish a world totally new and different to anything that our language had ever come across so far?" And after being given half a grapefruit for dessert, "a dish I had never tasted before," he asks himself: "Well now, what is this fruit called in Yiddish? I have eaten a fruit for which I have no name in my own language."

3. In a footnote to Bashevis's article, the editors of the journal *Svive* say: "The views on Yiddish language and literature expressed by Isaac Bashevis in this article are not those of *Svive*. We will come back to this issue at a later date." Indeed, in the next issue of the journal a long polemical article appeared, written by Kadya Molodovski, the editor (and a famous poet, especially for children). Molodovski does not contest Bashevis's "diagnosis," but she is not prepared to accept his conclusions. Interestingly, she supports much of her argument by referring to the situation that had previously typified Hebrew: "Did Mendele [that is, in his Hebrew writings] not feel how difficult it was to describe the Beggartowns in Hebrew?" she asks (1943: 58), "yet he was successful in 'yiddishizing' the Hebrew language [. . .]," because "any language lends itself to modulation" (ibid.). In her opinion, one of the features of a literary language is its capacity to create "a linguistic illusion" (ibid.). She supports this idea by referring to Gogol's practice in his Ukrainian stories. How did Gogol solve the problem that his characters spoke Ukrainian while he was conveying their speech in Russian? Well, "the Ukrainian melody comes through his Russian sentences" (ibid.: 59). It could not be said that here Molodovski's attachment to Yiddish was based on its former status (as the "true, authentic language of the people," in contradistinction to Hebrew). On the contrary, her views ironically coincide with those which prevailed, in practice if not always formally, in Hebrew literature before its Palestinian and Israeli periods. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a more explicit expression of the complete reversal of state and image of Hebrew and Yiddish in our age.

The diagnosis of the state of Yiddish in America leads Bashevis to
the conclusion that Yiddish is in the process of becoming an artifi-
cial language, capable of rendering only the past. And "just as once
it was ridiculous, when a Hebrew writer put in the mouth of a car-
riage driver from a small town (*shtetl*) such words as 'away with thee
thou knave,' because these words have a Biblical flavor [and there-
fore made a comic impression in the text in question], so do Yiddish
words and expressions sound that way, when put in the mouth of
people who both speak and think in English" (ibid.: 4). Therefore,
in the United States, as before in Poland, "the best Yiddish narrative
fiction writers," "either consciously or unconsciously," avoid describ-
ing life in America. "Jewish American young people are automatically
excluded as protagonists for a Yiddish novel. You cannot report their
speech, their thought, with words spoken and thought by other people
at other times" (ibid.). Bashevis asserts, much as the Hebrew writers
had earlier done, that "a writer cannot create in a language that is
translated to begin with" (ibid.). "A rifle displayed in a museum can-
not make a blitzkrieg" (ibid.: 5); writing in Yiddish becomes similar
to what writing in Hebrew had been, i.e., a holy tongue made into a
mosaic of quotations and citations. Therefore, just as during the En-
lightenment period Hebrew had been suitable for relating the past but
not for rendering the present, so too had Yiddish become. A Yiddish
writer living in the United States and writing about Warsaw, Vilno or
Lodz (or about Casimir the Great's time) does so *not* "because he is
running away from reality," but because Yiddish was spoken in the
places and periods he describes, whereas now people "speak English
or jargon [that is, a mixed English-Yiddish vernacular], which he, the
writer, does not like; and where there is no love for the word, it cannot
be creative" (ibid.: 8). For "just as Hebrew was until very recently a
language which linked us with Biblical times; just as Aramaic helps us
remember the first periods of exile; just as [Judeo-] Spanish reminds
us of our Spanish period—so too is Yiddish now in the process of be-
coming a language, with whose help we can maintain spiritual contact
with recent centuries of our history, which were, from national and
religious points of view, rich and fruitful years" (ibid.: 10). But as a
language for the present, Yiddish "has no hope" (ibid.: 11). It is "a
caricature of a language, if you wish to use it for contemporary secular
purposes, but full of unexploited resources if you use it for describing
our past and for creating works of art linked with yesterday" (ibid.:
12). And Bashevis sums up with the following words:

> Our mother's tongue [*mame-loshn:* an endearing term for Yiddish] has be-
> come old. The mother is by now a grandmother and a great-grandmother.
> [. . .] She makes funny mistakes and mixes things up. But only when she
> wants to be modern, to stride with the times in order to show how worldly

she is. When she starts talking about times gone by (from the mouth of a genuine talent), precious stones fall from her lips. (ibid.: 13)[4]

7. A Striking Parallel: Garborg's Norwegian

The operation of the state of the language as a major constraint on literary language, composition and thematics, although not in every case so extreme as in the case described above, seems to be universal. The method attributed to Bergelson of reducing the proportions of dialogue and introducing instead inner monologue or free indirect style does not seem to be either a unique or private invention, or otherwise typical of the Hebrew or the Yiddish cases. In his study of the style of the Norwegian writer Arne Garborg (1851–1924),[5] Johannes Dale points out that the writer's intensive use of free indirect style did not result from passion for the "impressionistic style" (then approaching its peak), but rather solved a practical problem for him. Garborg, as one of the first Norwegian writers to use the new synthetic language made by Ivar Aasen, had to depict in his novels characters who would in real life use Dano-Norwegian (the dominant language in the country). The prevailing norms of authenticity prevented Garborg from making them speak the new language, which reflected peasant rather than middle-class or learned speech. He solved this difficulty in several of his novels by "generally bringing the first replique or the first part of a longer replique in the language which would have been actually used by the protagonist [in life], while the rest is conveyed by the language in which the whole novel is written, that is generally in the new language" (Dale 1960: 126). But in other novels Garborg found "a more flexible way of retaining something of the flavor of individual speech, namely by using the indirect form, after the protagonist had said several words in his habitual language" (ibid.). Thus, in order to both maintain the norm of authenticity and avoid violating the ideology upon which the very use of the new language was based in the first place, Garborg found stylistic-compositional solutions similar to those Bergelson found while in a similar dilemma. The path from an "authentic language" to quoting it in literature is never direct, least of all when this very "authenticity" is problematic.

4. It is worth noting that on various occasions, past and present, Bashevis has expressed different views on Yiddish, which are not always compatible with the attitudes quoted in this study; our presentation has aimed only to illustrate one specific point in literature, not to study Bashevis's various and changing views about Yiddish, which perhaps deserve a separate study.
5. One of the founding fathers of literature in the New Norwegian language (Landsmål, later Nynorsk).

Israeli Hebrew Literature

Multi-territoriality and multi-lingualism, which had been the domi-
nant features of Hebrew literature through the ages, gradually started
changing from the beginning of the modern Israeli period (during
the 1880s) and continued to do so rapidly after World War I.

1. Termination of Multi-Territoriality and Multi-Lingualism

Multi-territoriality actually ceased to be a governing principle when
Hebrew was massively abandoned as a vehicle of *secular* culture by
the majority of the Jewish people worldwide (while the Orthodox
continued using it in the framework of their traditional unchanging
repertoire), leaving rather limited numbers of users in the various
countries. For many among the (partly or wholly) secularized Jews in
Eastern Europe (and for a while in such countries of immigration as
Britain and the United States), it was first replaced by Yiddish and
then—when Yiddish had also been abandoned—by the various local
languages. The transfer of Hebrew to Palestine actually saved it from
annihilation as a vehicle of Jewish high culture, a role it had played
almost uninterruptedly since antiquity. No doubt, had that not been
the case, its modern heritage, which started crystallizing towards the
late eighteenth century, would by now have been abandoned and for-

gotten, a matter for a small group of interested scholars and pathetic relics of the onetime national revival.

An obvious result of this situation has been the change from multi-lingual to uni-lingual conditions for Hebrew. No longer contiguous with the geographical distribution of the Jews in the world, Hebrew literature has become exclusively the literature of the Israelis.[1] The large majority of non-Israeli Jews have stopped using Hebrew or consuming Hebrew literature. (Even in the Zionist congresses, mainly German and later English have been used as the lingua franca.) A minor interest for this literature among Jewish people outside Israel, especially in the United States and France, is now expressed in reading it (and studying it at the university level) in translation.

The initial stages of the move to Palestine date from the 1880s and lasted up to World War I. During these years, the writers active in the country created a local literary institution, initially just as a minor branch of the European center, but later as a substitute for it.[2] They started founding publishing houses and literary journals as well as undertaking other literary activities. The awareness that the Palestinian center might become independent of Europe, and eventually replace it, grew considerably during World War I, when it became unmistakably clear for all the parties involved that Hebrew culture would not survive in Europe.

This awareness was due to three factors: (1) the destruction of the Hebrew center in Russia; (2) the desertion of Hebrew for Yiddish and the local languages among large parts of the East European Jewish population in both the home countries and countries of immigration; (3) the massive assimilation in both East and West (the United States included) which transformed Hebrew from a first-acquired literary language to one lost in oblivion.

The Hebrew literary institution in Russia was physically destroyed during and immediately after the Revolution, not merely by the bloody events in the Ukraine (where Odessa figured as the core of literary activity), but also because of the persecutions by the new Soviet regime. These were largely promoted and conducted by the anti-Hebraic Jewish zealots of Yiddish, who identified Yiddish with "the working masses" and Hebrew with capitalism, the bourgeoisie and ar-

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1. "Israelis" designates in this context the Jewish citizens of both Turkish and British Palestine, as well as those of the State of Israel after 1948.
2. The fact that a Jewish community existed in Palestine throughout the ages, and produced literature of various kinds in Hebrew, does not make it any ancestor of the new phase. Pre-1880s Hebrew literature in Palestine, as well as its later continuations, was part of the long-standing multi-territorial Hebrew literature. The new phase, which eventually led to the transfer of the Hebrew literary institution to Palestine, was no continuation of this literature in any sense, being an import from Europe and of a different systemic nature altogether.

chaic nationalism. They managed to create the "Jewish section" ("evsekcija") and eventually to convince the new regime that Hebrew was the very incarnation of counter-revolution. (The fact that the name for Hebrew was "Old Hebrew" [drevnyj evrejskij], in contradistinction to Yiddish, called "Hebrew" [evrejskij], apparently facilitated the acceptance of this image.)[3] Hebrew culture, though it survived for a while and was even promoted by the first ministry of culture (under Lunacharskij), was prohibited in the U.S.S.R. after 1924, when even writing poetry in Hebrew or teaching it to people came to be considered a legal offense (a position maintained by the Soviet authorities until quite recently).[4]

Expelled from Russia, various agents of Hebrew culture tried at first to transfer their activities to Germany and Poland—Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Warsaw. But most of them moved within a very few years to Palestine, since there no longer was a real cultural *hinterland* to support them there either culturally or financially. Hebraism continued, however, to exist as a legally recognized educational and cultural system in Poland and the Baltic countries up to World War II, when it was destroyed by the Germans and never allowed by the new authorities to revive after the war.

2. Consequences: New System Relations

The external features of multi-lingualism disappeared in a relatively short time, yet some of the values involved in this situation have not. For example, the strong feeling about the elevated status of Hebrew literature became even stronger after the disintegration of its relations with the adjacent vernacular (such as Yiddish). The old vernacular has invisibly persisted both linguistically and semiotically, thus retarding Hebrew literature's adaptation to local circumstances. Since it had already crystallized as a strong system even before its transfer to Palestine, the local (and eventually native) culture has managed to alter it much more slowly than it has done with other socio-cultural activities which mainly emerged in the new country.[5] (For more detailed dis-

3. This strange practice put the Soviet authorities in an awkward position when they eventually had to admit the existence of Hebrew as the living language of the State of Israel, with which they had a short-lived honeymoon in 1948. After some experiments with the combination "New Old Hebrew" (*Novyj drevnyj-evrejskij*), they simply adopted the modern Hebrew name of Hebrew—*ivrit*. (Quite an exceptional practice and at least as awkward as if one had chosen "Russkij" to denote "Russian" in English.) During the whole period preceding 1948, the existence of a living Hebrew language was ignored and denied.
4. Some signs of change in this matter are currently visible under Gorbachev's *glasnost'*.
5. Thus "retardation" is manifested in literature chiefly on the linguistic and stylistic levels, where the local vernacular has managed only slowly to penetrate even dialogue, while incredible calques to other languages (mainly Russian and Yiddish) which had crystallized in the writings of the Eastern Europeans are still accepted as "bon usage." The same holds true, however, for less conspicuous levels, such as thematic models (scenes, interiors, human characterization and interaction),

cussions see "Aspects of the Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem" and "The Emergence of Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine, 1882–1948.")

An obvious result of the new conditions has been the need of the Hebrew system to provide both "high" and "low" culture from its own resources rather than by relying on some adjacent system. This was partly accomplished by means of translated literature, which now has become much more extensive and less unilaterally oriented towards "great literature." No doubt the option of using translated texts for popular consumption is still much easier and cheaper than producing them originally in Hebrew. It therefore seems that Hebrew, like any other small literature, will continue to use this option. However, a peripheral system has gradually emerged, though one posing so faint a challenge to the firmly established canonized system that evidence of its playing any role even remotely like its predecessors (the adjacent systems mentioned above) is hard to come by. Although it has been suggested by Shavit and Shavit (1974) that non-canonized production has had a certain impact upon the later stages of canonized narrative prose, wider investigations are still needed before we will be able to establish this with any certainty.[6]

Children's literature also had to expand remarkably once this consumer group no longer had any other outlet. The production of texts deliberately incongruous with the norms of the canonized repertoire has gradually become more and more visible, provoking varying degrees of hostility from the worried establishment (and parents). Yet on the whole, this section of literature has tended more to perpetuate older repertoire rather than to exploit, as it were, the new circumstances with a view to introducing a new repertoire. On the whole, the case of Hebrew children's literature seems increasingly fully illuminated thanks to Shavit's ongoing projects (Shavit 1980, 1986, and forthcoming).

It is an intriguing question whether future contenders will emerge exclusively within the boundaries of official culture, or whether there will be some real revolt against the literary establishment and the prevailing varieties of the literary repertoire in a way analogous to the rise of a genuinely non-canonized repertoire in pop music (see Sheffy 1985). For the moment there are no signs of such a trend. But it is not altogether impossible that such a process requires a longer acculturation of those social elements of the population who for the moment do not consume literature at all, but who, once they become more involved with it, will express their discontent.

It may perhaps be suggested that such a development has indeed begun to take

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where a clear priority was felt for the remote-and-established over the near-and-unestablished.
6. Unfortunately, no research has been carried out in this field since these words were written for the first time, more than ten years ago.

place with writers of Oriental origin, who, in protest against the dominance of the classical *texts* in which Eastern Europe is the prevailing scene, have attempted to produce "Oriental" counter-texts (i.e., texts depicting life among "Oriental" Jews, either in Israel itself or abroad). Although the repertoire underlying these counter-texts is basically identical with the generally accepted repertoire of Hebrew literature, the beginning of change need not necessarily be visible, and perhaps *cannot* be fully visible. At any rate, it is still a minority among the less established milieus who feel the need for literature as an expression of their cultural existence.

Of course, different consumption need not univocally correlate with different production. The success of certain publishing houses specializing in producing sentimental (mainly translated) literature has widely been attributed by various observers to the emergence of a non-elitist reading population who no longer has access to foreign languages.

2.1. Translated Literature

Translated literature has occupied an important position in Hebrew literature for at least two reasons: (a) because of the relatively small production of domestic texts, compared with that of larger nations (and in this respect Hebrew literature behaves like the literature of any small nation); and (b) because of the elements lacking in the Hebrew polysystem in its Israeli period, which have only gradually been filled in, if at all.

The functions of translated literature in Israeli Hebrew literature have been the following:

(1) Translated literature supplied literary texts to a Hebrew-reading public, and constituted, quantitatively, the majority of the texts of that literature. This is true not only of canonized literature for adults, but probably of other literary sections as well, where the lack was even more strongly felt.

(2) Translated literature was a major channel for the creation of literary contacts with other literatures. By means of translation, foreign literary norms infiltrated the polysystem. The importance of this function increased even further as Hebrew literature became more and more autonomous and the multi-lingualism of the population decreased. This was caused mainly by the decreasing ability of Hebrew writers to read foreign languages.

Although, as demonstrated by Toury (1977: 116; 1980: 124), English and German literatures were more translated than any other between 1930 and 1945 (29% and 26.5% respectively, while Russian contributed only 14%), there is no doubt that it was Russian which occupied a central position in the Hebrew system. Not only did it continue to participate in the making of the repertoire of original literature, but it also constituted a major intermediary for contacts with other literatures. This mediation was not necessarily a fact of lan-

guage; not only were Scandinavian, Italian, or French texts selected via their Russian versions, but so were even German and English texts.[7] It has been the position texts and writers assumed in the *Russian* system which has legitimized them or promoted their candidacy for the Hebrew literary establishment, even when actual translation then proceeded from the original languages. Moreover, whether translated directly from their respective original languages or via Russian versions, many of these translations adapted themselves to the models canonized by the center, which not only perpetuated the Russian repertoire but also developed new uses of it. Accordingly, even when translated directly from English or from French, texts promoted by the center definitely behaved as an integral part of the general russified repertoire.[8] With the decline of the russified Hebrew repertoire, the role of Russian decreased. Since the 1950s, literary contacts with most literatures of the world have come more and more to be mediated by English. And odd as it may seem, because of the less international orientation of English literature and the peripheral position of translated literature within it, the international orientation of literature translated into Hebrew has decreased quite remarkably.

(3) Translated literature has been, since the Enlightenment, one of the tools for the making of repertoire. In this sense, and due to (1) and (2), it has always been an integral part of the center of Hebrew literature. It has always constituted a challenge to literary language, a means for its rejuvenation and for innovations within it. As a result, it assumed a central position within the literary polysystem, and only gradually was expelled from this position to the position it "normally" occupies within independent full-fledged literatures—on the periphery of the literary system. Even when the knowledge of Russian practically speaking no longer existed among the new generation of writers, large portions of the new repertoire as late as the 1940s (and

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7. The role of *German* as an intermediary even during the period of Russian hegemony seems, however, to call for more research, in view of its persistence. See Toury 1988.
8. *Colas Breugnon*'s translator, Abraham Shlonsky, was among the major figures of modernist poetry, which leaned heavily on the Russian repertoire. He was popularly believed to have translated works from various literatures via their Russian versions (Shakespeare's *Lear*, among many other texts). This belief is, however, unjustified. Shlonsky was a very conscientious translator, and tried his best to understand both English and French. The heavy use of russified models in his products was by no means an outcome of using some Russian text, but a normal procedure within the Hebrew system. What often seem to be literal translations from the Russian in his texts normally have no counterparts in the Russian translation of the same texts.

early 1950s) still derived from Russian and Soviet Russian literature. (For details see "Russian and Hebrew.")[9]

3. Economic and Political Aspects of the Literary Institution

Hebrew literature could not support itself economically for quite a long time. Often, it has survived in print thanks only to the sacrifice and courage of writers or groups of writers who have managed to publish works with very limited financial means. Sometimes one or another Maecenas would step in to rescue it during difficult times. Notable examples are the tea dealer Wyssocki and the forest merchant Stiebel, who made it possible to publish books and periodicals, plan translations, and pay reasonable fees to writers. This kind of financial patronage made possible many important literary projects which would have been impossible from income on sales alone. It is remarkable that this kind of support was mostly non-political, and there was little interference with the literary policies of editors.

In Palestine, where the national revival gradually came to be directed by increasingly centralized institutions, literature has also gradually become part of this centralized activity. The marriage between literature and political groups had already clearly emerged before World War I, when literature affiliated itself most prominently with the Laborite section of the young community. (See Shavit 1978 for detailed analysis.) By the end of the 1930s, the Labor establishment and the leftist parties had most of the centrally canonized literary production under control, financially speaking. Other sections of literary production, oddly enough, received more support from the right-wing and bourgeois milieus, whose interests probably lay in turning a profit rather than in investing resources for cultural and political gains.[10]

The fact that political institutions possessed the means for literary publication and distribution gave them the power to determine publishing policy and to influence literary consensus through criticism

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9. Research into the history of literature translated into Hebrew was undertaken under the auspices of the M. Bernstein Chair of Translation Theory at Tel Aviv University. So far, G. Toury's doctoral dissertation (1976; published 1977; abridged English version: Toury 1980: 122–139) has been its most notable achievement. More partial descriptions are offered by: Even-Zohar (1971), Ben-Shahar (1983), Shavit (1986).
10. This division between right and left needs more thorough investigation before we can provide a more nuanced picture. But nobody disputes these general dividing lines, which in principle persist even today. The modern heirs to this political-cultural division still perpetuate the same attitudes towards literature (and high culture in general).

and other ideological tools of marketing. By publishing daily news-
papers, periodicals, journals, weeklies for children and youth, and by
owning publishing houses and literary clubs, they could support or
ignore whichever writers they pleased. In the same way they created
a large and loyal public through a well-organized network of distri-
bution which functioned in the Kibbutzim and in factories, offices,
unions, commercial and industrial firms, etc., controlled by the Labor
movement. This politicization of the means of literary existence can
explain the peripheral position of certain writers who, had they be-
longed to "the accepted consensus," could have probably occupied a
strong central position. This is true of right-wing and communist
writers alike.

It was only towards the mid-fifties that this situation gradually
changed, making possible the emergence of several politically inde-
pendent literary periodicals (such as *Keshet* or *Akhshav*) which took
center stage during this literary period. These journals were by no
means a-political in the sense that they would not express clear politi-
cal views, but on the whole they were no longer financed by the politi-
cal establishment. This establishment was still in place, exerting a
strong hold on the market, but its status as a norm-dictating institution
started to decline. Obviously, this decline was also part of the declin-
ing position of literature as a major national activity, thus rendering
the literary struggles less important from the point of view of social
and political ideologies.

The consumption of Hebrew literature (in terms of book purchase)
has always been very high, among the highest per capita in the world.
In absolute quantities, however, literary production has not been able
to provide a sufficiently solid economic basis. In spite of the tremen-
dous increase of the Jewish population in Palestine since the creation
of the State of Israel (from some 700,000 in 1948 to some 3 million in
1986), the consumption of Hebrew literature has not increased pro-
portionally for years. During the 1970s a book still used to sell between
1,000 and 3,000 copies, 10,000–20,000 copies being quite a success
and 50,000 a rare exception. There may have been various reasons for
this: large sections of the new population still either did not consume
literature at all, or went on consuming literature in other languages.
On the other hand, the role of literature had been at least partly re-
placed by the other media, thus reducing even more the otherwise
potentially accessible target public. This process of decline seems to
have come to a halt, or perhaps has even reversed itself, since 1980,
when increases in literary consumption, sometimes of a rather spec-
tacular nature, appear to point to the possibility of renewed vigor
on the part of literature. Sales of a book have often exceeded the
unbelievable record of 50,000–70,000 copies, with the book-buying

public displaying a marked interest in original literature. "Literature" has become more "news"; the newspapers, instead of closing their special literary supplements as they had once considered doing, have enlarged them. Literature has begun once again to play a role in the making of public opinion and in reflection on daily life, for reasons we can for the moment only guess.[11]

11. It has been proposed that the general disappointment with politics has played a major role in this deeper interest in literature. The connection may seem intuitively right but hardly transparent or easily demonstrable. It would perhaps be more visible had popularity been the lot of just semi-political or "engaged" literature. This is, however, not the case, since works traditionally regarded as "fiction," as well as poetry, form a conspicuous part of this success.

The Emergence of
a Native Hebrew Culture
in Palestine, 1882–1948

During the hundred years of new Jewish settlement in Palestine, whose starting point is conventionally assigned to 1882 (and commonly called "the First *Aliya*"),[1] a society was produced whose nature and structure proved to be highly fluid. The periodic influx of relatively large groups of immigrants continually disrupted or disturbed the apparent ad hoc stability of the community insofar as its structure, demographic consistency, and salient characteristics were concerned. Each new wave resulted in a restructuring of the whole system. It is, however, commonly accepted that around the time of the establishment of the State of Israel, in 1948, a relatively crystallized Jewish society existed in Palestine with a specific cultural character and a high level of self-awareness, as well as established social, economic, and political institutions. It differed, culturally and otherwise, from the old Jewish, pre-Zionist Palestinian community, and from that of Jewish communities in other countries. Moreover, this distinctiveness was one of its

1. "Aliya" in Hebrew means "ascending." It indicated going to Jerusalem during the high holidays in Biblical times, and in later times going to (the Land of) Israel. In modern Hebrew, it means immigrating to (the Land of) Israel. "The First *Aliya*" is the name given to the groups of immigrants who founded the first modern colonies in the 1880s.

major goals, involving the replacement of the then-current identifica-
tions "Jew" and "Jewish" with "Hebrew."[2] But with the founding of
the State of Israel and the massive immigration which followed, what
appeared to have been a "final," stabilized system was again subjected
to a process of restructuring. The distinction between Jewish and He-
brew cultures has become secondary and eventually obsolete. Hebrew
culture in Palestine has become Israeli, and although the latter defi-
nitely springs from the previous stage, it seems very different from it.
Thus, as a working hypothesis for this study, it would be convenient
to accept 1948 as a more or less imprecise termination of the period
which had started in 1882. An adequate description of the develop-
ment of the thirty years since, that is, subsequent to the establishment
of the state, will not be possible without first providing a description
of the longer and more complicated period which preceded, and thus
laid the foundations for what followed.

The early waves of the new Jewish immigration to Palestine, at least
until the early 1930s, seem to be different from other migrations in
modern times, including those of later periods. From anthropologi-
cal and sociological studies on immigration, we know that the cultural
behavior of immigrants oscillates between two poles: the preservation
of their source culture and the adoption of the culture of the target
country. A rather complex mechanism eventually determines, for any
specific period in the history of an immigrant group, which option
will prevail. The value images of the target country as compared with
those of the source country can constitute an important factor in de-
termining the direction of cultural behavior. Most migrations from
England tended to preserve the source culture. European immigrants
to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, on the other
hand, left their home countries with the hope of "starting a new life in
the new world"—a slogan of highly suggestive potency. Its effect was
to encourage the replacement of the "old" by the "new" and often en-
gendered attitudes of contempt towards the "old." Such replacement
assumes, of course, the existence of an available cultural repertoire in
the target country, and when this is the case the major problem of the
immigrants is how to authenticate acquired components so that they
will be considered "not foreign" by members of the target community.

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2. Thus, during the period under consideration, "Hebrew," as both noun and ad-
jective, had a very precise meaning within the emerging culture, a meaning which
no longer carries much weight in contemporary Israel. It was used in the sense of
"a Jew of the Land of Israel," that is, a *non*-Diaspora Jew. One spoke of the "He-
brew (not Jewish) Community [Yishuv]," of the "Hebrew workers," of the "Hebrew
army," etc. In Israel's Declaration of Independence, the Arab states are urged to
cooperate with the *Hebrew* nation, independent in its land, while the State of Israel
appeals to the *Jews* in the Diaspora.

What actually takes place in the process of acquiring target cultural patterns need not deter us at this point. What is important is only to emphasize the necessity of the existence of an *alternative system*, that is, an aggregate of alternatives, and it is precisely here that the case of immigration to Palestine stands in sharp contradistinction to that of many other migrations. A decision to "abandon" the source culture, partially or completely, could not have led to the adoption of the target culture since the existing culture did not possess the status of an alternative. In order to provide an alternative system to that of the source culture, in this case East European culture, it was necessary to *invent* one.

The main difference between most other migration movements and that of the Jews to Palestine lies in the deliberate, conscious activity carried out by the immigrants themselves in replacing constituents of the culture they brought with them with those of another. This does not mean that it is possible to establish a full correlation between the principles which apparently underlay the search for alternatives and what ultimately took place in reality; but there is no doubt that these principles were, in fact, decisive—both for the deliberate selection of possible items and the presence, post factum, of those items pressed into the cultural system by the operation of its mechanism. Zionist ideology and its ramifications (or sub-ideologies) provided the major motivation for immigration to Palestine as well as the underlying principles for cultural selection, that is, the principles for the creation of an alternative culture. This does not imply the existence of any kind of bold cultural pattern during this period, nor the acceptance by the immigrants themselves of these principles, either in part or in full, in a conscious fashion. But a schematic examination of the period in retrospect will reveal that the governing principle at work was "the creation of a new Jewish people and a new Jew in the Land of Israel," with emphasis on the concept "new."

At the end of the nineteenth century, there was sharp criticism of many elements in Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Among the secular, or semi-secular Jews, who were the cultural products of sixty years of the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskala* movement, Jewish culture was conceived to be in a state of decline, even degenerate. There was a notable tendency to dispense with many of the traditional constituents of Jewish culture. The assimilationists were prepared to give up everything; the Zionists, in the conceptual tradition of the *Haskala*, sought a return to the "purity" and "authenticity" of the existence of the "Hebrew nation in its land," an existence conceived according to the romantic stereotypes of contemporary (including Hebrew) literature, exalting the primordial folk nation. It is interesting to note that both assimilationists and Zionists accepted many of the negative Jew-

ish stereotypes, promulgated by non-Jews, and adapted them to their
own purposes. Thus they accepted at face value the ideas that Jews
were rootless, physically weak, deviously averse to pleasure, averse to
physical labor, alienated from nature, etc., although these ideas had
little basis in fact.

Among the numerous ways manifested for counterposing "new He-
brew" to "old Diaspora Jew" were the transition to physical labor
(mainly agriculture or "working the land," as it was called); self-defense
and the concomitant use of arms; the supplanting of the old, "con-
temptible" Diaspora language, Yiddish, with a new tongue, colloquial
Hebrew (conceived of at one and the same time as being the authen-
tic and the ancient language of the people), adopting the Sephardi
rather than the Ashkenazi pronunciation;[3] discarding traditional Jew-
ish dress and adopting other fashions (such as the Bedouin-Circassian,
notably among the youth of the First *Aliya* and members of *Ha-shomer*,
the Watchmen's Association); dropping East European family names
and assuming Hebrew names instead.

The decision to introduce Hebrew as the spoken language of the
community was not accepted or agreed upon even by those most ac-
tive in the creation of modern literary Hebrew. Nor did it immediately
appeal to members of the First *Aliya*. On the contrary, there were
objections to giving Hebrew pride of place in the new colonies, and
practical knowledge of the language was quite limited. Furthermore,
the adoption of Sephardi pronunciation cannot be explained either
by the fact that Sephardi circles in Jerusalem supported the idea of
Hebrew as a spoken language or that Eliezer Ben Yehuda was con-
vinced by a Christian priest (while he was lying ill in a French hospital)

3. "Sephardi" (*sefaradi* in Hebrew, from *Sefarad*, the traditional Hebrew name of
Spain) means Hispanic, referring to the large Jewish communities originating in
Spain and Portugal (and having spread throughout North Africa, the Balkans,
Turkey, Palestine, England, The Netherlands, etc.). The pronunciation current
among these communities—and others which have adopted it—differs quite con-
siderably from the pronunciation(s) that have prevailed among the Central and
East European communities, commonly called "Ashkenazi" (from *Ashkenaz*, origi-
nally referring to medieval Germany), as well as other communities, such as the
Yemenite community, which have perpetuated a similar tradition. It has always
been considered "superior" by non-Jews, as well as by the Jewish intelligentsia
of the Enlightenment movement, though without immediate implications. It was
not at all a commonly accepted decision to adopt Sephardi rather than Ashkenazi
pronunciation in the 1880s. (The names of Jewish settlements founded in those
years, still pronounced with salient Ashkenazi rather than Sephardi features, is a
relic of this indecisiveness.) The Ashkenazi pronunciation, probably originating in
a different geographical part of ancient Palestine, is still current among non-Israeli
Jews opposing the State of Israel, or is used in combination with Sephardi features.
It is thus identified by Jewish Israelophobes as "Israeli" rather than traditionally
"Sephardi."

that Sephardi pronunciation should be preferred. After all, even in Eastern Europe, the Sephardi pronunciation was considered to be the "correct" one, but this did not prevent any Hebrew poet from the late nineteenth century until the early 1930s from using the Ashkenazi variant, even in Palestine itself, where it contravened the prevailing Sephardi pronunciation (see below). The most important element in the twin decisions to speak Hebrew and speak Sephardi Hebrew stemmed from their qualities as *cultural oppositions:* Hebrew as against Yiddish, Sephardi as against Ashkenazi; in both cases, new against old. This outweighed any principle or scholarly discussions about "correct" pronunciation (although the latter were often conducted in such terms).

Thus, the establishment of the new Jewish community in Palestine involved a series of decisions in the domain of cultural selection, and the ideology which permeated this project (i.e., Zionism) made explicit decisions compulsory. It was urgent to provide at least a few conspicuous components for an alternative system, for an aggregate of new functions. In some instances it was not even *alternative* extant functions that were needed, but *new* ones, dictated by new conditions of life. A long retrospective view seems to point to the fact that experiments were continuously carried out in Palestine to supply the components necessary for the fulfillment of the basic cultural opposition *new Hebrew–old Jew.* It was not the origin of the components which determined whether or not they would be adopted, but their capacity to fulfill the new functions in accordance with this opposition. Green olives, olive oil and white cheese, Bedouin welcoming ceremonies, and *kaffiyeh*s all acquired a clear semiotic status. The by now classical literary description of the Hebrew worker sitting on a wooden box, eating Arabic bread dipped in olive oil,[4] expresses at once three new phenomena: (a) he is a worker; (b) he is a "true son of the land"; (c) he is not eating in a "Jewish" way (he is not sitting at a table and has obviously not fulfilled the religious commandment to wash his hands). Or we have the typical village elder in Yitzhak Dov Berkovitz's novel *Days of the Messiah* (1938). He builds a house for himself which he considers to be like a *khata* (in Russian—a peasant's hut) "painted white, with small

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4. For the Arabs, this was the regular sort of bread produced, consequently called *khubz*, the normal word for "bread" in Arabic. In Hebrew, however, a new word had to be invented. As with many other cases, the Aramaic equivalent—*pita*—was introduced as a new designation. The adoption of this item has been so thorough that the hebraicized Aramaic word has now become known in the West, rather than the originally authentic Arabic one, probably through the propagation of food items by the Israeli emigrants in the United States and Western Europe. (The other popular items, however, such as *humus, tahina,* or *falafel,* still bear their Arabic names.)

windows, a yard, a gate and a small bench by the gate."[5] His neigh-
bors in the same village, actualizing the same function for themselves,
construct houses like those of "Polish noblemen, with high windows."
The village elder dreams of Hebrew farmers who will eat "kasha and
sugar," and deplores the fact that he cannot obtain "crude galoshes,
like those worn by our Ukrainian farmers." The Baron de Rothschild's
version of the Jewish farmer in Palestine, on the other hand, was the
"authentic" French model: a semi-literate who kept only the Bible on
his table. The dominion of such components was short-lived and they
gave way in the course of time and in the wake of experimentation to
other cultural options. As mentioned before, their survival or disap-
pearance depended on their ability to fulfill a function in accordance
with the new ideology of national revival.

Specific materials often mislead those observing them years later.
For instance, what precise meaning can be attached to the adoption
of items of food and clothing from the culture of the Bedouins and
fellahin, first by members of the First *Aliya*, and later by those of the
Second, most notably among them the tight-knit Watchmen's Asso-
ciation, *Ha-shomer*? There can be no doubt that nineteenth-century
Romantic norms and "Oriental" stereotypes (including the identifica-
tion of Bedouin dress with that of our Biblical ancestors, so readily
inferred from numerous illustrations of the time) were central factors.[6]
They constituted a ready-made model for generating positive attitudes
towards these items and, further, for identifying them with the realia
of the population and the landscape. All this notwithstanding, this
was not a case of non-mediated contacts with a neighboring culture.
It was rather a case of reality being filtered through a familiar model.
Certain components of that model were fairly well known through the
general stereotypes of the "Orient" (through Russian poetry and, sub-
sequently, Hebrew poetry as well). But in fact, one could say that what
was taking place was an act of "translating" the new reality back into
an old, familiar, traditional cultural model, specifically that which had
crystallized in Russia towards the end of the nineteenth century. In
this manner, the data of the new reality and the new experience could
be understood and absorbed. For neither Bedouin nor fellahin was
an unequivocal concept: on the one hand, they were heroes, men of
the soil, dedicated to their land; on the other, inferior and almost sav-
age. Again—on the one hand, their food, dress, behavior, and music

5. In the opinion of Benjamin Harshav, the notion of the *khata* here stems not
from the reality of village life in Russia (or rather the Ukraine), but rather from
literary descriptions.
6. On romantic stereotypes of this period, see Gorni 1979 (an abridged version of
Gorni 1966, in Hebrew).

expressed everything alien to the Jew: courage, natural nobility, loy-
alty, roots; on the other hand, these expressed primitiveness and cul-
tural backwardness. This example offers us a simple, uncomplicated
"translation" of a familiar East European model, in which old func-
tions, namely, the Ukrainian peasant and the Cossack, are transferred
to new carriers. The "heroic Bedouin robber" replaces the Cossack
and the fellah the Ukrainian peasant. The kaffiyeh takes the place of
crude galoshes and the Palestinian Hebrew song "How Beautiful are
the Nights of Canaan" that of a sentimental steppe song of the Don
Cossacks.

I said before that the source of the constituents is of secondary
importance in the new cultural system-in-the-making. This does not
mean that the material aspect of the constituents themselves is neu-
tral. From the point of view of the mechanism which either accepts or
rejects them, they may (in principle) be considered neutral. But this is
not the case with regard to their availability. The desire to actualize a
cultural opposition generates the search for alternative materials able
to fulfill the desired functions; but "the-people-in-the-culture" can
seek alternatives *only where they are likely to find them,* which means, gen-
erally, in nearby or accessible contexts. This is what made the transfers
from adjacent systems possible: from the Russian, Yiddish, Arabic, or
any construct (imaginary or credible) formulated, at least on an ideo-
logical level, as an option within culture. For instance, the desire to
discard Yiddish, to give it up as a spoken language, has led to the
choice of Hebrew as a replacement. But Hebrew, of course, had been
an extant, established phenomenon within Jewish culture during *all*
the centuries of dispersion. It was only the option of *speaking* it that had
not been actualized and even seemed impossible. Similarly, the desire
to discard the most conspicuous features of the European Diaspora led
to a decision to drop Ashkenazi pronunciation: it reminded one too
much of Eastern Europe and Yiddish. Hence, the popularity of Sep-
hardi pronunciation. But the latter had been an *existing* option even in
the repertoire of *Haskala* culture in Eastern Europe, only it had never
been actualized in Hebrew *speech.* The desire to dress as a "non-Jew"
popularized the kaffiyeh and the *rubashka* (a Russian shirt) adorned
with a cartridge belt; these were the options that an adjacent, acces-
sible culture provided. Accessibility alone could not have determined
the selection. For example, constituents belonging to the English cul-
ture were at the time gradually becoming accessible in Palestine, but
they were not adopted by the local Hebrew culture because they could
not fulfill the functions needed for the cultural opposition.

The deliberate struggle for the massive adoption of new constitu-
ents does not, however, ipso facto annihilate all the constituents of the
"old" culture. And no system which maintains an uninterrupted exis-

tence is able to replace all its constituents. Normally, only the center of the system changes; relations at the periphery change very gradually. From the point of view of the people who in their behavior and existence actualize what we call, in the abstract, "systemic relations," even a deliberate decision to change behavioral constituents will lead to changes only in the most dominant constituents, i.e., those in which there is a high degree of awareness. But in areas such as proxemic relations, body movement, etc., in which awareness is low and not easily governed by deliberate control, even deliberate decisions will fail to produce change. Nevertheless, since "culture" is not merely the existence of one system attaching to a homogeneous group, but rather a heterogeneous system, one member-group in the culture may be impelled by certain factors, while another is not. Yet both exist simultaneously and are unavoidably correlated with each other within the same polysystem. Thus, only a pseudo-historical idealization would confer on the First *Aliya* a homogeneity capable of creating "a new Hebrew people" according to the tenets of a specific ideology. Recent studies and numerous documents from this period clearly demonstrate that there were very few among the first settlers who were even familiar with this ideology and even fewer who identified with it and took it upon themselves to actualize the cultural opposition.

In other words, side by side with the penetration of new constituents, there remained a substantial mass of "old culture." As a result, the cultural opposition to it probably constituted one of the important factors in that system which, in retrospect, must now be recognized as the central, the "official" one. Yet the cultural opposition of the "new Hebrew" was both conditioned by and correlated with other factors operating within the polysystem, some of which supported it, while others neutralized it to a greater or lesser extent. Among other factors which determined (to an extent that still requires further investigation) the penetration of new constituents into the system and its reorganization at each subsequent phase, the following should be considered:

1. The predominance of constituents from one particular source over the entire society. (An example of this—as an illustrative hypothesis only—would be the predominance of the Lithuanian high norm of intonation and vowel quantity over the official norm of Hebrew. For more explanations see below.)

2. The penetration of constituents from other cultural systems as a result of "normal" contacts (such as the continued penetration of Russian models into official, "high" Hebrew culture up to the 1950s, at least).

3. The neutralization of certain features as a result of the impossibility of unilateral domination (for instance, on the phonetic and intonational features of spoken Hebrew).

4. The emergence of local, "native," constituents as a result of the dynamic operation of the repertoire beginning to crystallize, in accordance with the three foregoing principles (e.g., new body movements, neologisms, verbal constituents with pragmatic functions, development of various linguistic registers, such as slang, etc.).

The perseverance of old constituents, both items and functions, is no less important for the dynamics of a system than the penetration of new ones. This principle can be called the "inertia of institutionalization." Established constituents will hold on as long as possible against pressures which try to force them out of the center onto the periphery or out of the system altogether. Many constituents persevered in this way inside the new cultural system in Palestine, either in their original form or by transferring their functions to new forms. For example, with regard to the perseverance of form, Hebrew became institutionalized rather painlessly in the registers of formal, public, and non-intimate communication. But in intimate, familiar, or "popular" language, even among fanatic Hebraists, Yiddish (or rather fragments of Yiddishisms) persevered. Thirty years ago, it was still relatively simple to record macaronic discourse in colloquial Hebrew. Today we are forced to reconstruct it, partly from written testimony, partly from the macaronic speech observable among old-timers still with us.[7] On the other hand, as regards the transfer of functions, this was carried out by domestic carriers. On the linguistic level, to take one instance, this procedure was based on providing loan-translations

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7. This kind of macaronic language is characterized by the insertion of Yiddishisms when the Hebrew elements are felt by the speaker to be insufficient or inadequate to express emotivity. Thus, even such phrases as "vos iz dos" (literally "what is this"), meaning "what does it mean," "what is the meaning of all this," may be considered more expressive than "ma ze" ("what is it") or "ma perusho shel dabar" ("what is the meaning of this"). Also, established narremes may also under such circumstances be considered more effective than their Hebrew equivalents, conceived of as detached and "high" by the originally Yiddish speaker. Thus "zogt er/zi" ("he/she says") as an interpolated reporting speech device in daily narrative can be heard rather than "hu omer"/"hi omeret," their established literary equivalents. On top of this, a host of unique Yiddish expressions (such as *nebekh, gevald*) or morphemes (mostly for diminutives: *-le,* plural *-lakh*) penetrated more massively, some to stay, at least in some registers. Such familiar designations as *aba* for *papa* and *ima* for *mama* were introduced from Aramaic, since the Hebrew words *ab* (father) and *em* (mother) belong to the more official register (i.e., "father" and "mother"). But even these often were felt as stilted, subsequently taking the Yiddish diminutive suffixes, thus generating such forms as *aba-le* and *ima-le*. (The Russian *papochka* and *mamochka*—diminutives of *papa* and *mama*—may also have served as a model in such cases.) It is indeed very unfortunate that the living performers of such a macaronic speech are still not recorded. Although their actual speech today cannot possibly be taken as a fully authentic preservation of current macaronic speech in previous decades, the categories of Yiddish insertions must be roughly the same.

(calques). Pattern transfer, though, seems to have been possible more in "low profile" areas: in intonation rather than lexicon, gesture rather than morphology and the like.

The inertia of institutionalized constituents can also explain behavioral differences between various sectors of the emerging culture. There were certain areas, for example, where new functions were needed not to replace old ones, but simply to fill slots where there were no old functions to begin with. Here the complex play between selection factors from existing repertoires and the element of creativity was less constrained than in those highly institutionalized areas where quick replacement was impossible because those principles were not valid for them.

We can see this at work in the case of language and literature. The canonized patterns of Hebrew literature and the Hebrew language which had crystallized in Eastern Europe maintained their central positions in these systems throughout the entire period discussed in this article and even later. The new, "native" constituents, which could have provided alternative options, were forced to remain at the periphery of these systems, penetrating the center only in the late 1950s. Let us look a little closer at these matters.

The process by which Hebrew became a modern language during the nineteenth century and the dominant native tongue later in Palestine illustrates many of the points mentioned above. Hebrew had to mobilize all of its resources to meet the need which arose for writing secular poetry, narrative prose, journalistic nonfiction, and scientific prose. At the same time it had to maintain the existence of the cultural oppositions emerging from the respective ideologies of each phase of development. At the beginning of the *Haskala*, the need to create a language in counterposition to rabbinical vernacular resulted in the rather fanatical reduction of Hebrew exclusively to its Biblical variety. When that need weakened in the face of the greater need to counterpose the accepted form of early *Haskala* prose, many features of rabbinical language were reintroduced, though now with different functions. This process was particularly notable in the language of literature, and was determined by literary requisites. For Mendele Mokher Sfarim (1836?–1917; a founding father of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literatures), for example, the language of the most appreciated writer of the Enlightenment period, Abraham Mapu (1807–1867), was stilted and artificial, especially in dialogue, and totally incompatible with the type of reality he was interested in describing (Mapu's novels described life in ancient Biblical times). Consequently, he introduced various constituents of post-Biblical Hebrew. Moreover, Mendele unhesitatingly turned to Yiddish for further options. It was socially, though not linguistically, the repertoire closest to Hebrew. He

borrowed from the Yiddish not words, not even calques, but those linguistic patterns of which there is a very low level of awareness: syntax, sentence rhythm, and intonation. By doing this he achieved an unprecedented effect of naturalness of speech in a language which was confined to writing, thus opening the way for the later development of both literary and spoken language. The effect of naturalness can be understood only if we keep in mind that Mendele's readers were at home in *both* languages and thus able to appreciate his singular achievement by juxtaposing them.[8] Other writers followed suit.

In observing the history of new *spoken* Hebrew (for which, unfortunately, we have only partial documentation),[9] two things become clear: first, an enormous revolution was needed to turn it into a secular tongue for daily use; secondly, the linguistic and paralinguistic phenomena which perforce accompanied its revival had no connection whatsoever with any kind of ancient historical situation. I refer here to those linguistic features the conscious control of which is very difficult, even impossible, and whose penetration into the system of spoken language is absolutely unavoidable: voice quality, the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of sounds, sentence rhythm and intonation, paralinguistic phenomena accompanying speech (hand and head gestures), onomatopoeic sounds and interjections. In all these areas, Yiddish and Slavic features massively penetrated Hebrew, dominated it for a long time, and can still be observed in part today. Clearly, the so-called Sephardi pronunciation actualized by natives of Eastern Europe was quite different from that employed in Palestine by non-Europeans. What was actualized, in fact, was only the minimum necessary to establish it in opposition to Ashkenazi pronunciation.

Yet one of the most conspicuous phenomena in the area of pronunciation was the gradual rejection of the various foreign linguistic and paralinguistic features and their replacement by a very characteristic and unmistakable native-Hebrew sentence intonation. The most drastic departure from the effects of the interference of other language systems probably took place in the area of voice quality and verbal sounds. Furthermore, contrary to expectations regarding language acquisition, the pronunciation of native Palestinian Hebrew speakers was not in imitation of their parents' pronunciation but appeared rather to follow a neutralization procedure: it sought the common denominator of all pronunciations (of those brought from Eastern Europe, not from Middle Eastern countries!) and rejected all exceptional fea-

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8. For a discussion of this issue, see Perry 1984; also Shmeruk 1978 and "Authentic Language and Authentic Reported Speech: Hebrew vs. Yiddish" above.
9. A rather representative collection of *official* and public documents is available in English (Saulson 1979).

tures. No existing inventory could have dominated the actual speech of native Hebrew speakers (although it could and did dominate the canonized pronunciation of specific sectors, such as the Hebrew theater [see below]). This is a common procedure for a lingua franca. Clearly no new inventory of *sounds* has been created but rather a local *phonological* system. Neutralization on the level of sound *per se* is not a defensible notion. One must say rather, and at a higher level of abstraction, that whatever was *unnecessary* for the phonological system in terms of phonetic oppositions was in fact eliminated.[10]

How did the development of "native Hebrew" influence Hebrew culture in Palestine? It turns out that in spite of the ideology of "the new Hebrew man/woman" and the subsequent adoration of the native-born *sabra*[11] all of whose linguistic "inventions" were zealously collected, neither native phonetic norms nor the majority of other native verbal phenomena were accorded *official* recognition.[12] They did not

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10. We must recognize, however, at least as a theoretical option, the possibility that rather than through an internal process of neutralization it was the adoption of a ready-made repertoire that actually took place in reality. Such a repertoire seems indeed to have been there, namely the so-called Lithuanian norm. This norm is markedly different from all the rest of East European norms in its middle-length vowels, which, moreover, are very similar to the Sephardi ones, and its relatively even intonation (in contradistinction, for instance, to the conspicuous "sing-song" of Galician Yiddish or even "rural Lithuanian"). If this is true, the process here termed neutralization did not occur in Palestine, but had been finalized in Lithuania. Unfortunately, there is no research available which would justify our preferring this hypothesis over the neutralization hypothesis. It is, however, clear that the Lithuanian norm, already considered superior prior to the Palestinian development, might have contributed to preferring the kind of neutralized features which might have developed. One could argue that, had it been the other way round, a non-neutralized, sing-song norm could have been considered "better" or "more beautiful" rather than the "dry" accepted one. (Obviously, the "neutralized" norm is aurally "poorer" than the non-neutralized ones from the point of view of variety of features.)
11. A popular appellation during this period of (Jewish) Palestinian-born people, borrowed from the Arabic word denoting cactus tree. The idea was the image of the *sabra,* who, like the cactus, is prickly on the outside but sweet on the inside. The word *sabra* has been replaced with the Hebrew *sabbar* (pronounced "tsabbar"), now almost obsolete.
12. The native-born Hebrew "sabra" evoked—and perhaps still does—an ambiguous response: on the one hand, he is strong, brave, somewhat coarse, and outspoken; on the other hand, he is gentle, childish, and uncultivated. Alter Druyanov collected anecdotes and jokes in *Jokes and Witticisms* (Jerusalem 1945), among which is the following (no. 2636): "Tel Aviv, Herzl Street. A group of children pour out of the Herzlia Gymnasium. Two famous Yiddishists are passing by, having come to visit Palestine [probably just before or after World War I], and the greater Yiddishist says to his junior colleague: 'The Zionists boast that Hebrew is becoming a natural tongue for the children of Palestine. I will now show you that they are lying. I will tweak one of the boys' ears and I promise you that he will not cry out *ima* ["mother" in Hebrew], but *mame* [Yiddish].' So saying, he approached one

become central to the cultural system, nor did they constrain the norms of its written texts. Ultimately, they began to penetrate the center through the classical process by which phenomena on the periphery move towards the center, and even then, arduously and without "official" sanction. Thus, when the Palestinian Broadcasting Service was opened to Hebrew broadcasting, no "native" pronunciation was heard there. What one heard was either a "Russian-Yiddish" Hebrew or an attempt at "Oriental" pronunciation, i.e., actualizing some of the guttural consonants as they were *supposed* to be pronounced—in imitation of the equivalent *Arabic* sounds. Both endeavored to maintain the canons of classical Hebrew morphology, that is, in accordance with the canonized "vocalization" system (the so-called Tiberian tradition which crystallized in the city of Tiberias by the Sea of Galilee in the tenth century), as interpreted by later generations.

Similarly, until the 1940s native Hebrew did not have any position in the language of the theater, since the latter was an official cultural institution. The acting and textual models of the Hebrew theater in Palestine were perfectly compatible with the conventions of Russo-Yiddish pronunciation. This included quite a large range of phenomena: phonetic features pertaining to vowels and consonants and voice quality (tone, timbre, stability of voice vs. vibration), rhythm, fluency of speech, and intonation. The *Habima* theater, founded in Moscow in 1918 and transferred to Tel Aviv in 1926, perpetuated Russo-Hebrew speech the same way it perpetuated Russian acting conventions and *mise-en-scènes,* at least until the beginning of the 1960s; only with the foundation of the *Cameri Theater* in Tel Aviv in the early 1940s did one get the opportunity to hear a different kind of Hebrew—not exactly native, but relatively liberated from Russo-Yiddish features. Actually, the characteristics of native spoken Hebrew were not only ignored, but even strongly opposed. Native Hebrew was—and still is in certain areas of the establishment—conceived of as an ephemeral phenomenon, which if ignored would gradually go away. This attitude is further reinforced by the school system at all stages by its emphasis on "correct" usage and classical grammar. The various functions required by a colloquial Hebrew and therefore introduced into the language by native speakers, either through transfers or exploitation of indigenous "reserves" of Hebrew, were conceived of as errors.

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of the boys and tweaked his ear. The boy turned on him and shouted: 'Idiot!' [*ḥamor* ("donkey") in Hebrew]. The famous Yiddishist turned to his friend: 'I am afraid that the Zionists are right.'" The point of this anecdote is not only that the "children of Palestine" were actually speaking Hebrew rather than Yiddish, but that they reacted not at all in the manner supposedly typical of Jewish children. This is, of course, a double disappointment for the famous Yiddishist, as the "new language" also represents a "new (and not familiar) behavior."

The official guardians of the language appeared to be impervious to the needs of a living language. To sum up, one may say that native Hebrew assumed in fact the position of a non-canonized, non-official system. Only through a complicated and prolonged process did it begin moving into official culture. Naturally, the generation shift contributed to the acceleration of this process, but the generation shift *per se* is not sufficient to explain this. The acceptance of canonized norms totally opposed to those of common usage is quite common in most cultures. In Palestine, native speakers learned to speak in *Habima* (and the other theaters imitating it) with a Russian accent; on the radio they acquired the habit of pronouncing many features completely absent in their actual speech.[13]

Let us turn now to a consideration of the system of written texts. This is the most highly institutionalized system within culture and as the bearer of official recognition has the central function of generating textual models. Within this system, "literature" often assumes a central position. In modern Hebrew culture, literature definitely had such a position and such a function, and it makes no difference whether the models adopted by society came directly from Hebrew literature or were mediated by texts such as social, political, and critical writings. The fact that Hebrew developed into a modern language during the nineteenth century in a written form, and further that its long tradition had been primarily literary, enables us to understand why written models had priority over any alternative oral options which might have crystallized during that period. The system of Eastern European Hebrew literature in Palestine functioned in a manner similar to that of architectural and paralinguistic phenomena by resisting the penetration of native cultural constituents. At least until the end of World War I, the canonized literature produced in Palestine was peripheral to the mainstream of Hebrew literature in other parts of the world; the various types of texts published in Palestine, whether "high" literature or sketches, poems, letters, diaries, etc., disclosed a very strong affinity to earlier stages in the history of Hebrew literature and not to what was the dominant norm at the time in Europe. Therefore, in Palestine not only were new models for Hebrew literature not generated (neither "native" nor any other kinds), with the potential of providing an alternative option; Palestinian Hebrew literature constituted rather a conservative sector within the totality of literary taste and literary activities. On the other hand, when the center of Hebrew

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13. Some of the most conspicuous features of this kind are still two gutturals ([ʿ] and [ḥ]), dental [r] (rather than native velar), shifting stress, and [e] ("schewa mobile"), where speech has a consonant cluster. (For instance, such forms as "kfarim," "pqidim" are thus pronounced "kefarim," "peqidim.")

literature was transferred to Palestine by means of immigration in the 1920s and early 1930s, it was already an institutionalized system with clear decision-making mechanisms, i.e., clear procedures for employing existing options or finding new ones. The contacts with Russian literature as the available source for alternative options at critical junctures were perpetuated in Palestine at least until the middle of the 1950s.

The gradual rise of Sephardi stress as the metrical norm for Hebrew poetry illustrates the extent to which the institutionalized literary models were closed to the penetration of existing native constituents. For several decades after Sephardi pronunciation dominated spoken Hebrew in Palestine, it still had no impact on the norms of poetic language. Sephardi stress in poetry began to appear in the official sectors only at the beginning of the 1920s; it became the central, dominant norm only at the beginning of the 1930s. This was the case not only with the older generation, but even with poets partly educated in Palestine before World War I, such as Avraham Shlonsky (1900–1977) and his generation. Similarly, when the new "modernist" school of Hebrew poetry emerged in the late 1920s, the models they employed as alternatives to those of the previous generation were based on a massive adoption of Russian constituents, including the rhythm, intonation, word order, rhyming norms, vocabulary, inventory of possible themes, etc., most of which had little connection with local, native constituents. As noted before, the Hebrew poetry created in Palestine before the rise of modernism as well as the Hebrew prose which had made a certain attempt to deal with the local scene on the thematic level were not considered—nor could they have been—alternative options for introducing change in the literary norms. It was a literature based upon models too old-fashioned for the tastes of the new writers.

Even in the narrative prose written by native Hebrew speakers towards the end of the 1940s, writers who hardly knew any foreign language and who were assuming positions at the center of the literary system, one finds amazingly few constituents of native language. Much of the work of that generation was based on Russian-Hebrew models in accordance with those traditional decision-making procedures which had established themselves in the Hebrew literature of Eastern Europe before the migration to Palestine. Thematic structure, modes of description, narrative composition, segmentation and transition techniques, in short, the entire narrative repertoire of the texts of this generation leaned heavily on both classical Russian and Soviet-Russian models. One may say with justification that in all these areas a vacuum existed in the Hebrew system, and the young writers found the model they needed in the profusion of prose translated from Russian, especially by Shlonsky and his school. Naturally, these texts are

not monolithic, and the so-called Russian-Hebrew principles prevailing are not homogeneous; certain local elements are recognizable. But what is decisive here is the fact that the role of native Hebrew was by no means dominant. The conception of what a story would be, the elaboration of narrated reality, the ways of reporting the speech of characters all were linked to a very strong literary tradition, by no means native, the result of the penetration of constituents through contacts with another literature. Only in later texts did native language penetrate narrative prose written by some of the writers belonging to "the generation of the 1940s." Even there it was not quite authentic. Others, who probably had difficulty moving from traditional stylized literary Hebrew, eventually found it easier to write historical novels: in such novels they could employ the "make-believe" literary language with more apparent justification. Furthermore, these phenomena were not exclusively characteristic of the generation in question; they appeared among other groups of writers at the opposite end of the ideological spectrum, the so-called "Canaanites," who favored the total separation of native-born Palestinian Hebrews from the Diaspora Jews. This clearly illustrates the principle that institutionalized options within a cultural system are often stronger than ideologies. True, some of these "Canaanite" writers objected strongly to "non-native" literary Hebrew, and subsequently introduced new language into their journalism. But this was not the case with their literary prose or poetry. Again, we see that new constituents can penetrate the periphery more easily than they can the more official sectors of a system.

Finally, it would be interesting to observe what took place in literature aimed at Hebrew-speaking children. It would be naive to suppose that the situation here would be radically different. Children's literature usually assumes a non-canonized position within the literary polysystem, adopting models that have undergone simplification, or perpetuating models which occupied the center when they were new. Hebrew children were obliged during the period under consideration to read literary translations in an elevated, sometimes pompous literary language, some of which was a stylized Russian-Hebrew, some of which employed the norms of previous stages in the history of literary Hebrew, norms long and far removed from the center of adult literature. These included various components of the literary model such as strophic matrices, composition techniques, thematic and plot models, and so on. The mild attempts of certain writers to alter the language of children's books were considered almost revolutionary, and never became generative for the production of textual models for children. So, the idea of the "new nation" notwithstanding, there was no room for native constituents in the various sub-systems of the culture. Native constituents which could have constituted alternative

options found their way only into the periphery. Here, at least, there was not too much opposition. Here conventional constraints which prevailed in canonized literature hardly applied, or did not apply at all. In these texts, often written by amateurs, various native constituents did penetrate, not homogeneously, but as part of a conglomerate of diverse and contradictory features. The texts best known to us of this kind are the short detective novels and the dime novels of the 1930s (see Shavit and Shavit 1974), but there were other peripheral texts. As for canonized literature, it was only in the mid-fifties that a change took place, and it took place first in poetry where the option of employing the existing and available repertoire of the native system was introduced. The Russian-Hebrew word order, rhythm, and intonation were replaced, in varying degrees, by local Hebrew features. Changes also occurred on more complex levels of the poetic model, such as the phonetic structure, the use of realia materials, and so on. Analogous processes took place in narrative prose too, but these were much more gradual, and have hardly been finalized to date. (For some recent discussions of these problems see Gertz 1983; Shavit 1982.)

System and Repertoire in Culture

Depletion and Shift

1. Accumulation and Decumulation

In spite of the great progress made in change theory, various aspects, including basic ones, remain unclarified. One such aspect seems to be the case of the fundamental principle which governs the relations between functions and means, or signs and sign-carriers. Once it was postulated that the relations between these are not symmetrical, and that they may be relatively independent of one another (that is, functions may move from one carrier to another, while carriers may find new functions), then one had actually discovered the most fundamental or, if you will, the minimal principle which makes change possible. But instead of drawing conclusions from this very basic principle, researchers' interests have been drawn towards other subjects involved with this principle. Thus, in semantics, and even more so in the revived versions of semiotics, great attention has been paid to classifications of signs, as well as to the general principle of signification, i.e., how sign-carriers carry functions in the first place. In literary studies, on the other hand, there has been an enormous interest in the principle of what I could label function accumulation, i.e., the phenomenon known under such various names as ambiguity, connotativity, low degree of

predictability, semantic density, and so on. Literary scholars of different traditions are almost united with respect to the question of the characteristic features of literature. Literary discourse has thus been regarded as one in which a high degree of *syncretic proportion* between means and functions prevails.[1] Without any wish to comment here on this hypothesis, both practices (that is, semiotics and literary theory) have ignored the opposite mechanism, namely that of function disappearance. For, just as under certain conditions there may evolve a state in which carriers accumulate functions, so there may also evolve the opposite state, i.e., one in which carriers decumulate functions.

Obviously, accumulation and decumulation are diametrically opposed procedures, both enabled by the dynamic flux between carriers and functions. From the point of view of the theory of change they are, therefore, the most conspicuous manifestations of changeability. Yet, once that is said, all that has been gained is a series of new and extremely difficult questions, for which there are not yet satisfactory answers. First, little, if any, work has been done on the correlation between accumulation and decumulation. Therefore, we do not really know whether these are characteristic of certain types of discourse, as it has been maintained, whether these are mutually dependent, what respective roles they play in discourse in general, what the factors are which generate a greater inclination in a system to promote the one or the other. Secondly, while it seems necessary, in order to have a well-rounded formulation of the theory, to acknowledge the priority of the principle of the carriers-functions dynamics over any other principle of changeability, it is *not* very clear how shifts on the level of carriers vs. functions affect systemic change. Moreover, I suspect that the very notion of function decumulation itself needs some expanded elucidation.

2. Depletion

Due to the overwhelming preoccupation with the referential function of language, most types of decumulation observed so far have involved various degrees of weakening of the referential power of signs. Various items ("words," etc.) have thus been recognized as "mere noises" rather than "contentfull" in terms of their referentiality. Uriel Weinreich (1963) labeled such items "depleted" and the process they undergo *depletion*. Thus, according to Weinreich, an English verb such

1. "Syncretic proportion" means the simultaneous coexistence (that is, without mutual exclusion) of a number of functions on one single carrier. While most other types of discourse, it is believed, will not tolerate the simultaneous existence of multiple functions (a hypothesis, however, that has not been sufficiently confirmed), literary discourse is believed to maintain syncretism.

as "take" would be highly depleted, because it has lost almost all features of situational specificity. You can "take a book" from the library shelf, but also "take a picture," "take a bath," and "take your time." Weinreich argued that there were many such elements in language on various levels and in various contexts. This means that the same sign may on one level, or within one context, be depleted, while on another level or in another context be "full." For instance, all major auxiliary verbs (such as "have" or "will") are both "full" and depleted, a fact that does not constitute any problem for a fluent speaker of a specific language, though it would sometimes present serious difficulties for a non-native.[2]

Weinreich's study of depletion has also led him to observe that depleted elements do not become nonfunctional or "superfluous," but once they lose their referential function, they often become organizers of discourse on various levels: grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic. He suggested that at this stage they might be called "formators," i.e., elements that participate in the formal structure of language. This formatory nature of depleted elements was also observed and formulated by Karlgren (1963), in his analysis of Swedish deictics.[3] Taking the

2. Consider the following sentences from the point of view of a recent learner of English: (1) "I was going to have walked"; and (2) "We are going to be at home in any case." No. (1) is translated by the dictionary (Heath's *Standard French and English Dictionary* 1956: 517) with "j'avais l'intention de faire le trajet à pied," while (2) is translated "de toute façon nous comptons rester à la maison." The same would hold true for various pronouns, such as "it" in the English "it is hot," or the French "il" in "il fait chaud" (where "fait" is actually also depleted), or "il y a" (compared with "il y est," said of someone, where both "il" and "y" denote something else than "il" and "y" of "il y a").

3. Karlgren is interested in the "empty positions" rather than in the "empty" elements. What is important, from his point of view, is to know the matrix, the "chart," as he calls it. But since what one has to introduce into such "empty positions" may have no "full meaning" if the function needed is not to be missed, I believe his analysis gives a perfect example of the possible relations that may obtain between "empty" and "full." Karlgren says:

> Now, there sometimes occur linguistic signals which seem to have *no* content but only a signal form; they are, in an intriguing way, the inversion of zero morphemes.
>   Take the following sentences:
>
> | Nu räcker *det* nog! | That's enough! |
> | Regnar *det*? | Does it rain? |
> | *Det* gör det inte. | It doesn't. |
> | *Det* gör ingenting. | It doesn't matter. |
> | Jag tycker inte *det*. | I don't think so. |
>
> The word *det* printed in italics has next to no definable content. It is an almost empty form. Many foreigners find it difficult to remember introducing the empty *det* in Swedish sentences. They don't see the need to "specify" an object in the last sentence by adding *det*.
>   One might plead in the following way for a function for the empty *det*—an argument which can, in fact, be extended to justify many structural restraints as usefully increasing redundancy.

referential function as a point of departure needs some defending. It is generally acknowledged that there are more functions in language than just the referential one, and that the common conviction of the primacy of the referential function will not stand up to scrutiny. But apart from the technical necessity of fixing some convenient point of departure from which to gauge depletion, certain data do tend to confirm the primacy of the referential function. For instance, normally it is only the referential function which a speaker is aware of, and this conception is strongly reinforced through all levels of language teaching. This is especially striking in the case of foreign language acquisition. Moreover, depleted elements, having become formators, seem to be perceived slightly, if at all, by language users, whether in speech or in reading. Thus, it is more than just habit, reinforced by education, which predisposes us to expect sign systems to convey referential information.[4]

The receiver needs to know the chart position of each incoming symbol. Any empty position may be viewed as a fallacious trap into which another element may mistakenly fall. Now, if there happens to be nothing to be said about the object, it may still stabilize the syntactic construction to put a cork into the open hole. This is, as I now argue, what the *det*'s are for.

In this view, a *zero* sign in conjunction with the rest of sentence forms a linguistic expression with the dual content-expression property. Taken by itself, it has little or no relation to any semantic entity.   (Karlgren 1963: 55–56)

In explaining what he means by the "zero sign" function in this paragraph, Karlgren says, "The *det* in this example is, thus, a signal, similar in function to the zero digit in a decimal number like 103. An empty column, on the contrary, is no signal at all" (Karlgren 1963: 56, note 24).

4. The term "depletion" has disturbed several of my English-speaking colleagues. This, I am afraid, cannot be helped, and I hope one can overcome one's immediate reactions to a new metaphor. It is the concept of depletion that seems, however, to cause greater and more justifiable worry. It has been suggested to me that a great majority of "depletion instances" would perhaps be covered by the process "from the semantic to the pragmatic." Thus, one may call it either de-semantization or pragmatization. Neither solution seems to me better than the general idea conveyed by the term "depletion," although the terms (and concepts) mentioned above could be used to better clarify some of the specific processes (and procedures) involved.

Another interesting alternative, which I have entertained for several years now, is to substitute the idea of *iconicity* for "referentiality." Whatever an icon might be (see Sebeok 1976a), iconicity may be conceived of as a relation where signs refer to the "direct world," conveying information on denotata in time and space. This notion is particularly valuable for higher levels of discourse, for there it becomes more and more apparent that the more developed the culture, and the larger the quantities of verbal (and non-verbal) discourse that are consequently produced in a society, the less iconical (i.e., manifesting iconicity-relations) the signs (sign-sequences) are likely to be. This implies that cultural products are constrained by permanent de-iconization. Both Sebeok (1976a) and Thom (1973) have suggested that de-iconization is more prevalent than iconization. Yet, if "iconization" is the

3. Illustrations

Let me now illustrate, as briefly as possible, several instances where depletion is conspicuous.

(1) *Everyday address phrases and formulae.* Thus, "dear sir" has nothing to do with "dear," nor do "honey" and "baby" (in America), or "dearie" and "love/luve" (in England). The Immigration Officer in George Mikes' classic *How to Be an Alien* (1946: 77), who signed "Your Obedient Servant" to a notice of deportation, did not dream of obedience to the deportee. "Let's have lunch sometime" has nothing to do with eating lunch, as many non-Americans so naively believe, but actually is a vague declaration of non-committed friendliness. And "see you" does not belong to the paradigm of which "hear you" is another constituent. (The British "old chap" or "lilla frun" [little lady] said to a robust Swedish lady are just two more examples of this sort.)

(2) *Qualifying adverbs,* such as "terribly" or "awfully" in such expressions as "she is awfully nice," "thanks awfully," or "terribly obliged to you." (I suspect such expressions do not look "natural" to most Americans, but they are typical of a certain British register.) The same holds true of various *adjectives,* such as "big" or "giant" in the language of advertisements, or, as *The Peter Principle* has taught us, of various titles of administrative positions (Peter and Hull 1969). While the nature of his work, or his salary, may not change, an executive's title may be changed in order to signify that he has been "promoted."

(3) *"Dead metaphors" and current idioms.* This is a very well known verbal operation based on depletion.

(4) *Slang.* Slang is a verbal activity where the speed of depletion is so high that new elements have to be generated incessantly.

(5) *Void pragmatic connectives* (VPC's). These are various particles, verbs, and compounds which function as organizers of speech (or

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process by which elements which have lost their primary iconicity are re-iconized, then the idea is not very remote from Shklovskij's "de-automatization" hypothesis. Perhaps unaware of the analogous problems discussed in poetics, both Sebeok and Thom may have overlooked this counterpossibility as being quite typical of certain types of discourse, among which "art" has been thought to be the most conspicuous. Whether this is a defensible hypothesis or not, "de-iconization" would perfectly well cover a wide range of depletion instances, if not all of them. The reason that I am still hesitant to suggest such a replacement (that is, of depletion by de-iconization) is, on the one hand, my preference for an idea, namely depletion, which is generally neutral as between one semiotic theory and another; and, on the other hand, my reluctance to adopt an alternative, namely de-iconization, which has as yet been insufficiently investigated. At any rate, readers who have difficulties with "depletion" may replace it for themselves with "de-iconization." For the moment, however, it seems to me more convenient to proceed on the basis of already formulated insights and traditional observations rather than elaborate a totally new conceptual framework.

signals of discourse). In English you have such items as "well," "so," "you know" (mostly American), "you see," "I mean," and "I say." In some languages, void pragmatic connectives have been employed on a massive scale by literary language for a variety of purposes. (See Even-Zohar 1978, 1982, 1982a, and below, "Void Pragmatic Connectives.")

As I have already argued, this depleted status of such elements is most apparent with non-native speakers. Students of language and literature have long known that we all tend to attribute much more meaningfulness and expressivity to words in a foreign language than to those of our own. While for a native speaker certain expressions, utterances, and texts are definitely "banal," for a non-native speaker they may sound powerful and fresh. This tendency in the decipher-ing of foreign cultures is especially inadequate in the case of highly depleted elements. Such cases, however, are an excellent source for contrastive culturology, with the help of which depletion can some-times be identified in the first place. Since a particular sequence of signs may exist only in a state of depletion, it may be impossible to contrast the sequence with its non-depleted state within the same cul-ture. Thus, while depleted "dear" can still be contrasted with a non-depleted "dear" in English (in such a sentence as "he is very dear to me"), we would have more difficulties with the lip-kissing between people of opposite sexes who are not intimate with one another (a be-havior I have observed in certain American milieus), or with the Rus-sian lip-kissing between people of the same sex. In the first case, for non-Americans, including Europeans, unless interpreted as depleted elements, not to be confused with some other varieties of kissing, it is indeed a puzzling behavioreme (to use Pike's term). The second case, especially against the background of the meaning of male lip-kissing in the West, seems paradoxical and even incomprehensible when one bears in mind the rather strict Russian code of morals. This is, of course, a distorted interpretation, but no non-Russian can help making this interpretation when first confronted with it. I still remem-ber how shocked the audience was many years ago when Chekhov was played in London the "Russian way," that is, among other things, with male lip-kissing. For on top of the general consternation, Chekhov's characters are supposed to be alienated, which, according to English norms, ought to have been manifested through avoidance of all bodily contact.[5] I believe that the same holds true for various degrees of body

5. My point about kissing does not seem to have been well taken by my Philadel-phia public (nor most of everything else). It was therefore somewhat encouraging to discover, while re-editing this paper, what Professor Snyder has to say in con-nection with a very distant instance of kissing:

> In the mediaeval German epic, the *Niebelungenlied*, the courteous kiss bestowed upon the guest appears as a gesture meant as a genuine display of friendship in:

uncovering, and not necessarily only with females. When Gauguin came to live in Copenhagen after he had married a Danish woman, he could not understand how middle-class morals, more or less similar to those which prevailed in France at the time, could be consistent with women's half-nakedness on the beach. (This, let me remind you, happened about a hundred years ago, not with the bikini and mono-kini wave of the mid-sixties.) Clearly, in such a culture, body uncovering has become highly depleted in terms of the previously prevalent "full" signification. In other cultures, however, this has not been the case, which is why Scandinavian girls going to Spain used to get instructions from their travel agents about how to avoid being misinterpreted. But although certain very conspicuous behavioremes can be deliberately avoided, others cannot, which is a permanent cause for unlucky clashes. On the other hand, a male walking on the beach or on the street near it, with uncovered upper body (torso), would normally create no trouble in Spain. But it seems that he would do so in the United States of America, on a Florida beach, in the year 1981. (Jogging with an uncovered torso on streets near the Miami beach was prohibited as a result of women's protest, as they found it offensive.)

4. Automatization

Beyond the level of discrete elements and bound formulae, depletion operates on the level of total models. I believe that one of the first students of cultural depletion was Frazer in his *The Golden Bough* (1951 [1922]), in his discussion of the way major social ceremonies, such as ritual dances for rain, gradually have lost their function as necessary elements of survival and have received other functions, which could be labeled, I believe, social regulators, such as carnivals, play, and

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1665	Diu junge Marcgrâvinne,	kuste die künige alle drî
	(alsam ter ir muoter),	da stuont ouch Hagene bî
	[The young marcgravine	kissed all the three kings
	her mother did the same,	then Hagen was next]

but with erotic overtones in the scene where Kriemhilde is permitted to kiss Siegfried (courteously, of course):

297.3	ir wart erloubt küssen	den waetlîchen man
	im wart in al der werlde	nie sô liebe getân.
	[She was permitted to kiss	the handsome man.
	Never in all the world did he meet such love.]

In both instances the kiss represents a formal, courteous greeting, but the poet plays on the contrast between the empty outward form of the social gesture and the form with real content. The first scene shows the desire to include in the exercise of the formal element a gesture of genuine friendship, which in the second example is extended to a gesture of deep and undying love. In a culture not familiar with this custom, the sharp contrast between the simple form, the form with content, and the form with twofold content, while not entirely lost, is considerably weakened. (Snyder 1981: 130–131)

games. Johan Huizinga is another notable student of such phenom-
ena. Actually, almost all studies of conventions, stereotypes, repetition,
and "ritual behavior" are in fact rich sources for material on various
degrees of depletion with total models of communication both verbal
and non-verbal.

A bold student of depletion, whose contribution is often not suf-
ficiently appreciated, is Viktor Shklovskij. Shklovskij postulated that
the power of signifying signs which constitute our "human world" is
under a permanent process of weakening. Things lose their freshness,
in his opinion, and as a result we no longer perceive them, or, in more
extreme words, we no longer "see" or "hear" them. They become
"automatized," as many body motor activities are. It is art, Shklov-
skij argued, that counteracts this process and brings things back to
life, charging them again with meaning and "making us hear and see
again." This artistic operation was first called by him "estrangement"
(ostranenie), and later "de-automatization," and art was hence equated
with de-automatized discourse. This has become a major concept for
Russian Formalism, and has had quite an interesting career in sub-
sequent years, in Prague structuralism and after. But the hypothesis
of de-automatization has attracted so much attention, triggering lively
debates mostly concerned with the question of how literature could
be defined "intrinsically," that the value of the idea of automatiza-
tion, as well as its bearing on problems of change, have been entirely
neglected.

It is not my purpose here to discuss Shklovskij's theories or reevalu-
ate his contribution as a whole. Nor am I concerned here with his
own understanding of the idea of automatization. To be sure, he was
not interested in automatization per se, and he undoubtedly had very
romantic views about its "aesthetic" value. Obviously, he needed this
notion in order to explain what art can do to counteract it, which
for him almost was a kind of struggle between light and darkness,
between dullness and meaningfulness, memory and oblivion. These,
however, are questions I have to eliminate from my present discussion.
On the other hand, Shklovskij went at least one step further, from my
point of view, when he postulated automatization as a necessary condi-
tion for change. For, according to him, when certain literary models,
or models of art in general, become automatized, change must take
place in order to preserve and secure the fundamental function of art.
Actually, this became his major explanation for literary change, and,
although he never formulated this in so many words, I believe that it
would not be far-fetched to attribute to him the idea of permanent
dynamics in sign systems, with the implication that systems maintain
themselves not by staying untouched but through change. Interest-
ingly, this clashed so violently with Shklovskij's otherwise a-historical

ideas, and with his theory about the nature of texts, that it needed to be explicitly formulated and elaborated by other students of culture in order to become "official theory." It was Jurij Tynjanov and Roman Jakobson who made this move, though with it "automatization" was no longer a major concept, eventually to be replaced by such notions as the capacity vs. incapacity of certain carriers (forms/means) to fulfill certain functions. The idea of the permanent depletion of elements was never further developed. Yet the idea that unloaded signs (which are in such a state due to certain hierarchical relations) may, if manipulated in a certain way, acquire loading and generate shift has never been deserted in modern semiotics (least of all in literary theories). Through Jakobson, the idea that the set (*Einstellung*) towards the message may introduce shifts has become one of the most popular ideas in the field. Unfortunately, Jakobson's formulation is too often taken out of context and understood either as an elegant formulation about sound repetition, or one about parallelism and equivalences, or, even worse, just as a beautiful maxim for embellishing writing on literature. Yet, even if we confine ourselves to the primitive notion of set towards the message, which before Jakobson was formulated by the Russian linguist Lev Jakubinskij, we will immediately find that the idea of depletion/automatization is already there, though more as a presupposition than as a fully developed hypothesis. What is most interesting, even in this rudimentary formulation of Jakubinskij's (1916), is the recognition that the sounds of language are not at all perceived, or recognized, qua sounds by the language user. A special mechanism is therefore needed in order for the sounds to reach one's perception and truly to be heard. Such a mechanism is elaborated, it was suggested, by poetry. It is interesting to confront this idea with the phonological theories, which hypothesized that it was phonetic oppositions, and not "sounds as such," which are heard and perceived. It seems to have been Sapir who insisted that it was phonemes rather than phonetic elements which a native member of a community "hears" (Sapir 1933, "The Psychological Reality of Phonemes"; rpt. in Sapir 1968: 46–60). Thus, to bring this into line with my argument, sounds, those fundamental units of language, are depleted. Moreover, were they not, communication would be almost impossible. It is only in special types of discourse that elements depleted by a relevant teleological mechanism can acquire a different status. When such a change takes place, the result is that a message eventually carries other functions than those designed for it by the regularities of the code by which they have been generated. Thus, new functions are introduced into the message in spite of the code and not in congruity with it. Not only can the message be liberated from code constraints, but if repeated, such violations can result in ultimate changes in the code. This, I believe,

is also the correct reading of Jakobson's famous hypothesis about the "poetic function" (1960), which, as formulated in 1958, is not really confined to "literary" discourse alone. The intimate connection between depletion and shifts is in this case once again recognized as a major principle of the permanent capacity of language, or any sign system, to change.

5. Redundancy

The Jakobsonian idea could perhaps be even better understood in the context of information theory. It was information theory which developed the idea of redundancy. Redundant elements, according to this theory, carry "little information" (or none at all), yet do not become "superfluous," as their main function now becomes that of making communication itself smooth and overcoming "noise." Obviously, the idea of redundancy involves one aspect of depletion, namely, sequence conditions (syntagmatic order relations). For instance, it is the final elements of "words" which are supposed to be redundant; neither the eye nor the ear is believed to perceive them. Against the background of this hypothesis, the Jakobsonian formulation about final elements of words refunctionalized through the operation of the set is particularly striking. Such a linkage was not in fact explicitly formulated by Jakobson himself, but, speaking in 1958 to communication theorists for whom those ideas were still fresh at the time, Jakobson might have had it in the back of his mind. Other students of poetics, such as Fonagy, have tried to make more extensive use of the idea of redundancy, hypothesizing that poetry has a higher rate of information and a lower rate of predictability than other types of discourse precisely because of the set operations. A Russian information scientist, Piotrovskij (1968), has calculated such rates for the various types of discourse, with comparable results.

Contrary to the Jakobsonian hypothesis, these studies, in spite of the interesting insights (and methods) they contribute, offer a naive and a-historical view of the generation and decipherment of poetry. Nevertheless, from the point of view of a theory of depletion, this explicit use of information theory has at least one advantage in comparison with the idea of automatization, namely, its recognition of redundancy as a necessary condition of communication rather than something to be deplored. Shklovskij's equation of automatization with non-art, which has been adopted in principle by all subsequent major literary theorists, prevented him from realizing that depletion pervades art probably to no less an extent than it does non-art. Had he done so, he might have understood that there cannot possibly be any part of life where the principle of depletion does not operate. This, in

turn, might have encouraged students of culture to try looking for the differences, both quantitative and qualitative, among the specific ways depletion operates in various sections of culture. Such research would have resulted in a deeper and more sober understanding of how texts are "made," to use one of the favorite expressions of early Russian Formalism, as well as how they function within the frameworks of whole systems. It would have induced conclusions such as (a) that depletion is not necessarily a cultural misfortune; (b) that depletion is a permanent, inevitable process which governs literary discourse much along the same lines as it does non-literary discourse; (c) that this is so not only because of repetitious usage but because discourse is in need of certain functions which can be actualized only through depleted elements.

6. Functions of Depletion

It is this last point which seems to me indispensable for a more adequate understanding of depletion. One might have arrived at it purely theoretically, by deriving it from functionalist presuppositions, for the idea that functions are prior to carriers is a cornerstone of dynamic structuralism. Tynjanov, Jakobson, and Bogatyrëv formulated this principle as early as the late 1920s and early 1930s. Yet it is one thing to derive a certain hypothesis from a general set of assumptions, and quite another either to develop it in some sub-theory or to sustain it through research. People grasp relatively readily the principle that under certain circumstances, such as a repetitious use of elements, depletion may result in a functional change. It is harder to grasp, however, that it is very often in order to make those carriers available for other than referential functions (purposes) that semiosis depletes certain elements in the first place. Such a surmise seems to me perfectly sustainable. For the moment, I cannot quote any large corpus of research in support of it, though I can mention very briefly my own attempts in three different areas of discourse:

(1) I believe that the hypothesis of depletion to achieve non-referential function can be confirmed by analyzing the question of how void pragmatic connectives (VPC's) have emerged in languages newly put to use. There, the need for such organizers of speech has eventually depleted certain elements, and not the other way round. (For a discussion of the modern Hebrew case, which has offered a unique opportunity for such an investigation, see below, "Void Pragmatic Connectives," section "VPC's in a Renovated Language: The Case of Hebrew" [first published as Even-Zohar 1982a].)

(2) I believe that I have demonstrated in "'Reality' and Realemes in Narrative," dedicated to the problem of object representation in

fiction (first published as Even-Zohar 1980), that rather than repre-
senting "reality," represented objects in verbal discourse are likely to
be depleted items in a literary repertoire. This is also very much the
case with such elements as replique ancillary phrases in narrative and
many other seemingly direct descriptions of acts taking place in space
and time, whose ultimate purposes are different from those they are
believed to achieve.

(3) I have tried to demonstrate, in "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Rus-
sian Models" (first published as Even-Zohar 1985), which analyzes the
dialogue policy of a Hebrew writer in the early 1900s, that certain
types of dialogue elements can function mainly for textual organiza-
tion rather than for reporting speech (as they are normally supposed
to do).

Admittedly, such research hardly constitutes sufficient support, but
it does, I believe, indicate the variety of depletion phenomena and it
does sustain the idea that depletion is not confined to some particular
section of semiosis.

On the basis of what has been said so far I would like to argue, with
all due caution, that the proportions between functions and carriers
are governed by some law of equilibrium. Obviously, communication
would not work with excessively high degrees of accumulation. Well
before information theory, Sapir formulated this idea: "It may well
be that, owing to the limitations of the conscious life, any attempt to
subject even the higher forms of social behavior to purely conscious
control must result in disaster" (Sapir 1968: 549; originally 1927). It
is for this reason that depletion occurs, and must occur, at all levels.
On the other hand, when the rates of depletion reach some dangerous
degree, culture must immediately react to counterbalance it or else
collapse and disappear. It is precisely this law of equilibrium, which
determines for a given culture allowable proportions of depletion vs.
accumulation, that has next to be investigated.

"Reality" and Realemes
in Narrative

It is a generally accepted hypothesis in the semiotics of culture that the framing of real-world information is not a free, non-mediated designation process. No semiotic code is capable of conveying information about "nature," but inevitably conveys information on "nature" as it is organized in accordance with cultural conventions. Thus, the idea of semiotic codes, e.g., language, as passive reflections of the world—imitations, as it were, of "reality"—has been replaced, since the pioneering work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, by the idea of active modelling. It has been shown that some of these conventions are built into the formal structure of language and are therefore felt to be both automatic ("natural," so to speak) and obligatory. For instance, grammatical categories, such as tense and gender, are clearly imposed, leaving little leeway for optional decisions on the part of the speaker of a given language. The same holds true, though less formally manifested, in the structure of semantic fields, where a well-defined, ready-made, and accessible repertoire of phrases, collocations, and larger verbal segments are employed to make communication not only possible but smooth, efficient, and economical. From the very fact that languages may differ substantially it is evident that they must be arbitrary to a large extent: different languages normally convey non-identical informata in dealing with the same situation. When these informata are juxtaposed, it is not always altogether clear even that the "same" situation has been treated. Thus, one clear demonstration of the conven-

tional character of semiotic modelling is the fact that items relatable
to the "real world" which are permissible—or even mandatory—in
texts of one culture are non-permissible in texts of another, although
this constraint is seldom felt to be structurally imposed in the way
that formally built-in features are. Whether an individual really ob-
serves (or *can* observe) items he never reports is not a simple question
since such conventions, once operative within a culture, may induce
habits of perception. On the other hand, there need not be congru-
ence between what the man-in-the-culture observes and what he (she)
reports. Just as any member of a culture may use incompatible sub-
codes simultaneously without violating the overall structure of his/her
culture (e.g., using one language for certain purposes and another for
others), so it is also perfectly normal that what is observed need not
necessarily correspond to what is reported or narrated, and *vice versa*.
Indeed, the more established the culture, the more codified its various
repertoires and the more ready-made and detached from the "real
world" its models. Under such circumstances that which *is* narrated
may have no connection to the real world. The "real world," mean-
ing in this context conditions which are inter-subjectively observable
and experienceable, is replaced, so to speak, by *possible* worlds, i.e.,
prefabricated selections from the ready-made repertoire available to
the culture. This has long been understood in connection with folk
songs, the heroic epic, or the monuments of ancient kings and em-
perors, boasting of their achievements (in contrast with the failures of
their predecessors). The same holds true for quasi-historical descrip-
tions, often taken *bona fide* by historians, which may be no more than
conventional models (possibly with some personal flavor). Thus, the
portrait of a certain emperor found in an excavation, the description
of the daily acts of a certain caliph, minute and detailed and convey-
ing, in no ambiguous terms, items relatable to the real world, may
in fact be merely conventional stylizations, hardly reports of actual
circumstances which might ever have taken place.[1]

While in various fields (such as contrastive linguistics, translation

1. The last example is based on Joseph Sadan's masterly analysis of the division of
the Caliph Mansûr's day (Sadan 1979). In this analysis, he demonstrates that this
division of the day is modelled on a tradition, inherited through literary sources
from the Persian, depicting the division of the day of the Persian (Sasanian) kings.
In Sadan's view, "[. . .] comparing it [al-Tabari's account of the division of the
Caliph's day] with the *specula regis* literature, it seems that the 'story' about al-
Mansûr was formulated in accordance with the Sasanian tradition, as well as in
opposition to it" (Sadan 1979: 260–261). The elements of repertoire which have
not been adopted from the Sasanian source were, naturally, those which contradict
the dogmas of Islam. Otherwise, the division of al-Mansûr's day does not reflect
what it might actually have been in reality, but rather how official culture preferred
to present it.

theory, cultural anthropology and folklore studies, sociolinguistics, and psychology) the convention-bound nature of modelling the real world is recognized, a naive interpretation of "mimesis," that is, the view that literature reflects and describes "reality" in "direct" (sometimes even "sincere") terms, can still be detected in literary criticism. Poetics, or literary studies at large, on the other hand, has more often than not evaded the issue, thus revealing—though not in positive terms—the same attitude towards items referring to the "real world," namely, that these are negligible from the point of view of systematic knowledge, as they are not constrained by formulable laws but, as it were, may freely be created and used.

Moreover, as the selection of texts both in literary criticism *and* in poetics has been biased by a-historical value judgments, literature has been identified exclusively with those verbal products which endeavor to break with conventional models. This practice has been harmful to our understanding of the relationships which may obtain between semiotic codes and real worlds. To begin with, literature has been misinterpreted as always being free from any constraints on the level of modelling reality. One of the major tasks of literature has been understood to be that of breaking with conventions. No doubt some literature does do this, but not necessarily all of it. Moreover, even in those texts where the principle of breaking with convention has been dominant, this dominant has neither eliminated all convention-bound features nor obliterated the repertoire basis of the newly introduced elements.

Obviously, the fact that certain models established at the dawn of our history are still in use, or that models of reality gradually petrify and subsequently become mere conventions, need not be interpreted in such a way that semiosis is totally predetermined. Change is constant and new models do have the opportunity to break through. However, the *degree* of discrepancy tolerated between the model known to be conventional and what is felt to be accessible through observation in the real world depends upon the structure of the given culture. The same holds true in the case of the struggle between those forces which strive to introduce new models and those satisfied with the models already established. But neither a high degree of openness (from the point of view of real-world repertoire) nor a high degree of closedness alters the fact that it is a *repertoire, an aggregate of items governed by system relations,* which constitutes how a culture can convey information about reality. It is therefore apparent that while "items of reality" (such as persons and natural phenomena, voices and furniture, gestures and faces) may be "there" in the outside world, in terms of reference to them in a verbal utterance they constitute items of *cultural* repertoire, the repertoire of realia or, in short—for the sake of both convenience

and transparency—*realemes*. Acceptance of this idea, however, does not necessarily mean that realemes are of one type or the other, that is, conventional or not, or that they may be used primarily for one purpose or another. It means simply that they must be taken as members of a structured system, which is the source of their existence and the principle governing their appearance in utterances.

The factors involved in the crystallization of such repertoires are too various to be discussed here. In addition, since most of these repertoires have been taken for granted, they have yet to undergo thorough analysis. There is, for instance, no systematic description of realeme repertoires in any tradition, although a person in the culture, when asked, could give quite clear instructions to possible users. Similarly, the comparative study of translation, as well as the study of interference on various levels, has provided us with variegated data, which, if systematically pursued in terms of the hypotheses suggested here, would provide us with more useful data.

Fashions and conventions are typically initiated by only certain members of a culture, and are disseminated if favorable conditions prevail. Thus, in the past, the ruling classes clearly dictated such repertoires; in our own time, these classes have been replaced by a variety of milieus empowered to dictate fashions, such as the mass media and their celebrities, highly respected critics, and others participating in the struggle over norms in society. Clearly, under such conditions, frivolous decisions may have as much an impact as other decisions obeying *norms* and ideologies in society, including taboos and other restrictions, but it is the latter and not the former which count in most cases. Commercial narrative texts in French, to take one instance, hardly refer to children, and, if reference is unavoidable, refer to them via other realemes. This need not surprise anyone familiar with French culture. French texts, due to the peculiar history of codification in French culture—at least since the sixteenth century—faithfully obey realeme repertoires. Some of the rules formulated at that time are probably still valid today in everyday texts, though not necessarily in high culture texts which are more restrictively circulated.[2]

It is consequently my contention that in a given culture there is a repertoire of possible (narratable, describable) situations as well as

2. For example, illustration No. 1 (see Appendix) is highly typical both of metonymic realeme replacement procedures (dishes replace children, explicitly mentioned in the parallel Dutch text) and of oblique means of conveying a vital piece of information, which, however, is not to be reported—that of uncleanliness caused by using the wrong tools (in this case, children using an inappropriate dish for eating cornflakes). This example is neither random nor unique; it will probably be encountered whenever such a narrated situation is reported/narrated in everyday French texts (cf. illustrations No. 2 and No. 3).

sub-repertoires (paradigms) of the latter. Translation research has clearly demonstrated that when faced with the task of transferring the description of a situation from one language to another, the translator, in case he/she finds the situation in question to be non-existent or prohibited (or preferably to be avoided) in his/her home repertoire, either deletes it completely or manipulates its components in accordance with the models available in the home repertoire. Thus, various replacements of realemes, partial deletions, and amplifications are all normal translational procedures. If, for instance, for an average American reporter, the color of the president's suit is a necessary or indispensable realeme to be inserted into a narrative on the doings of the president, his Israeli colleagues, either when interpreting on television the former's text, or when writing their own, would very likely delete or avoid realemes of this kind. In literature, the repertoire of available models becomes operational immediately when, from the point of view of the target text processor (such as a translator), a narrated situation in a source text lacks some necessary realemes, such as movements in the narrated space, gestures, voices, and other possible repertoremes which are likely to be attached to certain situations (pieces of furniture and other details of *intérieur,* exclamations and crying; for a representative example see Appendix, illustration No. 4). It is inadequate to analyze such manipulations (as is so often done by scholars and critics) in terms of idiosyncratic behavior, as there is ample evidence that when *one* processor does not employ the necessary items, *another* (the editor of the text, the publisher, etc.) will do so. When this is not carried out, moreover, sharp criticism is likely to be directed against the text.[3]

The fact that a certain repertoire has settled into one culture, for whatever reasons, does not mean that it cannot move to other cultures. On the contrary, such moves have continually taken place from the first moment when any repertoire could be transferred from its initial community to another. These moves clearly sustain the conventional character of such repertoires because in the culture into which they are transplanted, their remoteness from daily observation and experience may be even larger. For when realemes of *intérieur* and landscape, to take one instance, are employed in a culture where they may be at least recognizable from real experience, their conventional ready-made character may be disguised to some extent. But when, through interference, these same realemes become prerequisites in texts of

3. Such criticisms reflect typical attitudes vis-à-vis newly offered texts, whether original or translated. Naturally, the less prestigious the producers/processors, the harsher the criticism is likely to be. In matters of translation or new repertoremes recognized as involving interference from some alien source, the attitude may be openly aggressive.

another culture, where they are neither directly linkable with experience nor otherwise establishable (e.g., through home culture traditions), their conventional character is unavoidably laid bare. Yet this does not necessarily cause semiotic disturbances in the target culture, for, as I have maintained, in no human society do the principles of realeme employment ever involve conveying experienced real-world information as a primary condition.

The fact that realemes are virtually wholly constrained by a repertoire structure has made it possible to impose additional functions upon them other than that of conveying real-world information. Indeed, in some periods such impositions have been considered indispensable aesthetic norms. Virtually liberated, as it were, from real-world obligations, these realemes had to be functional for some other interest, and thereby ultimately *motivated*. For instance, in literary narrative, realemes had to be subjugated to the character of the protagonists. Every detail of realia—dresses, facial features, worldly accessories (such as *intérieur* items)—had to contribute to characterization, and have clearly been interpreted in this light. This principle was so strictly adhered to that it actually constituted, as Chudakov rightly asserts (1971a: 141), the very notion of literariness, that is, the distinctive feature of literature. However, in this case, too, a conventional repertoire of correlations crystallized, i.e., an inventory of realemes for characterizations.

When such repertoires are established they become highly predictable and devoid of specific real-world information; they are transformed into a set of prerequisite components for stereotypic relations as well as markers of a model (commercial, news report, literary narrative in general, some specific category of the latter, and so on). Naturally, since the virtual repertoriness of realemes has made it possible for them to serve functions other than the ones which are supposed to be their primary purpose, this may explain how it is precisely certain realemes which cluster around certain situations, segments of possible worlds projected into texts. However, as constraints on realeme usage, the repertoriness of realemes and the imposition on them of secondary functions are not separate but correlated principles. Realeme use motivated by constructed persons (the *heroes* of a narrative) is a secondary imposition which seems to be logically derived from the general constraint on realeme use as a particular instance of the repertoriness of realemes. Moreover, realeme use can—at least as long as it has not completely petrified (as in stereotyped products such as sentimental novels, detective stories, or thrillers)—be given psychological motivation that is based, so to speak, on real-world experience. After all, we all know that people do not simply accumulate objects but that this ac-

cumulation bears some relation to their taste and general personality. However, so many other factors of general semiotic and sociological nature may also be determinants of such accumulation that, at least in the convention-bound texts of culture, if not in real-world cases, the psychological motivation is itself a convention whose purpose is to legitimize the items inserted, rather than the real cause of their insertion.

As their use grows increasingly conventionalized, realemes tend more and more to receive secondary functions, resulting in a gradual depletion of their referential potential. On the other hand, items which have undergone depletion are perfect carriers of *quasi*-referential functions, easily subjugated to other interests in the text processing. Thus, realemes may be primarily used for purposes of textual organization, such as segment demarcation, concatenation, and other requirements of textual coherence (and/or cohesion). Admittedly, there is no need to claim that the real-world function of realemes is eliminated, but it may be neutralized to a large extent, depending, of course, on the specific circumstances of the given model. Yet when particular realemes are encountered repeatedly in the same kinds of context performing the same kind of functions (e.g., demarcation), it seems reasonable to argue that the organizational-compositional principles operate as the primary constraint on the realemes in question.

A good illustration of the possible simultaneous operation of several constraints in which the priority (or hierarchy) of constraints is not at all univocal is the case of *turn ancillaries* in narrative. The repertoire of realemes placed before or after a reported turn (*réplique*) in narrative has become highly conventionalized, yet it is perceived as motivated by the "natural setting" for the narrated situation. For what could be more "natural" than indicating gesture, facial expressions, and voices normally accompanying any human conversion? "He said, shrugging his shoulders," "exclaimed John, turning his face," "sighing," "smiling," are examples of such common set phrases. But to what extent can one say that they are "real setting" referents, or that they are constrained by the situation depicted? What has been said about realemes in general is surely valid in this particular case as well, namely the repertoriness of the items. To begin with, since they are repetitive and conventional, they ultimately convey little information. On the other hand, they will always be present when a writer does not tolerate bare or "ascetic" turns accompanied simply by the verb "he/she/they *said*." Thus one can argue, both historically and *a priori*, that turn ancillaries are there to prevent a vacuum on both representational and compositional levels. The greater their number and the more a writer tries to vary them, the more he seems to aspire either to

conceal their organizational character or to liberate himself and im-
part a less conventional effect. The same holds true of writers who
avoid ancillaries altogether, or are very economical with them.

In such a case, too, translation may shed light on certain features
of the phenomenon. When an "economical" text in terms of ancil-
laries is transferred to a culture in which turn ancillaries must be
both varied and extended (another convention for avoiding conven-
tion), transformation unavoidably takes place. The examples quoted
by Skott (and many similar comparatists), who investigated the Rus-
sian translations of Astrid Lindgren's *Karlsson on the Roof*, are neither
shocking nor unique, nor do they constitute any individual whim on
the part of the translator(s), as Skott (and many other comparatists)
tends to believe (Skott 1977). The translators mentioned in Skott's
study in fact replaced almost systematically the form "said," the most
frequent ancillary in Lindgren's original, by "asked," "answered," "ex-
claimed," "moaned," "repeated," and several times even by expressions
of the type "exclaimed Karlsson, beating himself on his chest" (where
the original had only *said*).[4] Such cases, for which examples may be
furnished from various literatures, strongly sustain the prerequisite,
ready-made, secondary character of realemes inserted in the vicinity
of turns. The example quoted may be interpreted as follows: from the
point of view of the norms governing the target literature, the valid
rule is that turns should be accompanied by well-established items
from the specific repertoire crystallized to that end and preferably
with extensions (additional gestures and acts) to enliven the situation
and make it less monotonous.[5] When the Russian translator makes the
protagonists *moan* so often, it does not at all mean that moaning is
more common in Russian society. If that were so, then what would
we do about the French *s'écria-t-il*, so frequently a turn ancillary, or
with the incredible frequency of laughter sounds in Russian literary
narrative? Can one say that the Russians are more likely to moan in
conversation, as their lot is sadder than anyone else's, while at the same
time they laugh more readily (especially since much of this laughter is
deleted in translations into Western European languages)? Obviously,
this is not the kind of argumentation we would adopt as semioticians,
although I do not ignore the possibility that it might occur in literary
interpretations. At any rate, it is evident that extending the turn an-

4. "Voskliknul Karlsson, tycha sebja v grud'" instead of "sa Karlsson" (Skott 1977:
121). In its turn, "voskliknul" seems to be a direct loan from the old established
French "s'écria-t-il," probably adopted by Russian writers back at the beginning of
the nineteenth century.
5. On the difference between the various kinds of verbs used in ancillaries in terms
of expressivity vs. non-expressivity, see Wennerström 1964.

cillary realemes does not augment specific information about reality, nor would any consumer of the text perceive them as such.

In conclusion, whether a realeme is usable in a specific text or not is not determined by simple and free reference to the real world, nor by the free modelling of it. A heterogeneous repertoire of ready-made realemes exists in cultures, and is differently expressed in each one. The selection from these repertoires, as well as the struggle for generating new items, is constrained both by the conventional nature of the repertoire and by the secondary functions that the requirements of the model (which the text in question obeys) may impose. Thus, while certain realemes in a text may seem to convey real-world information, others are simply prerequisites, partly depleted of representational content and consequently employed for other purposes, such as textual organization functions.[6] Realeme employment is, therefore, a highly structured procedure, though its laws seem less transparent than the laws which determine the behavior of other repertoremes active in the same text.

Appendix

Illustration No. 1

(Text published on a cornflakes box sold in Belgium; contributed by Mia and José Lambert)

[French text]

Nous, chez Kellogg's savons qu'il y a souvent un petit problème quand il s'agit de servir les céréales; les assiettes creuses sont trop grandes, les bols trop profonds, les coupes trop petites.

Aussi, nous avons fait faire, spécialement pour vous un ravissant bol à céréales, en porcelaine blanche inaltérable Villeroy & Bosch, qui contient juste la bonne ration et permet de déguster les céréales comme elles doivent l'être.

Voyez sur le coté de cette boîte comment vous le procurer.

[Dutch text]

Wij weten hoe moelijk het soms is om cereals uit een gewoon bord te eten. Wij weten dat vooral bij kinderen meestal meer op tafel belandt dan in hun mond.

Daarom kozen wij voor de vriendjes en smullers van Kellogg's een speciale ontbijtkom van Villeroy & Bosch. In gedecoreerd wit porselein. Mooi en vooral practisch. Een kom waarin juist de goede hoeveelheid Kellogg's en melk gaat voor een goed ontbijt.

Hoe de ontbijtkom verkrijgbaar is? Gemakkelijk. Kijk maar op de zijkant van het pak.

6. On the relation between primary and secondary functions vis-à-vis "the real world" and the processes of depletion see "Depletion and Shift" above.

[We at Kellogg's know that there is often a little problem when serving cereal: hollow dishes are too large, bowls too deep, cups too small. So we have made to order especially for you a delightful cereal bowl, in white durable Villeroy & Bosch porcelain, which contains just the right portion for you to savor the cereal as it should be. Look on the side of this packet for how you can obtain it.]

[We know how difficult it is sometimes to eat cereals from an ordinary dish; we know that especially with children more lands on the table than in their mouths.

Therefore we have chosen for the little friends and feasters of Kellogg's a special breakfast bowl by Villeroy & Bosch. In white decorated porcelain. A bowl in which exactly the right portion of Kellogg's and milk make up a good breakfast.

How can you obtain the breakfast bowl? Easy. Just look at the side of this packet.]

Illustration No. 2

(On chocolate)

[French text]

Le BOUDOIR LU est fait à partir de produits de qualité, sans colorant ni parfum d'origine artificielle.

Sa consistance à la fois dure et fondante, son goût délicat de vanille et sa forme allongée, en font le biscuit particulièrement apprécié des tout petits.

[English text]

LU-BOUDOIR, a delicate biscuit, especially created for children and infants.

LU-BOUDOIR contains exclusively natural ingredients.

Guaranteed without any artificial products or coloring.

Illustration No. 3

(On a packet of Matzos sold in The Netherlands. Four languages are printed on box: English, French, Dutch, and Yiddish.)

[English text]

HOLLANDIA MATZOS Are made of Dutch flour of finest quality. Neither salt nor sugar are added and this, combined with their easy digestibility, makes them into an ideal constituent

[French text]

Les Matzos "Hollandia" sont fabriqués sans sel et sans sucre avec des farine de blé zélandais de première qualité. Ils sont très digestibles et se prêtent à de nombreux régimes alimen-

[German text]

HOLLANDIA MATZEN / Gesundkost/ Hergestellt aus Weizen und Wasser ohne jeglichen weiteren Zusatz. Daher immer sehr bekömmlich.

Besonders lecker mit But-

[Yiddish text (transcribed)]

Di Hollandia matzes vern gemakht fun di beste sorten fun mehl un vern gebaken in unzere nayeste fabrik installatzies. Ihr vert zehn az unzere matzes zenen

of many diets.
Children love them.

Store in dry place. Slight heating improves flavour.

taires. En les tenant à l'abri de l'humidité leur durée de conservation est illimitée. En les chauffant en peu, leur saveur est améliorée. [The Matzos "Hollandia" are made without salt nor sugar with first quality flour from Zeeland. They are very digestible and suitable for many diets. Holding them sheltered from humidity, their conservation duration is unlimited. Heating them a little improves their flavor.]

ter Käse oder Honig.
Unbeschränkt halt-bar bei trockener Aufbewahrung.

[Hollandia matzos/Health food./ Made of flour and water without any additive. Therefore always very digestible.
Especially tasty with butter cheese or honey.
When kept dry, preservation unlimited.]

farpakt in a pekl vos lozt keyn luft arayn un vos farzikhert di frishkayt fun oyfn.

[The Hollandia matzos are made of the best sorts of flour and are baked at our newest factory installations. You will see that our matzos are packed in a parcel which does not allow air to penetrate and which ensures freshness from the oven.]

The striking differences between the texts need no elaborate interpretation. I would like, however, to draw attention to the inevitability of butter, cheese, and honey in the German text as repertoire ingredients (which so clearly contradict the diet image highlighted in English and French). In the Yiddish text, neither diet nor food per se is at the core of the message, but instead the assurance that the product is produced with modern equipment and is packed in such an efficient way that it keeps its oven freshness. The Yiddish consumer seems to be suspicious of the good intentions of the producer, which induces the latter to deal directly with this conjectured suspicion with "you will see" (i.e., though you tend not to believe it, you will eventually realize that this is true). The overall tone is intimate, as Yiddish texts often are. (It is also clear from the somewhat archaic spelling and wording that this is a text produced by and for conservative religious circles in Europe rather than by more modern users of Yiddish.)

"Modern equipment" has in the Yiddish text a very important status, completely absent in the other cultures represented here. I believe that what we have here is a perpetuation of the Romantic enthusi-

asm for technological progress so typical of the turn of the century, which no longer constitutes a general popular attitude in fatigued, blasé, and disillusioned industrialized Europe; Yiddish thus definitely appears as a perpetuator of outdated culture. This, however, is combined with the importance attributed to cleanliness and hygiene ("no human hand touching the product") in Jewish culture.

Illustration No. 4

In his analysis of Loève-Veimars' translation of Hoffmann's stories, José Lambert (1975: 406) quotes a seemingly bizarre, but actually highly representative case of amplification:

Hoffmann

So hatte der Grossonkel alles erzählt, nun nahm er meine Hand und sprach, indem ihm volle Tränen in die Augen traten, mit sehr weicher Stimme: "Vetter - Vetter - auch 'sie', die holde Frau, hat das böse Verhängnis, die unheimliche Macht, die dort auf dem Stammschlosse hauset, ereilt!"

[When my granduncle had finished telling everything, he took now my hand and said, with tears filling his eyes, in a very feeble voice: "Cousin, cousin - 'she' too, the innocent lady, has been struck by the terrible disaster, the sinister power, prevailing there in the family mansion!"]

Loève-Veimars

Ici mon grand-oncle cessa de parler, ses yeux se remplirent de larmes; il ajouta d'une voix presque éteinte: *"Ce n'est pas tout, Théodore; écoute avec courage ce qui me reste à te dire."*
   Je frissonnai.
   "—Oui, reprit mon oncle, le mauvais génie qui plane sur cette famille a aussi étendu son bras sur elle!— *Tu pâlis! Sois homme enfin; et rends grâce au ciel de n'avoir pas été la cause de sa mort." "Elle n'est donc plus?" m'écriais-je en gémissant. Elle n'est plus!*

[Here my grand-uncle stopped speaking, his eyes filling with tears; he added in a voice almost extinct: *"This is not all, Theodor; listen with courage what I still have to tell you."*
   I shuddered.
   "Yes," my uncle went on, "the evil mind who conspires against this family has stretched its arm on her too! *You are getting pale! Be a man now; and be grateful to heavens that you have not been the cause of her death." "She is gone, then?" I exclaimed groaning. She is gone!*] (Lambert's italics)

Void Pragmatic Connectives

I. Void Pragmatic Connectives

The question of void pragmatic connectives has attracted relatively little attention.[1] Among its most important aspects, one has been singled out for a certain amount of attention in recent years, namely discourse organization, mostly within "natural" or impromptu speech.[2]

1. In recent years one can observe, however, a growing awareness of the role (and existence) of void pragmatic connectives, within the prevailing conceptual framework described here, which only partly overlaps with the views proposed in this paper. Among the most valuable contributions one should mention various articles in a number of issues of *Cahiers de linguistique française* (1980, 1981), as well as a wealth of research on conversation and other aspects of socio-linguistic interaction. Valuable work is both presented and surveyed in Enkvist 1982.
2. The idea that "natural speech" is organized discourse seems by now to be commonly accepted. The traditional belief that only written, i.e., "planned" discourse is "organized" (and hence that disorganizedness is a pertinent, if not distinctive, feature of speech) seems to have become obsolete. Moreover, new findings seem to indicate that precisely because "natural" speech is in many respects not "planned in advance," it uses more coherence indicators (for segmentation, demarcation, and concatenation) than planned (written) texts do. This holds true, I believe, even for cultures such as French, where powerful norms of making discourse coherence explicit prevail.

Pragmatics has typically preferred, however, to deal with the "non-void" connectives, that is, those (in principle) logically explicable, or analyzable, functions with the help of which explicit organization is achieved. These include such items as "therefore," "then," "thus," "while," "however," "but," "though," "so," and the like.

No doubt these connectives are indispensable for any verbal communication, and their frequency in the standard written language is quite high (in any case much higher than in everyday impromptu speech). In certain languages they even constitute a compulsory stylistic norm. But, on the other hand, the strong pressure upon discourse producers to employ these items clearly generates many instances of pseudo-logically motivated discourse, since the organizers employed often become relatively or even highly *depleted*. Thus, in many instances of written English discourse where such items as *thus, however, yet,* or *but* are employed,[3] they no longer carry a "full" semantic, unambiguously "logical" function, but merely work as formal vehicles for demarcation and concatenation. The logical organization of discourse could, as it were, do very well without them without semantic loss. Yet, though depleted, these connectives do *not* become "superfluous," since they seem to help both encoder and decoder navigate a specific discourse. The decoder's attention is instantly drawn by them to discourse shifts, so that the uninterrupted flow of discourse is more easily segmented for him. The encoder, on the other hand, has thereby gained an easily accessible repertoire of organizers which do not involve rigorous, clearly semanticized relations. It seems plausible that *the more depleted the organizers, the quicker (and smoother) the encoding.* Thus, it really no longer matters if the idealized logical definitions of the connectives have ceased to be applicable in actual speech. Although now partly depleted, their function for adequate communication is by no means weakened.

So it is only a matter of degree when, in certain contexts, such connectives become so depleted as to lose any but a homonymic relation to optimally logical pragmatic connectives. This occurs most frequently in the spoken variety of language. In all languages, a speaker in non-formal, impromptu speech situations often needs both verbal and non-verbal signs for various purposes such as gaining time, signalling the start (or end) of an utterance (or segment), or a shift to another utterance. These are clearly speech-organizing functions. Often it is gestures, facial expressions, hesitation (eh-eh), and other sounds, as well as silent intervals ("pauses"), that function as organizers. But the

3. German "aber" and "doch," French "mais," "cependant," and "pourtant" are similar items. British "meanwhile" in radio and television news jargon is a perfect example of this sort.

main burden of this role in speech is carried by a set of verbal units, including the connectives mentioned above. Various situations prefer certain items over others, for instance, hesitant speech may be considered inelegant and therefore replaced by verbal material, or vice versa (as is the case with some well-known British sociolects).

This distinction between fully semanticized organizers on the one hand and (relatively) de-referentialized (or depleted) organizers on the other is needed in order to account for those instances of communication where the usual pragmatic treatment is obviously inadequate. I propose the term "void" for this category of connectives in preference to other terms current in the literature ("gambits" or the more classical "filling words"), mainly because it makes conspicuous the hypothesis of the graduated relations between the poles. This locates void pragmatic connectives within a larger pragmatic context rather than separating them off as a category which functions independently, as it were. Whatever one might call them, these void connectives must be recognized as crucial features of speech, generated by the specific needs of a speech situation. If one of the needs of speech is maximum ease in both production and understanding, then surely this "ease" must be partly attributable to the fact that large sections of discourse are depleted, and consequently automatized to various degrees.

"Automatizedness" and "depletion" are correlated. The more automatized signs are, the more depleted they are likely to be, and vice versa. As far as organizers are concerned, I would argue that when they become "depleted" they are actually employed in discourse very much according to the same principles which normally govern non-verbal gesticulation. It has been amply demonstrated that, with the exception of "semanticized" gestures (such as those for "yes" and "no"), interlocutors hardly notice gesticulation in their own culture (while remaining very much aware of it in other cultures), though they process messages with its help. (See any standard work on non-verbal communication.) The same holds true for VPC's. People are normally unaware of the fact that they produce them, even when informed that they have just this minute done so; similarly, listeners would not admit to having *heard* them. Yet when VPC's are *omitted* when normally expected by the conventionalized models of speech in a certain community, interlocutors clearly feel that something is missing. Sometimes, this absence is described as "bookish" or "artificial," "insincere," "snobbish," and the like. On another level, the fact that language teachers and language manuals hardly teach them to non-native speakers is further evidence of the insensitivity to them so current even among "specialists."

Is unawareness of VPC's a result of the "void" nature of these connectives (or alternatively a necessary condition for these connectives to become "void" in the first

place), or just a product of the fact that they have not yet become part of official grammar (that is, once they become part of recognized language functions, people will treat them like any other acceptably "extant" verbal item, in contradistinction to their current "non-existent" status)? These options are not necessarily mutually exclusive. But I have suggested that, since depletion is a necessary condition for these connectives to be able to carry their new functions, they might plausibly be processed by the brain in the same way as various noises, tones and intonations which are believed to be processed by the *right* hemisphere. Several neurologists with whom I have discussed this point, as well as the late Roman Jakobson, agreed this could be an adequate analysis, though this possibility has not been experimentally investigated.

Other evidence indicating both unawareness and miscomprehension of VPC's is provided by the attempts to explain their usage exclusively in terms of fully semantic "meanings" (see, for examples, Vasilyeva n.d., which in other respects provides very valuable information that is normally absent in regular language manuals). There have also been attempts by teachers and other controllers of language to banish them altogether from "good usage" on the grounds that "they do not mean [when they occur as VPC's, that is] what they normally have to and hence are symptoms of language corruption."[4]

As a rule, any lexeme may function pragmatically: exclamations (*ah, oh*), particles (*but, then, so, well, why*), and originally referential lexemes (*I say, listen, I mean, you see, you know*). What makes all these verbal items capable of bearing organizing-pragmatic functions in the first place is the process of depletion, either partial or complete, they undergo. (For a discussion of depletion see above, "Depletion and Shift.") Thus, "you know" does not "mean" the same as in "you know how to find your way" or "you know English," "well" does not "mean" "it is good," and "then" means neither "at this time" nor "as a consequence of the preceding." To interpret them as "semantically full" would make the situation incomprehensible and often grotesque. That they are not "void" in any absolute sense, or not always "completely" void, or may be both "full" and "void," is self-evident. As with all technical terms, the metaphor upon which this one is based should be taken as a relational concept rather than naively literal.

4. A typical example of this attitude is a "classically" formulated indignation by Strålhane, who complains that "it is more and more evident that we Swedes have a linguistic weakness for the obscure. The preposterous exaggerations, the meaningless emphasis, the loose circumventions liberate us from a real expression of opinions" (Strålhane 1956: 86). This is illustrated by Strålhane with the following complaint: "In an interesting radio series with the participation of two associate professors ['docenter'] and one professor, nine of ten repliques began with a more or less accentuated *ja* [yes, well], completely independently of the context" (ibid.: 58). As the uttermost corruption Strålhane quotes the phrase "Nå, då gick vi då" ("Now then we are then gone," i.e., "we are on our way" / "we are gone") (ibid.: 59).

From the point of view of function, there need not be a difference between the various verbal items carrying this function. Thus, "listen" and "then" are from this point of view identical. Yet it seems that there is normally less objection within a speech community to the category of depleted *referential* lexemes (in comparison with VPC's derived from particles). They seem, as it were, less devoid of meaning and therefore are more readily admitted into the written standard or educated speech. In contrasting the respective repertoires of different languages, one often realizes that certain languages more readily impose pragmatic functions on depleted referential lexemes than on particles and exclamations. This becomes conspicuous in translations. Similarly, it is striking that while particle-derived void pragmatic connectives are often simply deleted by translators, referential VPC's are often translated literally. Thus, such Russian VPC's as "vot," "da ved'," and "vot chto" will often remain untranslated, while not only "slushajte" but even "net," and "da," (please note the commas) are rendered by "listen," "no," and "yes," which are not at all functional equivalents. A comparative study of VPC categories in various languages has, however, to the best of my knowledge yet to be undertaken.

Nevertheless, even if we do not yet possess a well-substantiated body of data about repertoires of void pragmatic connectives, it is obvious that languages differ considerably not only in range, categories, and frequency (or distribution) of VPC's, but also in the degree of their admissibility into official registers. Thus, a speech community may very well possess a language with a remarkably rich repertoire of void pragmatic connectives and yet confine it to casual, impromptu speech only. Obviously, in this sense VPC's are by no means different from any other verbal items which may be refused admission into the official code. But the case of VPC's is even more extreme due to the low awareness of their very existence and function not only among "naive" users of language, but even among the most sophisticated speakers.

"Admissibility" is of course not a univocal concept, and we must recognize that its range may vary. For instance, some VPC's may find their way into *literary* dialogue as specific markers, such as of vulgar speech in comedies. This would be a rather limited use of VPC's in literary language. But there are also cases in which VPC's are fully admitted and not merely as characteristic features of colloquial speech. They are made carriers of various functions, which do not necessarily parallel those current in the "common language." If this happens in the language of literature, then VPC's become an integral part of the literary repertoire, and understanding their modes of function is indispensable for understanding that literature and its modelling principles. This is clearly the case with void pragmatic connectives in Russian narrative prose of the nineteenth century.

II. VPC's in Literature: Russian Narrative Prose
of the Nineteenth Century

Russian has a rich and varied repertoire of void pragmatic connectives, a dominant part of which consists of depleted particles (rather than depleted referential lexemes). Depletion, as I have suggested, is a graduated and relative phenomenon. Obviously, various VPC's in various contexts carry both pragmatic and other functions, sometimes more open to precise explication, sometimes less so. This does not, however, diminish the role played by VPC's in Russian colloquial speech. Moreover, Russian seems to be a language in which pragmatic functions have been more amply and neatly codified and have received fuller official recognition than in most other European languages. In the process of the emergence of modern Russian, Russian literary language absorbed the various VPC's and imposed upon them a variety of literary functions. To begin with, more than any other element, void pragmatic connectives seem to have contributed to giving an effect of "vivid natural speech" in literary dialogue. For, when introduced even in the vicinity of highly bookish elements, such VPC's as *da, uzh, zhe, vot, nu, chto, a* must have given to the contemporary reader a flavor of "authentic speech," and it is at least partly due to them that many of these texts still give this impression to the modern reader. Yet in spite of the fact that these items have gradually managed to establish themselves as regular components of the literary repertoire, different writers treated them differently. While some were ready to make liberal use of them, others behaved more cautiously. For some writers they remained what they had been at the very beginning, that is, indiscriminate accessories with whose help colloquial speech might be indicated (or merely hinted at). Others made more playful use of them. Whatever the case, no Russian prose writer could treat them indifferently, let alone ignore them.

   Although traceable in Russian literary use as far back as the writings of Avvakum (1620–1681), Catherine the Great, and a host of eighteenth-century writers, their modern career seems to have started, like so much else in Russian literary practice, with Alexandre Pushkin. Yet, while Pushkin seems to have intensified the use of VPC's (and to have distributed their use in accordance with the fluctuation of narrative situations), it is Gogol' who subordinated them to narrative functions. My discussion will therefore focus on Gogol', together with, by way of contrast and for the purpose of indicating the range of variation in VPC's use, Tolstoj and Dostoevskij. In the absence of a precise itinerary for void pragmatic connectives in the nineteenth century, this discussion will inevitably be somewhat unhistorical; nevertheless, it should yield certain insights into some of the major options current in the linguo-literary repertoire of nineteenth-century Russian.

Obviously, as generators of literary models and founders of literary traditions, Gogol', Tolstoj, and Dostoevskij also transmitted much of this repertoire to our own century.

1. Gogol', I

It is small wonder, perhaps, that Gogol' should have been so obsessively drawn to such elements as void pragmatic connectives. Perhaps the grotesque which so permeates his writings was especially suited for units whose "meaning" was so undefined, verging on "non-sense." For Akakij Akakievich, for example, such units have become the only speech he is capable of producing; lacking ideas to express, and yet needing to communicate verbally, he resorts to void lexemes as offering him a way of "speaking" without "saying" anything. Gogol's own words à propos this situation have become classical:

> It is necessary to know that Akakij Akakievich mostly expressed himself through prepositions, adverbs and, eventually, such particles which definitely do not have any meaning. If the business was very complicated, he even had the habit of not finishing his sentence, having started it with the words: "This is, really, quite so . . . ," and then nothing more was added, so that he himself forgot, thinking he had already said everything. (Gogol', *Shinel'*, 1964: 292–293; my translation)[5]

This acute awareness on Gogol's part of the possibly depleted state of lexemes in general, and the often playful use he makes of them, probably also explain his precise and minutely calculated use of VPC's in particular. Clearly, Gogol's dialogue was not intended to be anything like "correct" standard bookish language; his notorious "deviations" need not be discussed here (cf. Tschizevskij 1966,[6] and Belyj's famous exclamation: "Reader! This is really terrible!" [Belyj 1934: 212]). But his void pragmatic connectives, while a clear feature of loose, colloquial speech, have been charged with other, more intricate functions here. In *Dead Souls*, certain characters prefer particular VPC's to others. For example, Manilov mostly uses *da,* while Nozdrëv hectically employs *nu* and *nu da* (or *da nu*) and Pljushkin oscillates between *a, da,* and *nu.* But it seems, in spite of the calculated distribution of these VPC's, that these distinctions do not bear any psychologically

5. Nuzhno znat', chto Akakij Akakievich iz"jasnjalsja bol'shemu chastiju predlogami, narechijami i, nakonec, takim chasticjami, kotorye reshitel'no ne imejut nikakogo znachenija. Esli zhe delo bylo ochen' zatruditel'no, to on uzhe imel obyknovenie sovsem ne okanchivat' frazy, tak chto ves'ma chasto, nachavshi rech' slovami: "Éto, pravo, sovershenno togo . . . ," a potom uzhe i nichego ne bylo, i sam on pozabyval, dumaja, chto vse uzhe vygovoril.
6. "Gogol's is the most incorrect Russian ever written by any professional writer. [He] even employs forms 'forbidden' in normative grammars and nonexistent in the living spoken language" (Tschiževskij 1966: 89).

explicable function. The principle of VPC distribution seems to be of
a different nature, namely scenic. For Gogol', the *scene* as a unit of
narration seems to have been of much greater importance than elabo-
rate idiolects serving to distinguish among characters. True, there is
no mistaking, for instance, the way Nozdrëv expresses himself in con-
trast to any other character in the novel. But even for Nozdrëv, the
frequency or even mere occurrence of VPC's is constrained *by scene
borders,* not by his "character." Chichikov, on the other hand, adapts
himself to the speech of his interlocutors: when he is confronted with
certain VPC's, he echoes them immediately. One would be tempted to
interpret this fact either as an indication of lack of individual charac-
ter or as a token of extraordinary talent to adapt oneself to circum-
stances, perhaps both, because they are equally true of Chichikov. Yet
this would not be an adequate interpretation for the literary model
created by Gogol', since the same phenomenon is apparent in many
other peripheral characters.[7]

The abrupt increase in occurrence of VPC's in a certain segment
and their gradual or abrupt disappearance in the next; their repeti-
tively exaggerated and symmetrical occurrence within the borders of
one segment as integral items of the repliques of all participants—
all these suggest the priority of the scene construction in Gogolian
narrative. For instance, only once, in a terrible state of anger, does
Chichikov utter a chain of *a* sounds,[8] but Gogol' would not retain it
as a permanent accessory of Chichikovian speech. From the point of
view of formal textual organization, this is an interesting case of seg-

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7. For instance, when Anna Grigor'evna and Sof'ja Ivanovna talk, a prominent
part of their conversation looks like this:

"Ax, zhizn' moja, Anna Grigor'evna . . .
"Ax, kak manerna! Ax, kak manerna! . . .
"Ax, ne govorite, Sof'ja Ivanovna: . . .
"Ax, chto èto vy, Anna Grigor'evna: . . .
. . .
"Ax, chto vy èto govorite, Sof'ja Ivanovna! . . .
"Ax, kakie zhe vy pravo, Anna Grigorevna! . . .   (Gogol' 1949, V: 185–186)

Repetitive use of this exclamatory commencitive (that is, initial VPC) does not
only reflect, as it were, lively speech, but also parodies it and plausibly gives it its
comic effect.
8. The scene here referred to is the following: "Podlec ty!," vskriknul Chichikov,
vsplenuv rukami, i podoshel k nemu tak blizko, chto Selifan iz bojazni, chtoby ne
poluchit' ot barina podarka, popjatilsja neskol'ko nazad i postoronilsja.
"Ubit' ty menja sobralsja? *a*? zarezat' menja xochesh'? Na bol'shoj doroge menja
sobralsja zarezat', razbojnik, chushka ty prokljatyj, strashilishche morskoe! *a*? *a*?
Tri nedeli sideli na meste, *a*? Xot' by zaiknulsja, besputnyj,—a vot teper' k posled-
nemu chasu i prignal! kogda uzh pochti nacheku: sest' by da i exat', *a*? a vot tut-to
i napakostil, *a*? *a*? Ved' ty znal èto prezhde? ved' ty znal èto, *a*? *a*? Otvechaj. Znal?
A?" (*Mërtvye dushi* [The Dead Souls], Gogol' 1951, VI: 216–217).

mentation. The appearance and disappearance, or relative high or low frequency, of the VPC's thus function as loose demarcators. In short, VPC's function simultaneously for both modelling the "world" (i.e., the protagonists) *and* constructing the text. This is the case of the most central scenes in the novel, scenes of great excitement, when Chichikov negotiates with Manilov, Korobochka, Nozdrëv, and Pljushkin (it seems to be less the case with the Sobakievich scene, though). Although some of the participants would use the same VPC's under any circumstances, it is much more intensified in such scenes, and, what is more important, they are not confined to these speakers only. It is thus no mark of social oppositions (though these have not been erased), but of situational characteristics.

Let us have a look at the relevant segment of the scene where Chichikov tries to persuade Korobochka:

- Ustupite-ka ix mne, Nastas'ja Petrovna?
- Kogo, Batjushka?
- Da vot ètix-to vsex, chto umerli.
- Da kak zhe ustupit' ix?
- Da tak prosto. Ili, pozhaluj, prodajte. Ja vam za nix dam den'gi.
- Da kak zhe? Ja, pravo, v tolk-to ne voz'mu. Nechto xochesh' ty ix otkapyvat' iz zemli?

Chichikov uvidel, chto staruxa xvatila daleko i chto neobxodimo ej nuzhno rastolkovat', v chem delo. V nemnogix slovax ob"jasnil on ej, chto perevod ili pokupka budet znachit'sja tol'ko na bumage i dushi budut propisany kak by zhivye.

- Da na chto zh oni tebe? - skazala staruxa [. . .]
- Chto uzh moe delo.
- Da ved' oni zh mërtvye.
- Da kto zhe govorit, chto oni zhivye? Potomu-to i v ubytok vam, chto mërtvye: vy za nix platite, a teper' Ja vas izbavlju ot xlopot i plateza. Ponimaete? Da ne tol'ko izbavlju, da eshë sverx togo dam vam pjatnadcat' rublej. Nu, teper' jasno? [. . .]
(Gogol' 1951, VI: 51)

"Would you please hand them over to me, Nastasia Petrovna?"
"Whom, Sir?"
"Well, all those who died."

"Well, how can I hand them over?"
"Well, quite simply. Or, if you like, sell them. I'll give you money for them."
"Well, how? Indeed I don't get it a bit. You do not mean to dig them out of the ground, do you?"
Chichikov realized that the old lady was altogether at sea, and that it would be absolutely necessary to explain to her what it was all about. In a few words he made it clear to her that the transfer or the purchase would take place only on paper and that the dead souls would be listed as still alive.

"Well, what do you need them for?" said the old lady [. . .]
"That's my own affair."
"Well why, but they are dead."
"Well, who has ever said they were alive? It is because they are dead that they are such a loss to you: you have to pay the tax on them, and now I will release you from all worry and expense. Do you understand? Well, not only will I release you, but even beyond that I will give you fifteen

> rubles. Well, is it clear now? [. . .]"
> (My own, basically literal translation.
> Current translations of the whole
> text are Gogol 1915, Gogol 1948,
> Gogol 1961.)

As one readily observes, it is both Chichikov and Korobochka who utter so many *da*s in such a short time. One need only look several pages before and after to realize how clearly demarcated this segment is by the use of *da*. The same holds true for longer (and looser) segments, such as when Chichikov negotiates with Nozdrëv, where *da* abundantly alternates with *nu;*[9] but *da* is almost totally absent in the next scene, where Chichikov and Nozdrëv argue about playing draughts. *Da* is also rather frequent in the Sobakievich and Pljushkin scenes, as well as in other negotiations.[10]

This well-designed employment of VPC's does not, however, exhaust Gogol's skills. When necessary, he combines both phatic and other functions of lexemes in a playful way for specific local purposes, like those discussed in the following analysis of the Petrovich scene in "The Overcoat."

2. Gogol', II: The Tailor Petrovich Pronounces the Verdict of Akakij*

The "verdict" pronounced on Akakij Akakievich in Gogol's "The Overcoat" consists in his being told to make a new overcoat, since his old one is found by the tailor Petrovich to be irreparable, and to pay 150 rubles for it. This expense is a tremendous sum for Akakij, although this must have been a rather cheap overcoat "without fur, or lined with cheaper fur" according to Nabokov (1964, II: 71), who also asserts that "a collar of beaverskin [for the 'deep-caped ample-sleeved shinel' of Alexander I's era'] cost two hundred rubles in 1820" (ibid.: 70–71). The prices in the 1830s must have been higher.

*First version published in *Slavica Hierosolymitana* (Even-Zohar 1978).
9. In the Nozdrëv-Chichikov scene, more than half the repliques have the following initial words:
   - Da kakaja, - Nu da uzh, - Nu da, - Da na, - Nu da uzh, - Nu uzh, - Da chto, - Da zachem, - Da k chemu, - Da chto zhe, - Nu vot, - Nu kak, - Nu, - Nu, - Nu da, - Ex, da ty, - Nu, tak, - Nu, - Da na, - Da poslushaj, - Da na, - Da ne, - Da zachem, - Da mne xochetsja, - Da zachem, - Da ved', - Da ved', - Da chto zhe.
10. In the second volume of *The Dead Souls*, the following scenes (out of many others) may be quoted:
   Scene A (Chichikov-Platonov):
   - Kakie zhe?, - *Da* malo [. . .] - Na kom? - *Da* budto, - *Da* net, - Nu - Kakoe? - Puteshestvie - Kuda zh exat'? - *Da* esli, - A vy, - *Da* kak skazat' (Gogol 1951, VIII: 53–54; cf. also 180–181).
   Scene B (Chichikov-Kostanzhoglo):
      - Tak uzh, - *Da* net, - *Da* u vas, - Mne, bratec, - *Da* uzh, - *Da* ved' (ibid.: 188).

Now the whole scene where this terrible news is told to poor Akakij is a real microcosm of Gogolian narrative techniques and stylistic inventiveness. The tailor, a poor man who barely makes a living, and who can be reached only after a daring foray through filthy and crooked ways, is gradually magnified to the status of a mighty authority, a metonymic personification of the general, who determines Akakij's fate. This clearly clashes with the fact that Petrovich is socially inferior to Akakij, which also manifests itself by explicit verbal means. First, Petrovich addresses Akakij with *sudyr'*, secondly with a *vy* (while addressed by Akakij with a *ty*), and thirdly he pronounces the unmistakable sign of social inferiority, the *s* sound, which he puts after the word *da*.[11]

The Petrovich scene is highly stylized by a repetitive use of *da*. Admittedly, as explained above, many lower-class characters would say *da* in Gogol's writings. Here and there, even a *da-s* occurs with a "normal class indication" function (as in the Chichikov-Platonov scene; cf. note 8). Yet, much as Gogol' is conscious of social styles and interested in depicting his protagonists as human beings, it is the *scene* which seems to constitute the fundamental unit of his narrative. That is why one suddenly finds an abundance of a certain item in a certain segment, as if the speaker were obsessed by it, and subsequently hardly any occurrences of it at all.

In "The Overcoat," there are only two scenes where repliques are located in separate lines: the Petrovich scene and the much shorter one between "the important person" ("znachitel'noe lico") and Akakij. Both are crucial scenes, and in both the fate of our hero is determined. Moreover, in the Petrovich scene, when the world turns upside down for Akakij, the only thing he can distinctly see—in a way which is typical enough of Gogol's tricky *grotesquerie*—is the face of the general on Petrovich's tobacco box.[12] This is, of course, a synechdochic allusion to Petrovich himself, who is magnified at that moment into a

11. "Sudyr'" means "sir" (or "master"); "vy" is the honorific address (plural "you"); "ty" is the familiar, often condescending, address (singular "you" ["thou"]); *s* is a shortened form of "sudyr'" (or *sudar'*), "sir," and used to be a rather common feature in pre-Soviet Russia; "da" means literally "yes," but is often equivalent, as a void pragmatic connective, to the English "well" or "then"; "net" means literally "no," but is also a VPC.

12. "On videl jasno odnogo tol'ko generala [. . .], naxodivshegosja na kryshke Petrovicheskoj tabakerki" (Gogol' 1951, III: 151). Of course, this formulation is in the same spirit of the notorious *dazhe* in the story, analyzed by Ejxenbaum ([1919]; 1927) and Tschiževskij (1966). (E.g., the following: "Dver' byla otvorena, potomu chto xozjajka, gotovja kakuju-to rybu, napustila stol'ko dymu v kuxne, chto nel'zja bylo videt' dazhe i samyx tarakanov" (Gogol', ibid.: 148). [The door was open, because the mistress, preparing some fish, let so much smoke into the kitchen, that it was not possible to see even the cockroaches.])

mighty authority, as well as to further authorities in the story, notably the general.

When we compare the use of *da* in this scene with its use elsewhere in Gogol's writings (as described above), this case seems unique. It is not just another case of intensification of *da* for a situation of excitement, nor is *da* a mere expression of social or individual verbal use. Here Gogol' clearly accumulates all sorts of *da* to obvious grotesque effect. Let us extract the beginnings of all repliques in the scene:

[Akakij enters the room and says:]

1 (Akakij:)	- Zdrastvuj Petrovich!	[Good day, Petrovich]
2 (Petrovich:)	- Zdrastvovat' zhelaju, sudyr,	[I wish you good day, Sir]
3 (Akakij:)	- A ja vot k tebe, Petrovich,	[Well, I have then come to you, Petrovich]

[Digression]

4 (Petrovich:)	- chto zh takoe?	[What is this]
5 (Akakij:)	- A ja vot [. . .]	[Well I then]

[Petrovich examines the old overcoat.]

6 (Petrovich:)	- Net, nel'zja popravit':	[No, can it not be repaired]
7 (Akakij:)	- Otchego zhe nel'zja, Petrovich? -	[Why cannot it, Petrovich?]
8 (Petrovich:)	- *Da* kusochki-to mozhno najti [. . .] *da* nashit'-to nelzja [. . .] - Pust' polzët [. . .]	[Well, pieces can be found (. . .) but they cannot be sewn on] [Let it fall to pieces]
9 (Akakij:)	- *Da* zaplatochki ne na chem polozhit; [. . .]	[Well, there is nothing to put the patches on]
10 (Petrovich:)	- Nu, *da* uzh prikrepi	[Well then, do strengthen it]
11 (Akakij:)	[. . .]	
12 (Petrovich:)	- Net,-skazal Petrovich reshitel'no,-[. . .] a shinel' uzh, vidno, vam pridetsja novuju delat'.	[No-said Petrovich decisively - but an overcoat, however, obviously, it is necessary to make you a new one]

[Here the world turns upside down for Akakij]

13 (Akakij:)	- Kak zhe novuju? -	[What do you mean 'new'?]
14 (Petrovich:)	- *Da*, novuju, -	[Well, new]
15 (Akakij:)	- Nu, a esli by [. . .]	[Well, and if]
16 (Petrovich:)	- To est' chto budet stoit'?	[that is, how much it will cost?]
		[Yes]

17 (Akakij:)	- *Da*.	[Well, over three fifties]
18 (Petrovich:)	- *Da* tri polsotni s lish-kom [...]	
19 (Akakij:)	- Poltorasta rublej za shinel'!-(exclaims A.A., for the first time in his life)	[A hundred and fifty rubles for an overcoat!]
20 (Petrovich:)	- *Da*-s,-skazal Petrovich, *da* eshë kakova shinel'.	[Yes-Sir, [...] and depends what a coat]
21 (Akakij:)	- Petrovich, pozha-lujsta,-govoril Akakij Akakievich [...] - kak-nibud', poprav', [...]	[Petrovich, please, mend me somehow]
22 (Petrovich:)	- *Da* net, èto vyjdet:	[Well no, it cannot be done]

[Akakij goes out]

To summarize the *da* pattern, and correlate it with the *net* ("no") words, let us rewrite all *da*s and *net*s:

6 net (Petrovich)
8 *da* - *da* (Petrovich)
9 *da* (Petrovich)
11 nu, *da* (Akakij)
12 net (Petrovich)
14 *da* (Petrovich)
17 *da* (Akakij)
18 *da* (Petrovich)
20 *da-s* (Petrovich) - *da* (Petrovich)
22 *da*, net (Petrovich)

In this pattern, the chain of *da*s seems incontestably to pave the way for the most important and decisive one, the *da-s* (replique 20), where the *s* is uttered in the most unexpected and the least fitting place, when Petrovich is at the peak of his power. Having decided that the old over-coat is irreparable, having "condemned" Akakij to have a new overcoat (rep. 12), and having pronounced his "verdict" (to pay 150 rubles, re-plique 18), he reinforces this authoritative decision with a *da* ("yes"), followed by the sign of inferiority and humility. This Gogolian fun seems to be clearly different from the normal *da-s* elsewhere in Gogol's writings, not to speak of the incredible quantity in Dostoevskij's. Now, the last *da* in this scene, the *da net* (replique 22), is another small detail of this stylistic machinery. If replique 12 was the condemnation and replique 18 the verdict, then replique 22 is obviously a rejection of Akakij's "appeal." Typically enough, it consists of both *da* and *net*. *Da net*, where *da* is clearly a pragmatic commencitive, is as established a

convention as all the rest. Yet due to its so conspicuously organized context it acquires a specifically local "meaning" in correlation with the other *da*s and *net*s in the scene.

Net is uttered by Petrovich three times: first as an expression of the negative results of his examination of the old overcoat (replique 6), then as a definite ("reshitel'nyj") negation of Akakij's plea to repair the old stuff, immediately followed by the declaration that a new overcoat must be made (replique 12), and at last as a rejection of Akakij's final appeal. This final "no" is part of a *da* and *net* pattern which may be schematized as follows:

(6) net	(8) da - da
	(10) da
	(11) da
(12) net	(14) da
	(17) da
	(18) da
	(20) DA-S - [. . .] da

(22) da net

Here, one could argue, Gogol' produces not only a comic contrast between the regular *da-s* and Petrovich's position (when pronouncing this *da*), as I have claimed, based on the accumulation of the preceding *da*s and the single occurrence of *s*. This accumulation of *da*s, the peculiar *da-s* and the alternation of *da* and *net*, culminating in the final *da net*, seem to undermine the habitual functions of these items. Due to this local manipulation, the various sorts of *da* probably tend to be confounded. This also reinforces the comic final *da net*, which otherwise would have to be interpreted as a petrified expression meaning just "no" ("well no").

One could also argue that actually Petrovich hardly ever says "yes" in the real positive sense of this word, and even his "yeses" seem rather to be "nos." In his final replique Petrovich is no longer conscious, as it were, of the distinction between "yes" and "no" and consequently utters them both. Again, all this would be a rather hairsplitting reading without the minute preparation I have been trying to trace.[13]

13. Beyond the particular question of VPC's, what is marvelously illustrated in this scene is the intricate relation between established repertoire on the one hand and local manipulations on the other (which, of course, may in their turn become part of that established repertoire). It is due to the function of the proper textual relations of order, concatenation, and position (Even-Zohar 1972: §4) that such a transformation could take place.

3. Tolstoj

3.1. War and Peace *and Tolstoj's resentment of VPC's*

Unlike Gogol', Tolstoj displays relatively little interest in VPC's in his *War and Peace*. He even seems to resent having to use them when this might generate what I must conclude was for him an undesirably Gogol-like organization. For, when simulating features of colloquial speech with the help of traditional VPC's, one cannot avoid certain anaphoric repetitions. These repetitions create, in their turn, symmetries and parallelisms which clash, from Tolstoj's point of view, with the norms of "realism" and "naturalness" he obviously preferred. On the other hand, he could not discard VPC's, which, having so powerfully been established by Pushkin, Gogol', and their followers, had become quite an efficient vehicle for a number of functions in the literary repertoire. Moreover, he could not afford to ignore them in view of their established and already recognized position in regular Russian colloquial speech (a recognition dating from as far back as Avvakum). Therefore, all characters in the novel use them, though some more frequently than others. VPC's occur readily, and disproportionately, in the speech of casual characters belonging to lower classes or ranks. Naturally, these low-ranking have no individual speech, and it seems that the ready-made phraseological clichés they are allotted fully satisfy Tolstoj. But when the speech of more central characters is investigated, we get a more intricate picture. Relatively, Andrej and Pjer (Pierre) utter the lowest quantity of VPC's in comparison with the number of repliques they are given in the novel, while Kutuzov, the old prince, and the old woman Pelageja use VPC's abundantly. This feature is fully compatible with other components in their speech. It seems that Tolstoj marks this way their "genuine Russianness," which is not shared either by Prince Andrej or Pjer (although in his last phase Pjer eventually achieves this state). Their speech is not only close to bookish language, but often seems simply to represent French. And the kind of French used by the Russians, as well as Tolstoj's private brand of it, seems not to have been particularly colloquial. Thus it seems that the sole purpose of VPC's in Andrej's and Pjer's repliques is to prevent their speech from appearing too artificial (that is, to the contemporary Russian reader, who already was used to them in prose).

Moreover, when certain VPC's—mostly *da*—were unavoidable, Tolstoj often looks for some way to change the "void" status of the relevant connective through some graphic manipulation.[14] This is often per-

14. The "unavoidability" of these VPC's consists in their being part of idiomatic discourse. For instance, there is no way to eliminate "da" or "da ved'" from certain expressions (phrases, *tournures de phrases*), because this is the way they are recog-

formed by simply adding a comma to the connective, which is probably designed to prevent its being read as the petrified depleted item.[15]

Against the background of the rather cautious and not too systematic distribution of VPC's among characters, it is amazing to note the consistent pains Tolstoj seems to take with Anatol' Kuragin. Throughout the novel, Anatol' very conspicuously utters an interrogatory *A* ("Ja ètix starikov terpet' ne mogu. A?" [Tolstoj 1962, I: 294; cf. I: 48 and II: 389–393]), and on the whole his language usage, VPC's included, tends to be not popular, but slightly (or perhaps this is an understatement?) vulgar.

3.2. *Une symmétrie malgré lui***

It may then be merely accidental that one encounters here and there symmetrically organized scenes in such a voluminous work as *War and Peace*. Such cases should probably be interpreted as simply testifying to how difficult it must have been for an educated Russian francophone to rid himself of what August Strindberg years later called "the symmetrical, mathematical, in the constructed French dialogue" (Strindberg 1957: 63). One such microscene deserves some attention, because it combines a representation of intense excitement with the repetitious "classical" string *nu-net*. It also is clearly demarcated through its VPC's from both the preceding and following segments, thus turning it into a highly organized scene.

The scene here referred to is the one where Natasha hurries excitedly to tell her mother that Denisov has just proposed to her. The countess is taken aback, expressing her displeasure by calling the proposal "utter nonsense." When Natasha turns vehemently defensive, however, the countess tells her daughter to let Denisov know that "on durak, vot i vse" (he is a fool, that's all). An intensive verbal dispute evolves, in which turns by Natasha and her mother quickly alternate, anaphorically constructed in the following way:

**This section, first published in 1980 (Even-Zohar 1980), was written in honor of Jeanne Van der Eng–Liedmeier for the 1980 *Festschrift* dedicated to her.

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nized as such. While each separate phrase would probably be acceptable to Tolstoj, the possible symmetries they could create when concatenated would very likely have bothered him.

15. Thus *da,* instead of *da; da, ved'* instead of *da ved'*. (This would translate roughly as English "yes," instead of "well"; "yes, indeed" instead of "well," "I say," or the like.) For similar instances see *Vojna i mir* 1962, I: 58, 59, 79. Whether the result is true cancellation of the VPC's or not is hard to judge. Dmitri Segal (in a private communication) believes this is not the case, since the repertorized habits have become stronger than such minute manipulations, which may even pass unnoticed by the habituated reader. Yet Tolstoj's *effort,* whatever the results might be (or might have been for his own time), is transparent.

	Initial elements of turn	Commencitives only
(Natasha:)	- Net, on ne durak,	Net
(Countess:)	- Nu, tak chto zh ty xochesh?	Nu
(Natasha:)	- Net, mama, ja ne vljubljena	Net
(Countess:)	- Nu tak ták i skazhi emu.	Nu
(Natasha:)	- Mama,	(mama)
(Countess:)	- Net, da chto zhe,	Net
(Natasha:)	- Net, ja sama,	Net
(Countess:)	- Nu, vse-taki nado	Nu
(Natasha:)	- Net, ne nado.	Net
(Countess:)	- Nu, tak primi	Nu
(Natasha:)	- Net, mama,	Net
(Countess:)	- Da tebe i nechego govorit'	(da tebe)
(Natasha:)	- Net, nu za chto,	Net, nu

With this last turn, the conversation is over: Natasha leaves her mother's room for the reception room (*zal*) in order to fetch Denisov. Thus, the dispute sub-scene is organized by a highly symmetrical alternation of the countess's *nu* with Natasha's *net*. Naturally, a "realistic psychological" interpretation could be supplied, according to which what we have here is an interplay between a mother's mild admonition, expressed by *nu,* and a stubborn *net,* uttered by an impatient, irritated, and fervent adolescent.

Although probably a "deviation," this segment illuminates the problems of choice in fiction from the point of view of its relation to the repertoire of options available within the literary tradition. One may say that although alien in principle to Tolstoyan habits and guiding norms, a certain option may well have been employed by Tolstoj when it seemed to be effective. Opposed to overt organization and symmetry as he might have been, the combination of narrative needs and the availability of repertoremes clearly made him accept, at least locally, a symmetry malgré lui.

4. Dostoevskij

Quite unlike Gogol', Dostoevskij, for instance in *The Brothers Karamazov*, seems to be interested first and foremost in utilizing verbal means for characterizing protagonists. The unity of personal identity is thus clearly central in his narrative model. It is amazing how keen Dostoevskij is to mobilize a whole range of verbal items as *permanent* accessories for his characters. Here he conspicuously displays his acute sense of mass audience appeal. Well known for his deliberate use of popular texts, Dostoevskij was alert to the need to attach to characters those unmistakable features, easily identifiable as labels, so current in the

popular nineteenth-century novel (no less than in popular television series today where the protagonists must be immediately recognizable by permanent traits, both physical and verbal).

Not only *da* (as well as *a, nu, vot,* etc.), but also *s,* as well as a whole series of laughter sounds (*ha-ha-ha, he-he-he, hi-hi-hi*)[16] become distinctive characteristics of Dostoevskij's protagonists.

As far as *da* is concerned, it is Rakitin, Grushenka, and Mitja who all use it with high frequency, but hardly ever Alyosha (let alone Father Zosima). For Dostoevskij, then, as for Tolstoj, *da* is a marker of vulgar speech, definitely not expected from such elevated spirits as Alyosha or from holy persons. But while with certain Tolstoyan characters, the same *da* may be both a manifestation of vulgarity and a token of authenticity, Dostoevskij prefers repertoremes to be univocal. Here, too, what seems to be manifest is Dostoevskij's desire to make matters transparent, on various levels, to the most unsophisticated reader.

The quantities of VPC's in the case of the above-mentioned characters are astounding. It would be futile to quote the relevant strings, because this would often entail simply quoting the whole text. (For some typical passages see: 1976, II: 21, 22, 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 41, 85.)

All these items (like many other features) are handled systematically and with consistency. Dostoevskij seems to have designed a master plan which he carries out without paying much attention to whether the results are locally plausible or not. This kind of mechanical systematicity is most conspicuous precisely in those cases where the phonetic combinations are dubious. This is especially prominent with the *s* suffix, which often generates odd combinations.[17]

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16. While Fëdor Karamazov is a *He-he-he* person ("bad man's laughter" according to the Gogolian tradition), and Dmitri is a *Ha-ha-ha* person (wide, open laughter), Rakitin is of course a *Hi-hi-hi* person (cynical, malicious laughter).
17. Here is a striking example:

- Net-s, vidite-s, - povernulsja k nemu Maksimov, - ja pro to-s, chto èti tam panénki . . . Xoroshenkie-s . . . [. . .] kak koshechka-s . . . [. . .] i pozvoljajut-s . . . [. . .] vot-s. (Dostoevskij 1976: 379–380)

Or the following combinations (of the same speaker):

Net-s, gubernii-s, vyvez-s (sic!), suprugu-to moju-s, budushchuju-s, xromoj-s, da-s, ot radosti-s, da-s, sbezala-s etc.   (Dostoevskij 1976: 380–381)

It may not be an exaggeration to say that in such cases as manifested in these examples Dostoevskij did not really care much about the "actual probability" of the characteristic feature, but simply was carrying out a design.

It seems as if only Chexov has invented even a funnier *s* combination than some of Dostoevskij's impossibilities (though these must have been composed by the latter with no comic intention) in the following replique:

The crucial role assigned by Dostoevskij to the inferiority marker *s* is prominent also through its utilization as a self-conscious behavioreme of some characters. In the first meeting between Captain Snegiryov and Alyosha Karamazov, Snegiryov, who shortly before that had been beaten up by Alyosha's brother Dmitrij, feels himself so debased after this humiliating experience that he addresses Alyosha with *s*, then comments on this use when he decides to reintroduce himself to Alyosha in a more official tone:

> "Nikolai Ilyich Snegiryov, sir, a former captain of Russian infantry, sir, and though disgraced by his vices, still a captain, sir. I should perhaps have introduced myself as Captain Sir and not as Captain Snegiryov, for it's only during the latter half of my life that I have begun saying 'sir' to people. The word 'sir,' sir, one acquires only when one has come down in the world." [18]

When Alyosha raises the question of how voluntary this shift of speech has been, Snegiryov asserts:

> "God knows, involuntarily. I never used to say it, all my life I never used to say 'sir,' but suddenly I fell and got up with 'sir' on my lips. That is brought about by a higher power." [19] (Quoted from the English translation by David Magarshack, Dostoyevsky 1958, I: 232.)

III. Simulation of Vernacular vs. Bookishness: Strindberg's *The Father*

In memory of Sten Malmström, oförglömliga vännen

Swedish is a language with a rich repertoire of VPC's. Indeed, VPC's are such a prominent feature of the spoken vernacular that it often comes very close to Russian in terms of the crucial role it plays in successful interpersonal exchange. Formally, in contradistinction to Russian, the rate of *finitives* (VPC's posted in final positions of an utterance) is much higher than in Russian, where most VPC's are either commencitives or mediatives. But from the pragmatic point of view this makes marginal difference.[20] The official attitude towards VPC's has not been different than that found in many other languages. That I have chosen to quote a Swedish defender of language purity (see

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[. . .] Da chego vy vse na menja tak smotrite? Chudnoj nesto ja chelovek? *Xi-xi-xi-s.* Nu, daj bog vam!   ("Korrespondent." In Chexov 1974: 181.)

18. - Nikolaj Il'ich Snegirev-s, russkoj pixoty byvshij shtabs-kapitan-s, xot' i posramlennyj svoimi porokami, no vse zhe shtabs-kapitan. Skoree by nado skazat': shtabs-kapitan Slovoersov, a ne Snegirev, ibo lish' so vtoroj poloviny zhizni stal govorit' slovoersami. Slovo-er-s priobretaetsja v unizhenii. (Dostoevskij 1976: 258)
19. - Vidit Bog, nevol'no. Vse ne govoril, celuju zhizn' ne govoril slovoersami, vdrug upal v vstal s slovoersami. Éto delaetsja vyssheju siloj. [. . .] (Dostoevskij 1976: 258)
20. Of course this is crucially important for syntactic and intonational analysis (as well as for a successful acquisition of the language), but these are points which are secondary to our subject.

note 4) does not mean that attitudes in Sweden have been more ag-
gressive than elsewhere.

As could be conjectured *a priori,* the use of VPC's in written texts
varies in accordance with the position of the repertoire upon which
the respective texts are based in the literary hierarchy. While in some
texts, especially comedy and popular production, no restrictions seem
to have been imposed, canonized literature has long avoided such vul-
garisms. Also, as with other European literatures, distaste for such
items seems to have grown rather than decreased in the course of
the nineteenth century, contrary to what might have been expected
in view of Romanticism's sympathy towards folk culture, with all its
ramifications.

When, in the 1880s, August Strindberg launched his so-called "natu-
ralistic dramas," in full conformity with the French *dernier cri,* VPC's
naturally had to figure somehow among the partly reinvigorated,
partly legitimized, partly invented new repertoire. As is well known,
for Zola, Strindberg's most venerated piece, *The Father,* was far from
convincingly "naturalistic." Language, however, did not figure among
Zola's reservations about this piece. After all, French Naturalism itself,
and most notably Zola's, did not manifest itself in language. It was in
Germany (through Hauptmann's interpretation of the new fashion)
that language became a prominent factor of repertoire innovation, not
in France. Swedish writers, however, immediately interpreted some
of the slogans of the new model in terms of language registers. And
no wonder, since the whole system of language had been so different
in the respective countries. But "interpretation" does not necessarily
mean consistency nor tenacity. So while it is clearly demonstrable that
Strindberg in fact deliberately attempted changes on various levels
of language, even in the most ambitiously "naturalistic" plays no lan-
guage consistency could be maintained. Old traditional literary re-
pliques figure side by side with colloquialisms which are partly bold,
partly conventional.

On the whole, *The Father* is nothing like Hauptmann's version of
verbal naturalism. Actually Strindberg's linguistic audacity can be dis-
cerned only in opposition to the conventional theater of his time, or
to his own post-Inferno period. An item-by-item analysis of the verbal
inventory of this piece shows a clear preference for the established lit-
erary language. But it seems that it was precisely the kind of mixture
Strindberg indiscriminately created in *The Father* that can be consid-
ered characteristic of this drama and the kind of "naturalism" it rep-
resents, which did not attempt to practice what its manifestos often
preached. Strindberg indeed spoke of the "formula" he had at last
found. But this "formula" was self-contradictory in every detail.

If Strindberg ever attempted to be systematic in his "lifelike" sort

of language, an attempt which perhaps may be observed in the first
three pages of the text, the conflicting needs of this drama never al-
lowed him to pursue such a plan to its ultimate conclusion. Even at
this period of his career, Strindberg was no great believer in the unity
and coherence of a person. His protagonists change every minute,
pass from one mood to another, utter contradictory statements, simul-
taneously love and hate. While the language of secondary characters
may display stereotypic traits, the main protagonists, especially the
Captain, range over a broad spectrum of possibilities. The Captain
abundantly uses VPC's; he is the only one who utters colloquial forms.
He is capable of mixing tenses in a way quite typical of colloquial
speech (and not unlike his own daughter),[21] and when he is infuriated,
he does not hesitate to blaspheme and utter typical soldier slang. On
the other hand his language on the whole is the most literary, heavy
and pedantic, even ridiculously bureaucratic,[22] sometimes elevated.[23]
It is not by accident that Strindberg puts in his mouth familiar allu-
sions to or citations from *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *The Taming
of the Shrew* (modelled on Hagberg's classical Swedish translation), the
New Testament, etc. The stylistic scale of registers the Captain mas-
ters is typical of a highly educated person capable of changing speech
level in accordance with the circumstances. He talks differently to dif-

21. "Jag har *visat* [shown] hennes prov för en framstående målare, och han *säger*
[and he says] att det bara *är* sådant [that these are things], som man kan lära sig i
skolorna. Men så *kommer* [but then comes] det en ung glop hit i somras [last sum-
mer], som *förstod* [who understood] saken bättre, och *säger* att där *var* [and says
that there were] kolossala anlag, och därmed *var* [and thereby was] saken avgjord
till Lauras förmån" (Strindberg 1964: 219; emphasis mine). A comparison with
the regularized style in Paulson's English translation may give some feeling of the
passage: "But I showed a sampling of her work to a distinguished painter. His
verdict was that it was merely the kind of painting one learns at school. But last
summer a young would-be critic was here—and he understood such things much
better! He said she possessed exceptional talent. And with that the matter was
decided in Laura's favor" (Strindberg 1960: 12). Not only have the tenses been
regularized in this rendition, but the structure of the sentences as well (with the
"and"s eliminated).
22. "Men jag vill å andra sidan inte leda henne in på en manlig bana, som tar
lång utbildningstid och vars förarbete kan vara alldeles bortkastat, i den händelse
att hon skulle vilja gifta sig" (Strindberg 1964: 218–219). In Paulson's translation
(which does not really reproduce the artificial style): "On the other hand, I do not
wish to see her enter man's profession which would require long preparation and
training—and which would be all wasted if she married" (Strindberg 1960: 12).
23. "Därför att jag inte fick äta i ro, inte sova i ro, förrän ni fått honom hit. [—]
och hade jag inte tagit honom sutte jag nu på dårhus eller låge jag i familjegraven"
(Strindberg 1964: 222). It is mostly literary grammatical forms without auxiliary
verb, like "fått" and "tagit," and even more so "sutte" and "låge" (old forms for
"would have sat" and "would have lied," characteristic of the Bible and prayer
books) which make for the elevated style here.

ferent persons. When talking to Laura, his wife, his language becomes most artificial.

In the most conflictual scene in the play, the apotheosis of the struggle between the Captain and Laura, the language abruptly becomes very bookish, conspicuously literary, almost free of any accessories reminiscent of a colloquial situation. It seems that the concentration and the density of the situation no longer allows Strindberg to "waste" energy on VPC's. It is the most bookish scene in the play.

Thus, using or refraining from using VPC's becomes a marking device for Strindberg.[24]

Strindberg's preoccupation with language policies is manifest not only in his literary texts, from which they may be constructed, but also in his directly expressed views. In his so-called post-*Inferno* period, with his fantasy plays like *A Dream Play*, his unqualified distaste for colloquialisms which had previously been acceptable becomes conspicuous. Strindberg's reluctance to accept colloquialisms on any level is evidenced not only through his treatment of his new plays, but very clearly in his notoriously blunt notes to his actors at the *Intima teatern*. Besides justifiable criticism of unclear articulation and pronunciation, Strindberg expresses his eccentric and whimsical disapproval of colloquial forms and even standardized pronunciation of grammatical items.[25] These attitudes are especially bizarre when they relate to such texts as *The Father*, where a different linguistic policy had been observed. For instance, in a famous note addressed in his capacity of director to the actors of his theater, sent at the start of rehearsals for *The Father*, he writes:

> Since we are now rehearsing a new piece, *The Father*, I take the opportunity to express some of my wishes in connection with the pronunciation of the Swedish language on stage. We play namely *no farce* or *lower comedy* [emphasis mine], and therefore the language must be kept elevated, so that it does not lose through careless pronunciation its resources as a means of expression. All letters must in the beginning be pronounced clearly; then one can glide over them without leaving them out. We then shall say 'skall' [= English "shall"] and not 'ska' [the

24. Here are some numerical data: *The Father* (1887) contains 122 clear cases of VPC's, against a total of 12,243 words in the whole text (i.e., 0.99%), while Act II, Scene 5, displays 5 VPC's against a total of 2149 words (i.e., 0.23%). *A Dream Play* (1902), on the other hand, contains 65 clear cases in 11,530 words. (Counts carried out by Nili Even-Zohar in 1967 for Even-Zohar 1967 and never checked since.) Several ambiguous cases (38 exclamations in *The Father*, 25 in *A Dream Play*) have not been included in these statistics. Needless to say, these data *per se* are not very instructive, since we have statistics neither for the frequency of VPC's in current speech nor for a cross-section of Swedish written texts. The only significant points here are (1) the contrast between the different plays by Strindberg (where his adherence to or distaste for "naturalism" seems to show in his treatment of VPC's), and (2) the different distribution of VPC's within a single play. For further discussion and detailed data see Even-Zohar 1967.
25. For instance, he criticizes the standardized pronunciation of Swedish "är" [= 'is'], where the "r" is already mute, praising the Norwegians for their pronunciation of the copula, where "r" is distinctly audible (Falck 1935: 204).

regular form for "shall"],26 är [= English "is"]27 (not e)28 [. . .] An actor is heard only with long and distinct pronunciation of every letter. (26 July 1908; Strindberg 1927: 46; translation mine)

It is evident that this attitude is already distant from Strindberg's own text of *The Father*, where he clearly preferred 'ska' to 'skall,' and several times even inserted 'va' and 'ä' instead of 'var' and 'är.' The great revolutionizer of the Swedish and European drama appears here more like a pedantic school teacher dreaming of reviving an obsolete pronunciation.

IV. VPC's in a Renovated Language: The Case of Hebrew***

It is of the utmost interest for the study of void pragmatic connectives to be able to observe cases where certain processes are either recent, or almost "in the making." For instance, an interesting case would be the phase when various *linguae francae* have become true mother tongues for a second generation of modern speakers. Similarly, planned international languages, like Esperanto, can furnish no less interesting information. In contradistinction to other so-called "artificial" languages, Esperanto has managed to become a mother tongue for a remarkable number of families worldwide. Hebrew is also an excellent case of this sort, due to the fact that it has been transformed from an exclusively written into a fully alive spoken language. Although the process by which this transformation has taken place is in principle not different from that of other cases,29 it is almost unparalleled in its long historical traditions and richness of resources. Yet what these resources could not immediately provide, or even suggest the need for, was precisely such colloquial functions as seem to be indispensable for impromptu speech. It is thus precisely this hypothesis of their indispensability which can be corroborated with the help of the Hebrew case. What can be demonstrated, in the case of VPC's, is their primariness in the sense of their being not accidental results of some blind depletion mechanism in language (and sign systems in general), but rather generated *through* depletion by the requirements of speech.

As explained in previous chapters, Hebrew never posed insur-

***This section is based on a paper presented to the International Symposium on the Linguistic Study of Impromptu Speech, Åbo Akademi, Åbo (Turku), 20–22 November 1981. It was subsequently published in Enkvist 1982: 179–193.

26. Current for many years now in standard written Swedish.

27. "Är" is normally pronounced like "e" in "set." Strindberg namely dreams of restoring the surmised older pronunciation, where the "r" is supposed to have been clearly heard, as is the case in current Norwegian pronunciation.

28. "E" renders Strindberg's writing of the actual pronunciation of "är."

29. Notably the Italian case (see De Mauro 1984).

mountable problems for its users. The fact that it was not a spoken language does not seem to have disturbed anybody for ages, and the ideology promoting its so-called "revival" did not emerge until relatively late. However, the lack of a spoken variant generated various difficulties for the written language. For writers of narrative prose, interested in depicting actual Jewish life, many problems had to be solved. The solutions to these problems have been discussed in previous chapters. The case of literary VPC's is discussed in some detail in "Gnessin's Dialogue and Its Russian Models." I would only like to repeat here that the literary VPC's, introduced into narrative and manipulated somewhat similarly to the Russian literary VPC's, consisted almost entirely of domesticated items. These were eventually accepted as part of "correct" language use by standardizers and purists. On the other hand, the solutions which gradually emerged with the burgeoning vernacular in Palestine were neither accepted nor even recognized by the cultural establishment. This is, of course, a perfect illustration of the cultural rather than the "natural" status of "authenticity" and "correctness" in a language (or culture in general). For, if "authentic" items were rejected as "Non-Hebrew," while items fabricated at the writing desk and never adopted by current usage were accepted as "correct," then it must be the case that not all instances of "natural authenticity" necessarily or univocally also become "culturally authentic."

The aggressive campaigns by teachers and other purists against the poor VPC *az* ("then") and, to a lesser extent, *tob* ("well") as archpollutors of Hebrew closely resembles the indignant attack on Swedish *ja* and *då* (see note 4). Yet, both *az* and *tob*, undoubtedly loan-translations from Yiddish, have become the most usual commencitives (initial position VPC's) and concatenators in modern Hebrew impromptu speech.

The case of *az* is particularly illustrative of the decision mechanism in substrate interference. I believe it must have emerged by domesticating the Yiddish *iz* (e.g., "iz vi filt ir zikh"—well, how are you?), possibly through accidental *sound similarity*. The fact that Hebrew *az* means "then," and is, furthermore, identical in sound with the Yiddish particle *az* (= English "that," Swedish "att"), probably made the colloquial Hebrew "search process" particularly smooth. On the other hand, it was perhaps this conspicuous Yiddish interference, still felt by the first generation of users, that made *az* such a target for vehement criticism.

Both the literary set of VPC's and the initial colloquial set have thus arisen through transfer. They differ in both source and status: while the literary set was mainly derived from the Russian literary repertoire and acquired a high status, the colloquial VPC's derived from Yiddish and had a low status. Also, their function as VPC's cannot be described

as completely equal. The literary set should be described as second-hand, lacking that degree of immediacy that actual VPC's normally have in both impromptu speech *and* its simulations. The new speakers did not identify the literary items as potentially usable in speech, and thus simply ignored most of them. The function of the substrate, on the other hand, was both unplanned and unnoticed, which is probably what has assured its ultimate success.

It should be emphasized, however, that both literary and colloquial VPC's were generated through transfer by non-native speakers. These could still "back translate" domesticated items when necessary (for instance, when reading literary texts, such as translations from the Russian). These factors no longer held for the new generations, for whom Hebrew has become more and more an *exclusive* mother tongue. For them, a great number of the items encountered in literary texts turned out to be highly enigmatic, while no other linguistic system persisted in imposing itself on their impromptu speech. Their use of VPC's no longer reflected their habits in some previously utilized and mastered mother tongue.

This is where the most crucial part of our VPC test begins. The loss of any possibility of resorting to another language now forced Hebrew to confront with its own resources, unaided, as it were, the needs of impromptu speech. If, for instance, the VPC repertoire were to remain unaugmented, that would at least raise doubts about the universal principle of discourse organization by means of, inter alia, void pragmatic connectives. This, however, has turned out not to be the case, and there seem to be solid data to indicate that certain independent VPC's have managed to emerge.

However, this development was far from instantaneous. I would like to be able to claim (though the data are inconclusive) that the rate of VPC's in current Hebrew impromptu speech must have dropped simultaneously with decreasing interference from the substrate. Moreover, I believe that *contemporary* colloquial Hebrew uses VPC's relatively sparingly, at least in comparison with certain European languages, including Yiddish. Yet this seems to be a transient phase rather than a permanent feature of the modern vernacular, an unavoidable hiatus between the disappearance of substrate pressures and the emergence of homemade alternatives. In recent years, a growing number of VPC's can be attested, the origin of which cannot—and need not —be related to any adjacent system. Older speakers, including older native speakers, are not yet acquainted with the new items, and some will probably never adopt them. Further corroboration of how recently these new VPC's have emerged may be found in the almost complete lack of awareness of their existence, more complete even than in the case of the older VPC's.

Among the new VPC's one can count such items as *lo* ("no") and *ken* ("yes"), both commencitives, as well as *lo ki* ("no but" or "no because"), the latter mostly used as a transferer. Such conversation sequels (in as literal translation as possible) as "It's a nice day"—"No yes it's a nice day," or: "Are you completing your B.A. studies?"—"No yes I am" are quite typical and widely attested at all levels of society. The similarity between these and counterparts in various languages (Swedish "nämen," "nämen ja," or Russian "da net") are truly striking, but there is no evidence, nor any reason to hypothesize, any sort of interference in this case. This similarity, however, can perhaps be utilized by those who are interested in finding out why certain elements rather than others are selected for the imposition of VPC functions.

The main point here would seem to be the fact that void pragmatic connectives have emerged primarily within the Hebrew system, even when other language systems may in one case or another play a role. Their source, usage, and distributional contexts are no longer reflections of habits in some other culture. Furthermore, they now seem to be growing in number.[30] How long it will take official culture, as manifested in literary traditions, to recognize them in the first place and then to make use of them for literary purposes is not only unpredictable but also not necessarily significant as regards their status and function in impromptu speech. There are no universal rules of speech simulation for all literary languages. Whereas Russian literature has exploited the colloquial Russian VPC's repertoire to the utmost, English literature has done so very sparingly (while other languages, e.g., Dutch, do not seem to have recognized the option at all). Therefore Hebrew colloquial VPC's may go on developing and their use may be intensified, while the language of literature may, for its part, stick to its old quasi-VPC's fabricated in Eastern Europe, or may drop them altogether. At any rate I am convinced that the emergence of independent VPC's in the vernacular firmly supports the primariness of this pragmatic function, in the sense that it imposes on a language depletion procedures *in order* to produce those functors that are so badly needed in verbal communication.

It should be stressed, however, that while the need for VPC's seems to be universal, certain individuals use them, even within the conventions of their particular culture, more intensively than others. This

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30. Since I began researching this area, the number of VPC's seems to have grown formidably. In 1981, when this paper was first presented to the Åbo conference on impromptu speech (see Enkvist 1982), such VPC's as *ze* ("this") and *kaze* ("like this") did not yet occur in my documentation. Some of these emerge quite suddenly in some army unit, spread quickly to schools and student circles, and sometimes move on or vanish with other transient slang features. Yet it is not the particular VPC's per se that are interesting here, but the *increasing* tendency to produce items of this kind.

may very well be a symptom of "uncertainty under pressure," something which might have caught Gogol's attention in his parody of Akakij Akakievich's speech. On the other hand, it may be an indicator of something different, which I would call "the speaker's strong need to organize his/her discourse," or "the speaker's anxiety to draw the maximum attention to all his/her shifts of mind." This endeavor to produce highly coherent texts in impromptu speech through VPC's does not necessarily coincide with other features of coherence in the same discourse. More often than not, VPC's function as the last resort for organization and coherence in an otherwise quite elliptic and vaguely concatenated speech. This is where we leave the terrain of semiotic and sociolinguistic analysis and pass over to psychological considerations and idiolect analysis, territories into which I must desist from venturing.

The Textemic Status
of Signs in Translation

1. Translation from the Point of View of Literary Text Theory

Interlingual translation involves a decomposition of textual relations, thus making them relatively explicit. Since textual units are transferred in translation from one system to another, the textual relations of these units are inevitably "laid bare." Such units may be of two different kinds—"textemes" and "repertoremes." In translation, as in any semiotic activity, both are involved.

2. Textual Relations

A texteme is a unit of literary syntagmatics, a function of specifically local textual relations, i.e., those which can be conceived of as exclusively subordinated to the "textual relation proper." The units of literary paradigmatics, or otherwise the repertoire, are codified on the other hand on the level of the repertoire's own governing laws and inventory. But once inserted into syntagmatics, a repertoreme may enter into a new set of relations, which either preserves or alters its codified function. Conversely, functions produced in syntagmatics may eventually be adopted by the literary repertoire. This procedure is by no means peculiar to the literary system. Its distinctive

features are, however, attributable to the fact that these paradigmatic-syntagmatic (repertoire-text) relations are structured on material (substance) which is at least partly exclusive, and on a functional hierarchy which is also at least partly exclusive.

Too little attention has been paid to the simple fact that even the components of the literary repertoire may be exclusive to it to a certain degree, and thus may not always be automatic components of the general linguistic repertoire (at least synchronically speaking: in diachrony, obsolete components of the linguistic repertoire may persist in the literary one—cf. the language of the *Noh* theater, the peculiar intonational and phonetic features of readings of poetry in Arabic, French, or Russian).

As for the peculiarity of the functional hierarchy in both literary repertoire and text, the situation here is far more complex. As we know, most of modern literary theory has been preoccupied with this question. The most fruitful contribution in this connection would seem to be what I would like to call the thesis of *the dynamic hierarchy of the literary repertoire*, produced by the potential equivalence of functions in it, or, otherwise formulated, by the dominance of the so-called self-referential ("poetic") function. I suppose there is no need to elaborate here on the hypothesis of the poetic function. Its most important implication in this connection would seem to be the following:

In the literary repertoire, the dominance of the self-referential function is manifest (1) in the reorganization of otherwise static hierarchical relations within the text (utterance), and (2) in the syncretic proportion between means and functions.

According to this formulation, then, all types of semiotic entities inserted into the literary repertoire may possess a major function within the literary text, whereas in the non-literary text they are all subordinated, mostly in a predeterminate way, to a redundancy relation from the point of view of "maximum information." Units located in conventionally redundant positions within an utterance (or any string of morphemes) are conceived of as secondary within the non-literary utterance, and their only function is to prevent "noise." In a literary text, these very units, introduced into the same positions, may become major functions for a text. An obvious illustration of this is rhyme. Now, not only does rhyme perform a crucial function in a text on all levels, but from the paradigmatic point of view, what is rhyme and what is not is determined not by strictly exclusive phonetic features, but by the codification of certain phonetic parallels (or semiparallels) as legitimate "insertables" for final verse positions within the literary *model*. Thus, phonemes accepted as rhymable in one literary reper-

toire are not necessarily accepted as such in another one, and the same holds true for diachronic phases of the same system.[1]

Syncretic proportions between means and functions in a literary text may also have a distinct nature due to the self-referential function. As we know, non-literary texts tend to eliminate irrelevant functions ("meanings") when they are carried by identical means. Moreover, the number of means is irrelevant for a non-literary text, since it is certain functions which must be transmitted in a message, regardless of the number of signs required; but the specific quantitative tension (for any particular segment) between the means and the number of functions ("meaning") they carry is one of the most pronounced distinctive features of literary discourse. This holds true not only for highly codified models such as verse, where quantitative relations between signs are *sine qua non* for the model, but also for most literary prose.

3. The Texteme in Translation

In the literary text, then, each sign may become a major textual functor, whose decoding is indispensable for a proper understanding of the text. When a translation operation takes place, a large part of individual textemic relations unavoidably shifts. Consequently, signs either lose their textemic status or preserve it in a modified way. In either case, their textemic status in the original is demonstrated. Let us analyze some examples:

(1) From Rilke's *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge*

German original	English translation
Meinem Grossvater noch, dem alten Kammerherrn Brigge, sah man es an, daß er einen Tod in sich trug. (Rilke 1958 [1910]: 14)	It was evident that my grandfather, old Chamberlain Brigge, carried his death within him. (Rilke 1950 [1930]: 10)

In this example, the textemic function of signs is expressed by rhythmo-intonational units. This function is based on a combination of two sets of repertoremes: (1) one used to represent colloquial free talk, and (2) the other to represent "impressionistic" (or "poetic"?) means of expression. On the textual level, these signs participate in a

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1. For instance, in Hebrew poetry, such rhymables as *ad-at* or *ov-of*, where /d/-/t/ and /v/-/f/ are distinctly different sounds, were accepted only at the end of the last century as normal rhymes through interference with the Russian system, where they were already non-distinct in the non-literary language.

specific matrix, a syntagmatic order of positions, which produces its specific rhythm and intonation. In the English translation, there are no such equivalent repertoremes or textemes. The sentence is constructed with collocations taken from rather standard written (not to say bookish) language, and there is no hint of any specific literary style. The model used is that of the standard matter-of-fact report. The narrator, who appears somewhat ambiguous and hesitant in the original, thus turns out to be dryly sober in the English translation. From the point of view of the literary text, perhaps the most important features have not been reproduced.[2]

An analogous case is illustrated by the next example:

(2) From Rilke's *Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke*

German original	French translation
Reiten, reiten, reiten durch den Tag, durch die Nacht, durch den Tag. (Rilke 1980: 95)	Chevaucher, chevaucher, chevaucher, le jour, la nuit, le jour. (Rilke 1957: 3)

Here, too, we have a rhythmo-intonational matrix, where the specific high syncretic proportion is indispensable. Now, in order to reproduce *reiten*, a French translator either must violate the habits of his language and use the verb *chevaucher*, which no longer exists in the contemporary French inventory, or ignore the textemic function of *reiten* and use the usual French *aller à cheval*. In either case, the result would not be satisfactory. *Chevaucher*, being an obsolete component, violates the stylistic character of the text; *aller à cheval* would simply decompose the matrix. In our example, the French translator considered the matrix to be of greater importance than the linguistic register, and chose *chevaucher*.

These examples, illustrating only one basic case, can be multiplied. It has been demonstrated in thousands of translation analyses how translation can disconnect means from functions, dismiss a textemic function of a sign by eliminating its textual features, exclude a certain item from the literary repertoire, transform a whole set of informata. Since it is not translation as such which is the subject of this paper, there is no need to go into the question of how certain procedures

2. The English translation quoted here was first published in 1930, and perhaps reflects different norms than would be appreciated today. This may very well be the case, yet the most recent available translation of the same work does not seem to have changed this deeply rooted treatment. In the latter (Rilke 1982: 10), the text reads: "It was obvious that my grandfather, old Chamberlain Brigge, still carried a death inside him."

occur, and whether they are caused by unavoidable differences be-
tween two sign systems or by the incompetence of the translator.

In conclusion, I would like to stress once again that the notion of
texteme offers us a far more economical way to observe textual rela-
tions. It is evident that, being of a higher hierarchical order than a
morpheme or a phoneme, its very identification is not as automatic
and is often a case of interpretation. But "complex" textemes, such as
those based on the manipulation of other texts, are more often than
not recognized as such, if not reproduced, in any reading. It is often
signs whose function is supposed to be of no particular textual sub-
ordination that appear as such through textual decomposition. Such
cases as Gogol's word 'even' (daze) in "The Overcoat," a seemingly
neutral feminine gender in a poem by Baudelaire ("Une île pares-
seuse" in "Parfum exotique"), or a simple rhythmic pause in a story by
the master of impressionism J. P. Jacobsen (1964: 291), expressed by
a semicolon ("Men det hjalp Altsammen ikke; det var ingenting der
hjalp"), turn out to be strikingly textemic.[3]

3. (Danish, "But it altogether did not help; there was nothing that helped.") The
semicolon was replaced by "car" (because) in the French translation, thus substitut-
ing a peculiar repertoreme (and probably, at least in the beginning, an individual
texteme) of impressionism with the standard connective of French regular style.

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Itamar Even-Zohar, born in 1939 in Tel Aviv, is Professor of Poetics and Comparative Literature and incumbent of the Artzt Chair of History of Literature in the Department of Poetics at Tel Aviv University. He is director of the Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, editor of *Poetics Today*, head of the Shirley and Leslie Porter School of Cultural Studies, and formerly also Bernstein Chair Professor of Translation Theory (1973–1982), editor of *Ha-Sifrut*, and co-editor of *PTL*. He studied at the Universities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, completing his graduate studies in Oslo, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. He has been research fellow and guest professor at European and American universities and institutes. His main fields are theory of literature, semiotics of culture, historical poetics, and interference and translation studies. He has published extensively in Hebrew and English.