

**THE WORLD WE LIVE IN:
ENVIRONMENT, LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE ECOLOGY**



THE WORLD WE LIVE IN:
ENVIRONMENT,
ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE



Министерство образования и науки Российской Федерации
ФГБОУ ВО «Удмуртский государственный университет»
Институт языка и литературы
Кафедра грамматики и истории английского языка

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**МИР, В КОТОРОМ МЫ ЖИВЁМ:
ОКРУЖАЮЩАЯ СРЕДА,
ЭКОЛОГИЯ ЯЗЫКА,
ЭКОЛОГИЯ КУЛЬТУРЫ**

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В пособии представлены тексты (научные, публицистические, художественные, поэтические, официальные документы) по проблемам окружающей среды, экологии языка и экологии культуры.

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ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

*Кафедре грамматики и истории
английского языка Удмуртского
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посвящается*

Предлагаемое пособие представляет собой собрание текстов, типологически разноплановых, но связанных экологической тематикой. Вопросы экологии, обсуждаемые специалистами разных областей – лингвистами, культурологами, философами, социологами, психологами, специалистами в сфере СМИ, информационных технологий и т. д., приобретают особое значение в связи с самым пристальным вниманием к экологии, прежде всего, в биологическом смысле, в связи с международными проектами, законами по окружающей среде, климату, исследованиями экологизации многих процессов и областей знания.

Создание и становление парадигмы экологии языка (ecology of language), эколингвистики началось с биоморфной метафоры Э. Хаугена, определившим предмет эколингвистики – взаимодействие между языком, человеком как языковой личностью и его окружающей средой. В концепции Э. Хаугена язык позиционируется как часть экосистемы, в которой он формируется и эволюционирует, подобно любому живому организму, удовлетворяя при этом все потребности своих пользователей (E. Haugen). Экологическая лингвистика использует методы и принципы экологии для изучения языка (например, понятие экосистемы); изучает взаимосвязь между языком и экологическими проблемами (A. Fill), в частности насколько языковые структуры и единицы текстов задействованы в освещении вопросов, связанных с проблемами

окружающей среды; может ли язык сделать эти проблемы более понятными, доступными и близкими для человека; исследует взаимодействие между языками с целью сохранения языкового многообразия.

Как показывают наблюдения, объем понятия «экология» значительно расширяется. Существует глобальная экология – комплексная научная дисциплина, изучающая биосферу в целом, экологическую систему, охватывающую земной шар; мегаэкология, которая содержит и гуманитарную составляющую. Среди широкого спектра экологических наук возникает и экология культуры, связанная с необходимостью сохранения культурной среды – неперемного условия для осуществления духовной, нравственной жизни человека, культурного наследия, а также окружающей среды (Д. С. Лихачев).

Язык и культура как факторы экологии, как создатели экосистемы, экологической среды, среды сбережения участвуют в создании экотекстов (эколитературы), повествующих о взаимосвязи, взаимопонимании человека и природы, об интересе человека к окружающей среде, к тому, что мир открывает человеку, проявляющему к нему добрый интерес, к сохранению этого мира, помощи ему и его обитателям.

Предлагается определить экотекст в широком смысле как озвученное или фиксированное на письме речетворческое произведение, идейно-содержательную основу которого образуют авторские представления о существующих или возможных связях человека с окружающей средой и происходящих в ней процессах (Н. В. Константинова).

Значимость таких текстов обусловлена тем, что они формируют коммуникативное пространство, «в котором человеческое отношение к природе можно осознать и изменить» (S. Rosendale).

Пособие состоит из нескольких частей. *Часть первая* включает документы мирового значения – Устав международной общественной организации «Международный социально-экологический союз» (1988 г.), Хартия Земли, принятая в 2000 г.; Декларация Организации Объединенных Наций о правах коренных народов (2007 г.), Парижское соглашение по климату (2015 г.). Кроме того данная часть пособия предоставляет информацию о международных организациях, ведущих борьбу за сохранение окружающей среды, в том числе международный социально-экологический союз, Гринпис – международная независимая неправительственная экологическая организация, созданная в 1971 г. в Канаде.

Часть вторая содержит научные статьи, авторы которых и заложили основы экологии языка и экологии культуры (Е. Naugen, Е. Sapir, А. Fill, Е. Bialystok, М. А. К. Halliday, Д. С. Лихачев, В. И. Вернадский, Л. Н. Гумилев).

Части три и четыре – это публицистические экологические тексты, художественная проза известных писателей-натуралистов, писателей-анималистов, авторов анималистических сказок (Дж. Даррелл, Дж. Лондон, А. Мильн, К. Грэм и др.), поэзия озерного края (С. Кольридж, У. Водсворт, Р. Саути и др.), Шотландии (Р. Бернс), лучших представителей американской поэзии (У. Уитмен, Э. Дикинсон), повествующие о разных экосистемах – городской среде, природе, мире животных, восприятию человеком окружающего мира в разнообразных его проявлениях. Каждая часть завершается вопросами на понимание и для последующей дискуссии.

Приводится список используемой литературы по проблемам экологии, эколингвистики, экологии культуры. Пособие снабжено словарем-активатором, включающим рубрики заявленной тематики – экология, окружающая среда и

факторы негативного / положительного влияния на окружающую среду, наука и экология.

Предлагаемый формат пособия продиктован тем, что любовь к миру, в котором мы живем, окружающей нас природе, братьям меньшим, забота обо всем этом должны стать органической частью нравственного сознания и эстетических чувств каждого человека, неотъемлемой частью жизненного кредо, выражающегося в стремлении к очищению окружающей нас среды, ее сбережению.

PART I. OFFICIAL PAPERS

THE EARTH CHARTER

Preamble

We stand at a critical moment in Earth's history, a time when humanity must choose its future. As the world becomes increasingly interdependent and fragile, the future at once holds great peril and great promise. To move forward we must recognize that in the midst of a magnificent diversity of cultures and life forms we are one human family and one Earth community with a common destiny. We must join together to bring forth a sustainable global society founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace. Towards this end, it is imperative that we, the peoples of Earth, declare our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generations.

Earth, Our Home

Humanity is part of a vast evolving universe. Earth, our home, is alive with a unique community of life. The forces of nature make existence a demanding and uncertain adventure, but Earth has provided the conditions essential to life's evolution. The resilience of the community of life and the well-being of humanity depend upon preserving a healthy biosphere with all its ecological systems, a rich variety of plants and animals, fertile soils, pure waters, and clean air. The global environment with its finite resources is a common concern of all peoples. The protection of Earth's vitality, diversity, and beauty is a sacred trust.

The Global Situation

The dominant patterns of production and consumption are causing environmental devastation, the depletion of resources, and a massive extinction of species. Communities are being undermined. The benefits of development are not shared equitably and the gap between rich and poor is widening. Injustice, poverty, ignorance, and violent conflict are widespread and the cause of great suffering. An unprecedented rise in human population has overburdened ecological and social systems. The foundations of global security are threatened. These trends are perilous – but not inevitable.

The Challenges Ahead

The choice is ours: form a global partnership to care for Earth and one another or risk the destruction of ourselves and the diversity of life. Fundamental changes are needed in our values, institutions, and ways of living. We must realize that when basic needs have been met, human development is primarily about being more, not having more. We have the knowledge and technology to provide for all and to reduce our impacts on the environment. The emergence of a global civil society is creating new opportunities to build a democratic and humane world. Our environmental, economic, political, social, and spiritual challenges are interconnected, and together we can forge inclusive solutions.

Universal Responsibility

To realize these aspirations, we must decide to live with a sense of universal responsibility, identifying ourselves with the whole Earth community as well as our local communities. We are at once citizens of different nations and of one world in which the local and global are linked. Everyone shares responsibility for the present and future well-being of the human family and the larger living world. The spirit of

human solidarity and kinship with all life is strengthened when we live with reverence for the mystery of being, gratitude for the gift of life, and humility regarding the human place in nature.

We urgently need a shared vision of basic values to provide an ethical foundation for the emerging world community. Therefore, together in hope we affirm the following interdependent principles for a sustainable way of life as a common standard by which the conduct of all individuals, organizations, businesses, governments, and transnational institutions is to be guided and assessed.

I. RESPECT AND CARE FOR THE COMMUNITY OF LIFE

1. Respect Earth and life in all its diversity.

a. Recognize that all beings are interdependent and every form of life has value regardless of its worth to human beings.

b. Affirm faith in the inherent dignity of all human beings and in the intellectual, artistic, ethical, and spiritual potential of humanity.

2. Care for the community of life with understanding, compassion, and love.

a. Accept that with the right to own, manage, and use natural resources comes the duty to prevent environmental harm and to protect the rights of people.

b. Affirm that with increased freedom, knowledge, and power comes increased responsibility to promote the common good.

3. Build democratic societies that are just, participatory, sustainable, and peaceful.

a. Ensure that communities at all levels guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms and provide everyone an opportunity to realize his or her full potential.

b. Promote social and economic justice, enabling all to achieve a secure and meaningful livelihood that is ecologically responsible.

4. Secure Earth's bounty and beauty for present and future generations.

a. Recognize that the freedom of action of each generation is qualified by the needs of future generations.

b. Transmit to future generations values, traditions, and institutions that support the long-term flourishing of Earth's human and ecological communities.

In order to fulfill these four broad commitments, it is necessary to:

II. Ecological Integrity

5. Protect and restore the integrity of Earth's ecological systems, with special concern for biological diversity and the natural processes that sustain life.

a. Adopt at all levels sustainable development plans and regulations that make environmental conservation and rehabilitation integral to all development initiatives.

b. Establish and safeguard viable nature and biosphere reserves, including wild lands and marine areas, to protect Earth's life support systems, maintain biodiversity, and preserve our natural heritage.

c. Promote the recovery of endangered species and ecosystems.

d. Control and eradicate non-native or genetically modified organisms harmful to native species and the environment, and prevent introduction of such harmful organisms.

e. Manage the use of renewable resources such as water, soil, forest products, and marine life in ways that do not exceed rates of regeneration and that protect the health of ecosystems.

f. Manage the extraction and use of non-renewable resources such as minerals and fossil fuels in ways that minimize depletion and cause no serious environmental damage.

6. Prevent harm as the best method of environmental protection and, when knowledge is limited, apply a precautionary approach.

a. Take action to avoid the possibility of serious or irreversible environmental harm even when scientific knowledge is incomplete or inconclusive.

b. Place the burden of proof on those who argue that a proposed activity will not cause significant harm, and make the responsible parties liable for environmental harm.

c. Ensure that decision making addresses the cumulative, long-term, indirect, long distance, and global consequences of human activities.

d. Prevent pollution of any part of the environment and allow no build-up of radioactive, toxic, or other hazardous substances.

e. Avoid military activities damaging to the environment.

7. Adopt patterns of production, consumption, and reproduction that safeguard Earth's regenerative capacities, human rights, and community well-being.

a. Reduce, reuse, and recycle the materials used in production and consumption systems, and ensure that residual waste can be assimilated by ecological systems.

b. Act with restraint and efficiency when using energy, and rely increasingly on renewable energy sources such as solar and wind.

c. Promote the development, adoption, and equitable transfer of environmentally sound technologies.

d. Internalize the full environmental and social costs of goods and services in the selling price, and enable consumers to identify products that meet the highest social and environmental standards.

e. Ensure universal access to health care that fosters reproductive health and responsible reproduction.

f. Adopt lifestyles that emphasize the quality of life and material sufficiency in a finite world.

8. Advance the study of ecological sustainability and promote the open exchange and wide application of the knowledge acquired.

a. Support international scientific and technical cooperation on sustainability, with special attention to the needs of developing nations.

b. Recognize and preserve the traditional knowledge and spiritual wisdom in all cultures that contribute to environmental protection and human well-being.

c. Ensure that information of vital importance to human health and environmental protection, including genetic information, remains available in the public domain.

III. Social and Economic Justice

9. Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social, and environmental imperative.

a. Guarantee the right to potable water, clean air, food security, uncontaminated soil, shelter, and safe sanitation, allocating the national and international resources required.

b. Empower every human being with the education and resources to secure a sustainable livelihood, and provide social security and safety nets for those who are unable to support themselves.

c. Recognize the ignored, protect the vulnerable, serve those who suffer, and enable them to develop their capacities and to pursue their aspirations.

10. Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner.

a. Promote the equitable distribution of wealth within nations and among nations.

b. Enhance the intellectual, financial, technical, and social resources of developing nations, and relieve them of onerous international debt.

c. Ensure that all trade supports sustainable resource use, environmental protection, and progressive labor standards.

d. Require multinational corporations and international financial organizations to act transparently in the public good, and hold them accountable for the consequences of their activities.

11. Affirm gender equality and equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care, and economic opportunity.

a. Secure the human rights of women and girls and end all violence against them.

b. Promote the active participation of women in all aspects of economic, political, civil, social, and cultural life as full and equal partners, decision makers, leaders, and beneficiaries.

c. Strengthen families and ensure the safety and loving nurture of all family members.

12. Uphold the right of all, without discrimination, to a natural and social environment supportive of human dignity, bodily health, and spiritual well-being, with special attention to the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities.

a. Eliminate discrimination in all its forms, such as that based on race, color, sex, sexual orientation, religion, language, and national, ethnic or social origin.

b. Affirm the right of indigenous peoples to their spirituality, knowledge, lands and resources and to their related practice of sustainable livelihoods.

c. Honor and support the young people of our communities, enabling them to fulfill their essential role in creating sustainable societies.

d. Protect and restore outstanding places of cultural and spiritual significance.

IV. Democracy, Nonviolence, and Peace

13. Strengthen democratic institutions at all levels, and provide transparency and accountability in governance, inclusive participation in decision making, and access to justice.

a. Uphold the right of everyone to receive clear and timely information on environmental matters and all development plans and activities which are likely to affect them or in which they have an interest.

b. Support local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organizations in decision making.

c. Protect the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, association, and dissent.

d. Institute effective and efficient access to administrative and independent judicial procedures, including remedies and redress for environmental harm and the threat of such harm.

e. Eliminate corruption in all public and private institutions.

f. Strengthen local communities, enabling them to care for their environments, and assign environmental responsibilities to the levels of government where they can be carried out most effectively.

14. Integrate into formal education and life-long learning the knowledge, values, and skills needed for a sustainable way of life.

a. Provide all, especially children and youth, with educational opportunities that empower them to contribute actively to sustainable development.

b. Promote the contribution of the arts and humanities as well as the sciences in sustainability education.

c. Enhance the role of the mass media in raising awareness of ecological and social challenges.

d. Recognize the importance of moral and spiritual education for sustainable living.

15. Treat all living beings with respect and consideration.

- a. Prevent cruelty to animals kept in human societies and protect them from suffering.
- b. Protect wild animals from methods of hunting, trapping, and fishing that cause extreme, prolonged, or avoidable suffering.
- c. Avoid or eliminate to the full extent possible the taking or destruction of non-targeted species.

16. Promote a culture of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace.

- a. Encourage and support mutual understanding, solidarity, and cooperation among all peoples and within and among nations.
- b. Implement comprehensive strategies to prevent violent conflict and use collaborative problem solving to manage and resolve environmental conflicts and other disputes.
- c. Demilitarize national security systems to the level of a non-provocative defense posture, and convert military resources to peaceful purposes, including ecological restoration.
- d. Eliminate nuclear, biological, and toxic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
- e. Ensure that the use of orbital and outer space supports environmental protection and peace.
- f. Recognize that peace is the wholeness created by right relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultures, other life, Earth, and the larger whole of which all are a part.

The Way Forward

As never before in history, common destiny beckons us to seek a new beginning. Such renewal is the promise of these Earth Charter principles. To fulfill this promise, we must commit ourselves to adopt and promote the values and objectives of the Charter.

This requires a change of mind and heart. It requires a new sense of global interdependence and universal responsibility. We

must imaginatively develop and apply the vision of a sustainable way of life locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. Our cultural diversity is a precious heritage and different cultures will find their own distinctive ways to realize the vision.

We must deepen and expand the global dialogue that generated the Earth Charter, for we have much to learn from the ongoing collaborative search for truth and wisdom.

Life often involves tensions between important values. This can mean difficult choices.

However, we must find ways to harmonize diversity with unity, the exercise of freedom with the common good, short-term objectives with long-term goals. Every individual, family, organization, and community has a vital role to play. The arts, sciences, religions, educational institutions, media, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, and governments are all called to offer creative leadership. The partnership of government, civil society, and business is essential for effective governance.

In order to build a sustainable global community, the nations of the world must renew their commitment to the United Nations, fulfill their obligations under existing international agreements, and support the implementation of Earth Charter principles with an international legally binding instrument on environment and development.

Let ours be a time remembered for the awakening of a new reverence for life, the firm resolve to achieve sustainability, the quickening of the struggle for justice and peace, and the joyful celebration of life.

UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly on Thursday, 13 September 2007, by a majority of 144 states in favour, 4 votes against (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) and 11 abstentions (Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, Kenya, Nigeria, Russian Federation, Samoa and Ukraine).

In May 2016 Canada officially removed its objector status to UNDRIP, almost a decade after it was adopted by the General Assembly. By now also the other 3 objectors have, to various degrees, turned their vote.

While as a General Assembly Declaration it is not a legally binding instrument under international law, according to a UN press release it does “represent the dynamic development of international legal norms and it reflects the commitment of the UN’s member states to move in certain directions”; the UN describes it as setting “an important standard for the treatment of indigenous peoples that will undoubtedly be a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against the planet’s 370 million indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalisation.”

Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 14

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.

3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

Article 15

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.

2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

Article 16

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

Article 17

1. Indigenous individuals and peoples have the right to enjoy fully all rights established under applicable international and domestic labour law.

2. States shall in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples take specific measures to protect indigenous children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, taking into account their special vulnerability and the importance of education for their empowerment.

3. Indigenous individuals have the right not to be subjected to any discriminatory conditions of labour and, inter alia, employment or salary.

Article 31

1. "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions."

PARIS AGREEMENT

Article 2

1. This Agreement, in enhancing the implementation of the Convention, including its objective, aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty, including by:

(a) Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change;

(b) Increasing the ability to adapt to the adverse impacts of climate change and foster climate resilience and low greenhouse gas emissions development, in a manner that does not threaten food production; and

(c) Making finance flows consistent with a pathway towards low greenhouse gas emissions and climate-resilient development.

2. This Agreement will be implemented to reflect equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances.

Article 3

As nationally determined contributions to the global response to climate change, all Parties are to undertake and communicate ambitious efforts as defined in Articles 4, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 13 with the view to achieving the purpose of this Agreement as set out in Article 2. The efforts of all Parties will represent a progression over time, while recognizing the need to support developing country Parties for the effective implementation of this Agreement.

Article 4

1. In order to achieve the long-term temperature goal set out in Article 2, Parties aim to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible, recognizing that peaking will take longer for developing country Parties, and to undertake rapid reductions thereafter in accordance with best available science, so as to achieve a balance between anthropogenic emissions by sources and removals by sinks of greenhouse gases in the second half of this century, on the basis of equity, and in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty.

2. Each Party shall prepare, communicate and maintain successive nationally determined contributions that it intends to achieve. Parties shall pursue domestic mitigation measures, with the aim of achieving the objectives of such contributions.

3. Each Party's successive nationally determined contribution will represent a progression beyond the Party's then current nationally determined contribution and reflect its highest possible ambition, reflecting its common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances.

4. Developed country Parties should continue taking the lead by undertaking economy-wide absolute emission reduction targets. Developing country Parties should continue enhancing their mitigation efforts, and are encouraged to move over time towards economy-wide emission reduction or limitation targets in the light of different national circumstances.

5. Support shall be provided to developing country Parties for the implementation of this Article, in accordance with Articles 9, 10 and 11, recognizing that enhanced support for developing country Parties will allow for higher ambition in their actions.

6. The least developed countries and small island developing States may prepare and communicate strategies, plans and actions for low greenhouse gas emissions development reflecting their special circumstances.

7. Mitigation co-benefits resulting from Parties' adaptation actions and / or economic diversification plans can contribute to mitigation outcomes under this Article.

8. In communicating their nationally determined contributions, all Parties shall provide the information necessary for clarity, transparency and understanding in accordance with decision 1 / CP.21 and any relevant decisions of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement.

9. Each Party shall communicate a nationally determined contribution every five years in accordance with decision 1 / CP.21 and any relevant decisions of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement and be informed by the outcomes of the global stocktake referred to in Article 14.

10. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement shall consider common time frames for nationally determined contributions at its first session.

11. A Party may at any time adjust its existing nationally determined contribution with a view to enhancing its level of ambition, in accordance with guidance adopted by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement.

12. Nationally determined contributions communicated by Parties shall be recorded in a public registry maintained by the secretariat.

13. Parties shall account for their nationally determined contributions. In accounting for anthropogenic emissions and removals corresponding to their nationally determined contributions, Parties shall promote environmental integrity, transparency,

accuracy, completeness, comparability and consistency, and ensure the avoidance of double counting, in accordance with guidance adopted by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement.

14. In the context of their nationally determined contributions, when recognizing and implementing mitigation actions with respect to anthropogenic emissions and removals, Parties should take into account, as appropriate, existing methods and guidance under the Convention, in the light of the provisions of paragraph 13 of this Article.

15. Parties shall take into consideration in the implementation of this Agreement the concerns of Parties with economies most affected by the impacts of response measures, particularly developing country Parties.

16. Parties, including regional economic integration organizations and their member States, that have reached an agreement to act jointly under paragraph 2 of this Article shall notify the secretariat of the terms of that agreement, including the emission level allocated to each Party within the relevant time period, when they communicate their nationally determined contributions. The secretariat shall in turn inform the Parties and signatories to the Convention of the terms of that agreement.

17. Each party to such an agreement shall be responsible for its emission level as set out in the agreement referred to in paragraph 16 of this Article in accordance with paragraphs 13 and 14 of this Article and Articles 13 and 15.

18. If Parties acting jointly do so in the framework of, and together with, a regional economic integration organization which is itself a Party to this Agreement, each member State of that regional economic integration organization individually, and together with the regional economic integration organization, shall be responsible for

its emission level as set out in the agreement communicated under paragraph 16 of this Article in accordance with paragraphs 13 and 14 of this Article and Articles 13 and 15.

19. All Parties should strive to formulate and communicate long-term low greenhouse gas emission development strategies, mindful of Article 2 taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances.

Article 5

1. Parties should take action to conserve and enhance, as appropriate, sinks and reservoirs of greenhouse gases as referred to in Article 4, paragraph 1(d), of the Convention, including forests.

2. Parties are encouraged to take action to implement and support, including through results-based payments, the existing framework as set out in related guidance and decisions already agreed under the Convention for: policy approaches and positive incentives for activities relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries; and alternative policy approaches, such as joint mitigation and adaptation approaches for the integral and sustainable management of forests, while reaffirming the importance of incentivizing, as appropriate, non-carbon benefits associated with such approaches.

Article 6

1. Parties recognize that some Parties choose to pursue voluntary cooperation in the implementation of their nationally determined contributions to allow for higher ambition in their

mitigation and adaptation actions and to promote sustainable development and environmental integrity.

2. Parties shall, where engaging on a voluntary basis in cooperative approaches that involve the use of internationally transferred mitigation outcomes towards nationally determined contributions, promote sustainable development and ensure environmental integrity and transparency, including in governance, and shall apply robust accounting to ensure, inter alia, the avoidance of double counting, consistent with guidance adopted by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement.

3. The use of internationally transferred mitigation outcomes to achieve nationally determined contributions under this Agreement shall be voluntary and authorized by participating Parties.

4. A mechanism to contribute to the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions and support sustainable development is hereby established under the authority and guidance of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement for use by Parties on a voluntary basis. It shall be supervised by a body designated by the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement, and shall aim:

(a) To promote the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions while fostering sustainable development;

(b) To incentivize and facilitate participation in the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions by public and private entities authorized by a Party;

(c) To contribute to the reduction of emission levels in the host Party, which will benefit from mitigation activities resulting in emission reductions that can also be used by another Party to fulfil its nationally determined contribution; and

(d) To deliver an overall mitigation in global emissions.

5. Emission reductions resulting from the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article shall not be used to demonstrate achievement of the host Party's nationally determined contribution if used by another Party to demonstrate achievement of its nationally determined contribution.

6. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement shall ensure that a share of the proceeds from activities under the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article is used to cover administrative expenses as well as to assist developing country Parties that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change to meet the costs of adaptation.

7. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Agreement shall adopt rules, modalities and procedures for the mechanism referred to in paragraph 4 of this Article at its first session.

8. Parties recognize the importance of integrated, holistic and balanced non-market approaches being available to Parties to assist in the implementation of their nationally determined contributions, in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, in a coordinated and effective manner, including through, inter alia, mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology transfer and capacity-building, as appropriate. These approaches shall aim to:

- (a) Promote mitigation and adaptation ambition;
- (b) Enhance public and private sector participation in the implementation of nationally determined contributions; and
- (c) Enable opportunities for coordination across instruments and relevant institutional arrangements.

9. A framework for non-market approaches to sustainable development is hereby defined to promote the non-market approaches referred to in paragraph 8 of this Article.

GREENPEACE

Greenpeace exists because this fragile earth deserves a voice. It needs solutions. It needs change. It needs action.

Greenpeace is an independent global campaigning organisation that acts to change attitudes and behaviour, to protect and conserve the environment and to promote peace by:

- **Catalysing an energy revolution** to address the number one threat facing our planet: climate change.
- **Defending our oceans** by challenging wasteful and destructive fishing, and creating a global network of marine reserves.
- **Protecting the world's ancient forests** and the animals, plants and people that depend on them.
- **Working for disarmament and peace** by tackling the causes of conflict and calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons.
- **Creating a toxic free future** with safer alternatives to hazardous chemicals in today's products and manufacturing.
- **Campaigning for sustainable agriculture** by rejecting genetically engineered organisms, protecting biodiversity and encouraging socially responsible farming.

Greenpeace is present in 40 countries across Europe, the Americas, Asia, Africa and the Pacific.

To maintain its independence, Greenpeace does not accept donations from governments or corporations but relies on contributions from individual supporters and foundation grants.

Greenpeace has been campaigning against environmental degradation since 1971 when a small boat of volunteers and journalists sailed into Amchitka, an area north of Alaska where the US Government was conducting underground nuclear tests. This

tradition of ‘bearing witness’ in a non-violent manner continues today, and our ships are an important part of all our campaign work.

We exist to expose environmental criminals, and to challenge government and corporations when they fail to live up to their mandate to safeguard our environment and our future.

In pursuing our mission, we have no permanent allies or enemies. We promote open, informed debate about society’s environmental choices. We use research, lobbying, and quiet diplomacy to pursue our goals, as well as high-profile, non-violent conflict to raise the level and quality of public debate.

And we believe that the struggle to preserve the future of our planet is not about us. It’s about you. Greenpeace speaks for 2.8 million supporters worldwide, and encourages many millions more than that to take action every day.

We take the name of our flagship, the Rainbow Warrior, from a North American Cree Indian legend. It described a time when humanity’s greed has made the Earth sick. At that time, a tribe of people known as the Warriors of the Rainbow would rise up to defend her.

As one of the longest banners we’ve ever made summed things up, «When the last tree is cut, the last river poisoned, and the last fish dead, we will discover that we can’t eat money...»

From the very beginning of its campaigning up to this day Greenpeace has strictly adhered these principles:

Independence

Greenpeace relies on voluntary donations from individual supporters and foundation grants, but it does not accept funding from governments, corporations or political parties. Greenpeace does not support any political party. Nevertheless, we carry on dialogue with all powers and promote decisions and laws to protect the environment.

Nonviolence

Greenpeace uses non-violent confrontation to achieve its goals. All our actions are exceptionally peaceful protests. We never spill paints on fur coats, nor ravage offices, nor break shop windows.

Active protest

Protest demonstrations is the first thing people think of when Greenpeace is mentioned. This is one of the methods to draw public attention to an environmental problem and to lobby for necessary changes, but it can't be considered as the only instrument for our campaigns. Non-violence is an important principle of our protests.

Bearing witness

Our objective is to go to places of ecological crime and to provide the public with independent and reliable information.

In Russia

Greenpeace Russia has 5 thousand supporters who share our values and donate to our work. Our activists use their skills and experience to participate in our campaigns. Together we can save our planet for future generations!

A Greenpeace office in our country was established in 1989 and since 1992 we call ourselves / were given a name of Greenpeace Russia. In 2001 our branch was opened in Saint Petersburg.

УСТАВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЙ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ «МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ СОЮЗ»

Устав утвержден Учредительной конференцией Социально-экологического союза «26» декабря 1988 года.

1. Общие положения

1.1. Международная общественная организация «Международный Социально-экологический союз» (МСоЭС) – Social Ecological Union International (SEU) (в дальнейшем именуемый Союз) является экологическим некоммерческим

общественным объединением (организацией) граждан и их объединений, деятельность которых направлена на достижение гармонии между обществом и природой, на сохранение и восстановление природной и культурной среды, против акций и тенденций, ведущих к разрушению природных и духовных ценностей, здоровья людей.

1.2. Союз распространяет свою деятельность на территории Российской Федерации и других государств, где имеются его структурные подразделения, созданные в установленном законом порядке. Статус Союза международный.

1.3. Союз в своей деятельности руководствуется Конституцией и законами Российской Федерации, нормами международного права, законодательством зарубежных государств, настоящим Уставом.

1.4. Союз осуществляет свою деятельность на основе принципов добровольности, равноправия, гласности, самоуправления и законности.

1.5. Местонахождение Совета Союза – г. Москва.

2. Цели и задачи Социально-экологического союза

2.1. Цель Союза – объединение интеллектуального потенциала, материальных и финансовых средств, организационных возможностей членов Союза во имя защиты природы Земли и населяющих ее живых существ, для сохранения и восстановления природного и культурного наследия человечества, физического и духовного здоровья людей, обеспечения экологической безопасности и устойчивого развития.

2.2. Задачи Союза:

- формирование экологического мировоззрения, пропаганда знаний о состоянии природной и культурной среды, опыте и принципах деятельности по предотвращению экологических кризисов локального и глобального масштаба;
- развитие экологической гласности, обеспечение населения информацией о состоянии природной среды и здоровье населения;
- содействие предотвращению деятельности, угрожающей экологической безопасности, здоровью людей, сохранению биологического разнообразия и условий для устойчивого развития общества;
- оказание всемерного содействия гражданам и их объединениям, а также государствам, в деятельности по сохранению и восстановлению природного и культурного наследия, оздоровлению окружающей среды, обеспечению экологической безопасности и устойчивого развития;
- организация общественного экологического контроля и экологического мониторинга за состоянием окружающей среды, природных и культурных ценностей и объектов, а также здоровья населения;
- организация общественного экологического контроля за соблюдением законодательства в области природопользования, обеспечения экологической безопасности, охраны природы и культурных ценностей и объектов, прав и здоровья населения;

- содействие совершенствованию действующего природоохранного законодательства и оказание всемерного содействия государственным органам в борьбе с его нарушениями;
- содействие внедрению энерго- и ресурсосберегающих и экологических техники и технологий во всех отраслях хозяйственной деятельности;
- содействие обеспечению охраны, восстановления и рационального использования природной среды и природных ресурсов.

7.2. Союз в лице Совета Союза, в соответствии с действующим законодательством, и в установленном законом порядке имеет право:

- защищать законные права и интересы своих членов и других граждан при нарушении законодательства об охране окружающей природной среды;
- требовать в административном или судебном порядке отмены решений о размещении, строительстве, эксплуатации экологически вредных объектов, ограничении, приостановлении, прекращении или перепрофилировании их деятельности;
- предъявлять в судах иски о возмещении вреда здоровью и имуществу граждан, причиненного экологическими правонарушениями;
- представлять в судах по делам о защите законных прав и интересов граждан;
- представлять в судах по делам о защите природных и культурных объектов, окружающей природной среды, о взыскании нанесенного им ущерба от имени пострадавших;

- организовывать и проводить общественные экологические экспертизы и общественные экологические слушания;
- в целях выполнения уставных задач вести любую не запрещенную законодательством предпринимательскую деятельность, создавать хозяйственные организации, обладающие правами юридического лица;
- иметь в собственности необходимые для обеспечения деятельности, предусмотренной уставом, земельные участки, здания, строения, сооружения, жилищный фонд, транспорт, оборудование, инвентарь, имущество культурно-просветительного и оздоровительного назначения, денежные средства, акции, другие ценные бумаги и иное имущество;
- учреждать средства массовой информации и осуществлять издательскую деятельность;
- объявлять конкурсы, организовывать и проводить собрания, митинги, демонстрации, симпозиумы, семинары, конференции, выставки, организовывать аукционы в рамках задач, предусмотренных Уставом, и в соответствии с действующим законодательством;
- создавать и принимать участие в создании необходимых для выполнения уставных задач Союза некоммерческих организаций, в том числе экологических и благотворительных фондов и общественных инспекций;
- заключать договоры, вытекающие из хозяйственной деятельности Союза, а также совершать любые гражданско-правовые сделки в установленном законом порядке;
- осуществлять иную деятельность, не противоречащую действующему законодательству.

QUESTIONS ON COMPREHENSION AND FOR DISCUSSION

1. The preamble of *The Earth Charter* begins with the sentence: “*We stand at a critical moment in Earth’s history, a time when humanity must choose its future.*”
1. What could support it?
2. What are the most significant points of The Earth Charter?
3. Expand on the following: “*Earth, our home, is alive with a unique community of life*”.
4. What is the pathos of the idea: “*The protection of Earth’s vitality, diversity and beauty is a sacred trust*”?
5. What are the challenges ahead?
6. And how to promote a culture of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace?
7. What is Paris Agreement? How many countries have signed it?
8. What is American view and position on it? What made D. Trump denounce the Agreement?
9. Why is it so important to hold the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2° C above pre-industrial levels?
10. What is the role of international ecological organizations?

PART II. SCIENTIFIC PAPERS

THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Einar Haugen

Most language descriptions are prefaced by a brief and perfunctory statement concerning the number and location of its speakers and something of their history. Rarely does such a description really tell the reader what he ought to know about the social status and function of the language in question. Linguists have generally been too eager to get on with the phonology, grammar, and lexicon to pay more than superficial attention to what I would like to call the 'ecology of language.' I believe we could profit from paying special attention to this aspect, which has been explored in some depth in recent years by linguists working in cooperation with anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and psychologists. Most linguists have been willing to leave the field to the non-linguistic social scientists, but I believe that there is a strong linguistic component in language ecology.

Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment. The definition of environment might lead one's thoughts first of all to the referential world to which language provides an index. However, this is the environment not of the language but of its lexicon and grammar. The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological:

its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others.

In writings of the nineteenth century it was common to speak of the 'life of languages,' because the biological model came easily to a generation that had newly discovered evolution. Languages were born and died, like living organisms. They had their life spans, they grew and changed like men and animals, they had their little ills which could be cured by appropriate remedies prescribed by good grammarians. New species evolved in the course of their 'progress,' often as a result of competition which ensured the survival of the fittest. Others looked on language change as a degeneration from the perfection of a classical paradise, which in an imperfect world could only be partially restored by eternal vigilance on the part of the guardians of good taste. I need hardly document the titles in which such metaphors are contained; they are familiar to all of us.

Today the biological model is not popular among linguists. It was clearly a metaphor only, which brought out certain analogues between languages and biological organisms, but could not be pushed too far. Any conclusions drawn about language from this model were patently false: a language does not breathe; it has no life of its own apart from those who use it; and it has none of the tangible qualities of such organisms.

Other metaphors have replaced the biological one, generally in response to the strong constructive aspect of our industrial civilization. Language is called a 'tool' or an 'instrument of communication,' by which it is compared to a hammer or a wheelbarrow or a computer, each of which serves as a means to achieve a human goal that might be difficult or impossible to achieve without it. But unlike these it has usually not been deliberately constructed. It cannot be taken apart and put together again, or

tinkered with to improve its efficiency: to overlook this is to fall into the trap of calling for greater ‘efficiency’ in language. Even the term ‘structure’ as used in linguistic description is misleading, since it builds on the notion of language as an organized entity in which (as Meillet put it) every part depends on every other. It should be, but is not always clear that when we speak of the ‘structure’ of French, we are speaking of something quite different from, say, the structure of the Eiffel Tower.

Even if we reject the biological, the instrumental, or the structural metaphors, we recognize the heuristic value of such fictions. Languages do have *life*, *purpose*, and *form*, each of which can be studied and analyzed as soon as we strip them of their metaphorical or mystical content and look upon them as aspects of human behavior. We recognize that behavior is always dual: it is outward action, performance, but it is also inward potential, competence, which we infer from the performance and in turn use to explain the performance. There is consequently no reason to ask whether language is an *ergon*, a product, or an *energeia*, an activity. It is both: we study it in performance, but the generalizations we draw from the performance constitute the competence. It appears as action, like all behavior, but it exists in the mind as a potential, which can be treated as a thing, a thing that implies the possibility of action.

In this paper I propose to treat the ‘life’ of language in the spirit which I take to be that of the science of ecology. The term grew up as the name for a branch of biology and may be defined as ‘that branch of biology that embraces the interrelations between plants and animals and their complete environments’. Sociologists have extended the meaning of the term to the interrelations between human societies and their environments, e.g. in A. H. Hawley, *Human Ecology* (1950). Language ecology would be a natural extension of this kind of study and has long been pursued under such

names as psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language. Linguists have been concerned with it in their work on language change and variability, on language contact and bilingualism, and on standardization. In the United States recent work has been associated above all with the names of Uriel Weinreich, Charles A. Ferguson, William A. Stewart, William Labov, John Gumperz, Joshua Fishman, Dell Hymes, Joan Rubin, and Edgar Polome, to mention only a few.

The only previous use of 'ecology' in relation to languages, which was unknown to me when I first prepared this paper, is that made by the Voegelins and Noel W. Schutz, Jr. in a paper entitled 'The Language Situation in Arizona as Part of the Southwest Culture Area' (1967). The long-time concern of Carl Voegelin with problems of this kind is well-known. Being in a position astraddle the fields of anthropology and linguistics, it was natural for him to initiate the use of the term in dealing with the complex interrelationships of the languages of the American Southwest. He restricts the term to bilingual or trilingual societies, but in a later paper the Voegelins speak of an 'intra-language' as well as an 'inter-language' ecology. They suggest that 'in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area, not with selective attention to a few languages but with comprehensive attention to all the languages in the area.' While this is true, the choice of region can be fairly arbitrary, as in the case of the American Southwest; one can equally well speak of the ecology of a particular language or dialect, seeing the problem from the point of view of its users.

The importance of having competent linguists working on topics of this kind is evident when we turn to the now fifty-year-old tradition of research in human ecology. It is rather shocking to find that most writers in this field failed to consider language as part of this environment. Pioneers in the field like Park, Burgess, McKenzie,

and Hawley concentrated on the American metropolis with its phenomenal spatial growth. In the spirit of Darwin they studied the 'struggle for existence' in this environment, and only later realized that a person's membership in an ethnic group (with its own language) might be a factor in his ecological behavior (Hollingshead 1947). A classical study in this new spirit was Everett C. Hughes' *French Canada in Transition* (1943); similar studies of ethnic groups in the United States brought out the importance of shared values in determining spatial distribution (Theodorson 1961). Very few, however, made it clear that the possession of a common language might be one of the shared values in question. Since the rise of a sociolinguistic school in the 1960s the role of language cannot be as totally neglected as before. In 1964-5, Charles Ferguson brought together in the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Sociolinguistics sociologists like Everett Hughes and linguists like the present writer. There we were confronted with a younger generation of scholars from various disciplines like Susan Ervin-Tripp, Joshua Fishman, Dell Hymes and John Gumperz, to mention only a few. This proved to be a meeting of like-minded people who had previously been working in disparate areas.

The name of the field is of little importance, but it seems to me that the term 'ecology of language' covers a broad range of interests within which linguists can cooperate significantly with all kinds of social scientists towards an understanding of the interaction of languages and their users. One may even venture to suggest that ecology is not just the name of a descriptive science, but in its application has become the banner of a movement for environmental sanitation. The term could include also in its application to language some interest in the general concern among laymen over the cultivation and preservation of language. Ecology suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the

descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic. What will be, or should be, for example, the role of ‘small’ languages; and how can they or any other language be made ‘better,’ ‘richer,’ and more ‘fruitful’ for mankind?

We cannot here enter upon all the possible aspects of the ecological problems of language. We shall have to take for granted certain familiar principles of the learning and use of languages: that a child internalizes whatever language variety or varieties it is functionally exposed to in the first years of its life; that the competence it acquires is different from that of every other child; that it has a greater passive than active competence, being able to receive and interpret signals which it would not normally be able to reproduce; that maturation leads to certain restrictions on the adult’s ability or willingness to learn new languages; and that societies are so organized as to impose other, more or less arbitrary restrictions on the actual learning of language, by the reduction of contact from a theoretical infinity to a practical minimum.

Among the factors that recur in many parts of the world and are probably universal are the partially independent factors of *status* and *intimacy*. We here use *status* to mean association with power and influence in the social group. While status may be ordered on one or several scales, in dealing with two varieties we may speak of one as having [+ status], the other as [- status]. This marks the fact that the plus status variety (H) is used by the government, in the schools, by persons of high social and economic rank, or by city-dwellers, while the minus status variety (L) is not used by one or all of these groups. *Intimacy* is used here in the sense of being associated with solidarity, shared values, friendship, love, in short the contacts established through common family and group life. Certain forms of address and behavior are appropriate between interlocutors having high intimacy which would be resented or misunderstood between strangers. Again

we are dealing with a continuum, which would be segmented differently in different cultures, but in most cases it is not difficult to locate languages varieties along a scale of [+ intimacy] and [- intimacy].

As shown by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Ford (1961), the use of pronouns of address in European languages and of last names in American English are describable in terms of these two factors. While Rubin (1968a) found that she could not use the same two dimensions in ordering the use of Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay, she did find that these factors were strongly present in the situations she investigated. Her detailed questionnaire concerning such situations brought out the importance of a series of choices made by potential interlocutors; these were (1) *location* (rural: Guarani, urban: both); (2) *formality* (formal: Spanish, informality: both); (3) *intimacy* (intimate: Guarani, non-intimate: both); From this series one must, however, extract a factor to which she refers, which is fundamental in language choice: expectation (or knowledge) of the interlocutor's linguistic potential. Her question 21 asked which language one would speak to 'a woman in a long skirt smoking a big black cigar.' It is not surprising that 39 of 40 answered Guarani, since only a rural woman would appear in this situation and rural speakers are by definition speakers of Guarani. The factor of *location* must therefore be discounted as being non-bilingual in the case of rural Paraguayan: he speaks Guarani primarily because it is the only language in which he feels at ease or even capable of communicating at all.

The remaining factors clearly fall into the dimensions of *status* and *intimacy*: Spanish is [+ status], while Guarani is [+ intimate], and for many speakers these are mutually exclusive. Paraguayans, we are told, use Guarani abroad to emphasize their solidarity, even if they might use Spanish at home (Rubin 1968b:523). Abroad, the status relation among them is suspended, and solidarity grows in a hostile

environment. Even, at home, we learn that growing intimacy in courtship leads to the use of Guarani for saying ‘something which is sweeter’ and in non-serious situations as well, because jokes are more humorous’ in Guarani.

There is no reason to see anything unique in the Paraguayan situation, except insofar as every situation is historically unique. I have myself observed at first hand the identical factors at work among Norwegian immigrants in America and have reported on them in detail (Haugen 1953). The same scale of status relationships applies to English among Norwegians in America as well as to Spanish among the Guarani. The initial consideration is of course communicative potential: there is no use speaking English to a monolingual Norwegian or vice versa. But even within the bilingual group there is a clear differentiation between topics, occasions, and persons which lead to the status use of English and those in which intimacy leads to the use of Norwegian. Stewart (1962) has reported a similar set of attitudes among the Creole languages in the Caribbean, which force a choice of either standard or Creole according to the dimensions of status (which he calls ‘public-formal’) and intimacy (‘private-informal’). Among his examples of the former are ‘official governmental activities, legal procedures, academic and other formal educational activities, public speaking, the programmed part of radio and television broadcasts, and ceremonies of introduction between strangers’ (1962). The last is an example of [– intimacy], while all the rest are examples of [+ status], as these are determined by the power structure of the countries involved.

There is in this respect no difference between the standard-Creole relationships of the Caribbean and the standard-dialect relationships of Europe. Moreover, the many types of diglossia and bilingualism induced by the conquest of one language group by

another or the immigration of one group into the territory dominated by another are of the same nature. What does differ is the degree of language distance between the dominant and the dominated varieties, what one may call their *autonomy*. In some cases, e.g. in Jamaica, there may be a continuous scale, while in others, e.g. in Haiti, there may be a clear break, even where the varieties are related. The cleavage is even greater where the languages are unrelated, as with Breton or Basque against French. The extremity of [+ status] is the case in which a population (or a small segment of the population) imposes on itself a language used almost exclusively in written form and transmitted only through the school system, either for reasons of religious and cultural unity and continuity, or for purposes of wider scientific and international communication. This second language may be the standard of another country (as when the Flemish accept Dutch or the Swiss accept German); it may be a unifying religious language (Biblical Hebrew for the Jews or Classical Arabic for the Arabs); or it may be simply an archaic version of one's own language, adopted for reasons of cultural continuity, i.e. communication with the past (Katharevousa in Greece).

From the point of view of the language learner, these situations represent varying burdens of second language learning. If we assume that his infancy is blessed with a single vernacular used for all purposes, he may either grow up in a society which permits him merely to add range and depth to his vernacular as he matures; or he may grow up in a society which asks him to continue learning new grammars and lexica or even to unlearn almost completely the one he learned first. Whatever vernacular he learned first, if he continues to use it, is likely to remain the language of *intimacy*. With minor additions in the form of a writing system and an expanded vocabulary, it may also become a *status* language which he can use in all possible life situations, with minor variations to express

degrees of status or degrees of intimacy. In most European countries this would only be true for children born in upperclass families, where the spoken form of the standard is established as a vernacular. It is generally true for middle and upper-class Americans, born into educated families of white, Anglo-Saxon background. As things now stand, it is not true in most of the countries of the world, where children face a status ladder that increasingly removes them from their language of intimacy.

Various interesting attempts have been made to establish a universal scheme of ecological classification of languages. Ferguson (1959) characterized the situation he called *diglossia* as having a high (H) and a low (L) variety of the same language. His examples of L were Swiss German, Dhimotiki Greek, Spoken Arabic, and Haitian Creole. These were a rather mixed bag, because Swiss German is a prideful symbol of Swiss nationality, and Dhimotiki is the literary medium of radical Greek writers, while Spoken Arabic and Haitian Creole appear to be looked upon with disdain by most of their users. However, they all illustrate the situation of inverse correlation between *status* and *intimacy*, already discussed. The special claim made, that no one speaks the H languages in daily, informal life, even among cultivated families, neglects the fact that models are available elsewhere for both German and French, well-known to the educated classes. In any case, the general relation of H to L, with overlapping due to the fact that status and intimacy are not direct contrasts (*status* differences can exist among intimates, and *intimacy* differences among status bearers), is not only characteristic of all standard-dialect relations, but also of vernacular-classic relations (e.g. Yiddish vs. Hebrew, as pointed out by Fishman 1967). H then becomes a shorthand expression for *high status / low intimacy* varieties in contrast with L for *low status / high intimacy* varieties.

Ferguson (1962) has also characterized the state of the languages themselves in terms of two parameters, *writing* and *standardization*. Writing is given three index numbers (W⁰ W1 W2) for ‘normally not written,’ ‘normally written,’ and ‘used in physical science.’ ‘Normal’ use includes the production of letters, newspapers, and original books. Standardization is similarly given three index numbers (St0 St1 St2) for ‘no important standardization,’ ‘conflicting standards,’ and ‘ideal standardization,’ the last being ‘a single, widely accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications’ (Ferguson 1962). Most of the world’s languages fall into the categories W⁰ and St⁰; in fact, we may regard this as the ‘normal’ state of a language. Writing and standardization are imposed by governments, schools, and churches, *inter alia*, and very few people speak ‘according to the book.’ Even though the countrymen of Dalecarlia, Jutland, Bavaria, or Sicily understand the respective standards of their countries, they do not often speak them except as status, non-intimate languages, if at all.

Another useful attempt to classify the possible situations of a language is that of William Stewart (1968). He assigns four attributes to a language: (1) standardization; (2) autonomy; (3) historicity; (4) vitality. Each of these is then taken as an either/or quality (plus / minus) and seven types are distinguished: Standard (plus 1-4), Classical (plus 1-3), Artificial (plus 1-2), Vernacular (plus 2-4), Dialect (plus 3-4), Creole (plus 4), Pidgin (all minus). The classification is useful for some purposes, such as making a compact sociolinguistic profile of a given region, particularly when supplemented with specifications for functions (of which Stewart lists ten) and degrees of use (in terms of percentage of the national population).

The real problem is that the four attributes are not independent of one another: *autonomy* (as German vs. Dutch) is dependent on

separate *standardizations*. Vernaculars are distinguished from dialects by having *autonomy* and both are distinguished from Creoles by having *historicity*. Since all three types function as first languages in their communities and lack the prestige that comes from standardization, it is hard to see just what synchronic importance the differences have. Classical and artificial languages are distinguished from standard ones by lacking *vitality* (i.e. native speakers); but most standards also have few native speakers, while classical languages like Hebrew have become vital in Israel and an artificial language like New Norwegian now claims both *historicity* and *vitality*.

Another weakness of this classification is its exclusion of linguistic overlap among speakers. It is of less interest to know that ten percent of the speakers in a country use a language than to know whether they also use other languages and under which circumstances. It is important also to know whether their bilingualism is stable or transitional, i.e. what the trend in language learning is within the group of speakers. A typical profile of a speech community (A) in contact with another (B) is that A, if it is dominated by B, may change from monolingual A to bilingual Ab (A dominant, B subordinate), AB (A and B equal), aB (A subordinate, B dominant), and finally to monolingual B. These three types of bilingualism may be described as supplementary (Ab: in which B is only an occasional *Hilfssprache* for specific purposes), *complementary* (AB: in which the two alternate according to important functions in the speakers' lives), and *replative* (aB: in which A has become only a language used with older people while B fulfills all the important functions). Another set of terms might be *inceptive*, *functional*, and *residual*, when these three types are seen as historically ordered in a transitional bilingualism. But of course each one of them can also be stable, if there is no incentive or possibility for change of group membership through learning language B.

The analysis of ecology requires not only that one describe the social and psychological situation of each language, but also the effect of this situation on the language itself. As a starter it will be necessary to indicate the languages from which influence presently flows, as reflected in the *importations* and *substitutions* now being created in each. This is usually obvious enough, since current creations are often the subject of discussion and even controversy. A fuller account would require some description of the composition of the total vocabulary from this point of view. For English, for example, it involves recognition of the existence of at least two structural layers, the Germanic and the non-Germanic, mostly Mediterranean (French, Latin, Greek, Italian). Historically this means that at certain periods in the life of each language, influential men have learned certain languages and have enriched (or in the opinion of some, corrupted) their languages by modeling their expression on that of certain teacher languages. Similarly, Finnish and Hungarian have been ‘Indo-Europeanized’ by borrowing from their West European neighbors.

The whole notion of *borrowing*, however, is open to grave objection, and we may say that the so-called ‘cultural’ loans are only islands in a sea of interrelationships among languages. The concept of a language as a rigid, monolithic structure is false, even if it has proved to be a useful fiction in the development of linguistics. It is the kind of simplification that is necessary at a certain stage of a science, but which can now be replaced by more sophisticated models. We are all familiar with certain specific situations of linguistic symbiosis, in which language systems are stretched almost out of recognition. One is that which is known as a ‘foreign accent’: in effect this means that one can speak a language with an entirely foreign sound system. A study of ‘Marathi English’ by Ashok Kelkar (1957) has shown that speakers of Marathi have their own well-

established dialect of English, using the Marathi sound system which may even make it difficult for native English speakers to understand. We may call such a dialect a 'substratum' or 'contactual' dialect. Then there is what may be called 'learner's dialect,' in which language learners struggle their way from one language into another, replacing not only the sound system, but also the grammar with novel creations unforeseen by native speakers. In stable bilingual communities there is a further accommodation between symbiotic languages, such that they cease to reflect distinct cultural worlds: their sentences approach a word-for-word translatability, which is rare among really autonomous languages. I have observed this process in immigrant American communities first hand (Haugen 1956:65). The result was an immigrant language in which nearly every concept was American, so that either a *loanword* or a semantic *loanshift* had aligned the modes of expression under the pattern of the dominant language. Gumperz (1967) has made similar observations from India, in areas where informal standards of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages have lived in centuries of symbiosis.

The key to this development is the possibility of *switching* or *alternation* among languages. Psychologists have been deeply interested in the problem of how languages are stored, whether as separate entities or as a single store of concepts to which words are attached. It does not appear that either of these possibilities is entirely true to the facts. Rather one can say that each item stored is somehow tagged as belonging to one or the other language and is called up by a common switching device that blocks out the items not so tagged. However, the similarity between items in different languages leads to confusion: the tags fall off, and the items become available in both languages. This reduces the speaker's effort in switching, and in time it leads to the homogenization of the two languages. Such a reduction of difference goes on all the time

between mutually comprehensible languages and dialects. But it also goes on between mutually unintelligible languages wherever there are bilingual speakers who are required to alternate between them. Their systems quickly become *intermediate systems* (or as Nemser, 1969, has called them, *approximative systems*) between the ‘pure’ forms of their languages, the latter being those that are maintained either by monolingual populations or by rigid regulation. However, even the pure systems are intermediate between the past and the future of their own language and intermediate between their neighbors on all sides. They just happened to get frozen for a time, either by governmental or by literary fiat.

For any given ‘language,’ then, we should want to have answers to the following ecological questions: (1) What is its *classification* in relation to other languages? This answer would be given by historical and descriptive *linguists*; (2) Who are its *users*’? This is a question of *linguistic demography*, locating its users with respect to locale, class, religion or any other relevant grouping; (3) What are its *domains* of use? This is a question of *sociolinguistics*, discovering whether its use is unrestricted or limited in specific ways; (4) What *concurrent languages* are employed by its users? We may call this a problem of *dialinguistics*, to identify the degree of bilingualism present and the degree of overlap among the languages; (5) What *internal varieties* does the language show? This is the task of a *dialectology* that will recognize not only regional, but also social and contactual dialects; (6) What is the nature of its *written traditions*’? This is the province of *philology*, the study of written texts and their relationship to speech; (7) To what degree has its written form been *standardized*, i.e. unified and codified? This is the province of prescriptive linguistics, the traditional grammarians and lexicographers; (8) What kind of *institutional support* has it won, either in government, education, or private organizations, either to

regulate its form or propagate it? We may call this study *glottopolitics*; (9) What are the *attitudes of* its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification? We may call this the field of *ethnolinguistics*; (10) Finally we may wish to sum up its status in a *typology of ecological* classification, which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with the other languages of the world.

LANGUAGE AND ENVIRONMENT

Edward Sapir

There is a strong tendency to ascribe many elements of human culture to the influence of the environment in which the sharers of that culture are placed, some even taking the extreme position of reducing practically all manifestations of human life and thought to environmental influences: I shall not attempt to argue for or against the importance of the influence had by forces of environment on traits of culture, nor shall I attempt to show in how far the influence of environment is crossed by that of other factors. To explain any one trait of human culture as due solely to the force of physical environment, however, seems to me to rest on a fallacy. Properly speaking, environment can act directly only on an individual, and in those cases where we find that a purely environmental influence is responsible for a communal trait, this common trait must be interpreted as a summation of distinct processes of environmental influences on individuals. Such, however, is obviously not the typical form in which we find the forces of environment at work on human groups. In these it is enough that a single individual may react directly to his environment and bring the rest of the group to share consciously or unconsciously in the influence exerted upon him. Whether even a single individual can be truthfully said to be capable

of environmental influence uncombined with influences of another character is doubtful, but we may at least assume the possibility. The important point remains that in actual society even the simplest environmental influence is either supported or transformed by social forces. Hence any attempt to consider even the simplest element of culture as due solely to the influence of environment must be termed misleading. The social forces which thus transform the purely environmental influences may themselves be looked upon as environmental in character in so far as a given individual is placed in, and therefore reacts to, a set of social factors. On the other hand, the social forces may be looked upon, somewhat metaphorically, as parallel in their influence to those of heredity in so far as they are handed down from generation to generation. That these traditional social forces are themselves subject to environmental, among other, changes, illustrates the complexity of the problem of cultural origins and development. On the whole one does better to employ the term 'environment' only when reference is had to such influences, chiefly physical in character, as lie outside the will of man. Yet in speaking of language, which may be considered a complex of symbols reflecting the whole physical and social background in which a group of men is placed, it is advantageous to comprise within the term environment both physical and social factors. Under physical environment are comprised geographical characters such as the topography of the country (whether coast, valley, plain, plateau, or mountain), climate, and amount of rainfall, and what may be called the economic basis of human life, under which term are comprised the fauna, flora, and mineral resources of the region. Under social environment are comprised the various forces of society that mold the life and thought of each individual. Among the more important of these social forces are religion, ethical standards, form of political organization, and art.

According to this classification of environmental influences, we may expect to find two sets of environmental factors reflected in language, assuming for the moment that language is materially influenced by the environmental background of its speakers. Properly speaking, of course, the physical environment is reflected in language only in so far as it has been influenced by social factors. The mere existence, for instance, of a certain type of animal in the physical environment of a people does not suffice to give rise to a linguistic symbol referring to it. It is necessary that the animal be known by the members of the group in common and that they have some interest, however slight, in it before the language of the community is called upon to make reference to this particular element of the physical environment. In other words, so far as language is concerned, all environmental influence reduces at last analysis to the influence of social environment. Nevertheless it is practical to keep apart such social influences as proceed more or less directly from the physical environment, and those that cannot be easily connected with it. Language may be influenced in one of three ways: in regard to its subject matter or content, i.e. in regard to the vocabulary; in regard to its phonetic system, i.e. the system of sounds with which it operates in the building of words; and in regard to its grammatical form, i.e. in regard to the formal processes and the logical or psychological classifications made use of in speech. Morphology, or the formal structure of words, and syntax, or the methods employed in combining words into larger units or sentences, are the two main aspects of grammatical form.

It is the vocabulary of a language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers. The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community, and were such a complete thesaurus of

the language of a given tribe at our disposal, we might to a large extent infer the character of the physical environment and the characteristics of the culture of the people making use of it. It is not difficult to find examples of languages whose vocabulary thus bears the stamp of the physical environment in which the speakers are placed. This is particularly true of the languages of primitive peoples, for among these culture has not attained such a degree of complexity as to imply practically universal interests. From this point of view the vocabulary of primitive languages may be compared to the vocabularies of particular sections of the population of civilized peoples. The characteristic vocabulary of a coast tribe, such as the Nootka Indians, with its precise terms for many species of marine animals, vertebrate and invertebrate, might be compared to the vocabulary of such European fisher-folk as the Basques of southwestern France and northern Spain. In contrast to such coast peoples may be mentioned the inhabitants of a desert plateau, like the Southern Paiute of Arizona, Nevada, and Utah. In the vocabulary of this tribe we find adequate provision made for many topographical features that would in some cases seem almost too precise to be of practical value. Some of the topographical terms of this language that have been collected are: divide, ledge, sand flat, semicircular valley, circular valley or hollow, spot of level ground in mountains surrounded by ridges, plain valley surrounded by mountains, plain, desert, knoll, plateau, canyon without water, canyon with creek, wash or gutter, gulch, slope of mountain or canyon wall receiving sunlight, shaded slope of mountain or canyon wall, rolling country intersected by several small hill-ridges, and many others.

In the case of the specialized vocabularies of both Nootka and Southern Paiute, it is important to note that it is not merely the fauna or topographical features of the country as such that are reflected, but rather the interest of the people in such environmental features. Were

the Nootka Indians dependent for their food supply primarily on land hunting and vegetable products, despite their proximity to the sea, there is little doubt that their vocabulary would not be as thoroughly saturated as it is with sea lore. Similarly it is quite evident from the presence in Paiute of such topographical terms as have been listed that accurate reference to topography is a necessary thing to dwellers in an inhospitable semi-arid region; so purely practical a need as definitely locating a spring might well require reference to several features of topographical detail. How far the interest in the physical environment rather than its mere presence affects the character of a vocabulary may be made apparent by a converse case in English. One who is not a botanist, or is not particularly interested for purposes of folk medicine or otherwise in plant lore, would not know how to refer to numberless plants that make up part of his environment except merely as 'weeds', whereas an Indian tribe very largely dependent for its food supply on wild roots, seeds of wild plants, and other vegetable products, might have precise terms for each and every one of these nondescript weeds. In many cases distinct terms would even be in use for various conditions of a single plant species, distinct reference being made as to whether it is raw or cooked, or of this or that color, or in this or that stage of growth. In this way special vocabularies having reference to acorns or camass might be collected from various tribes of California or Oregon. Another instructive example of how largely interest determines the character of a vocabulary is afforded by the terms in several Indian languages for sun and moon. While we find it necessary to distinguish sun and moon, not a few tribes content themselves with a single word for both, the exact reference being left to the context. If we complain that so vague a term fails to do justice to an essential natural difference, the Indian might well retaliate by pointing to the *omnium gatherum* character of our term 'weed' as contrasted with

his own more precise plant vocabulary. Everything naturally depends on the point of view as determined by interest. Bearing this in mind, it becomes evident that the presence or absence of general terms is to a large extent dependent on the negative or positive character of the interest in the elements of environment involved. The more necessary a particular culture finds it to make distinctions within a given range of phenomena, the less likely the existence of a general term covering the range. On the other hand, the more indifferent culturally are the elements, the more likely that they will all be embraced in a single term of general application. The case may be summarized, if example can summarize, by saying that to the layman every animal form that is neither human being, quadruped, fish, nor bird, is a bug or worm. To this same type of layman the concept and corresponding word 'mammal' would, for a converse reason, be quite unfamiliar.

There is an obvious difference between words that are merely words, incapable of further analysis, and such words as are so evidently secondary in formation as to yield analysis to even superficial reflection. A lion is merely a lion, but a mountain lion suggests something more than the animal referred to. Where a transparent descriptive term is in use for a simple concept, it seems fair in most cases to conclude that the knowledge of the environmental element referred to is comparatively recent, or at any rate that the present naming has taken place at a comparatively recent time. The destructive agencies of phonetic change would in the long run wear down originally descriptive terms to mere labels or unanalyzable words pure and simple. I speak of this matter here because the transparent or untransparent character of a vocabulary may lead us to infer, if somewhat vaguely, the length of time that a group of people has been familiar with a particular concept. People who speak of lions have evidently been familiar with that animal for

many generations. Those who speak of mountain lions would seem to date their knowledge of these from yesterday. The case is even clearer when we turn to a consideration of place-names. Only the student of language history is able to analyze such names as Essex, Norfolk, and Sutton into their component elements as East Saxon, North Folk, and South Town, while to the lay consciousness these names are etymological units as purely as are 'butter' and 'cheese.' The contrast between a country inhabited by any historically homogeneous group for a long time, full of etymologically obscure place-names, and a newly settled country with its Newtowns, Wildwoods, and Mill Creeks, is apparent. Naturally much depends on the grammatical character of the language itself; such highly synthetic forms of speech as are many American Indian languages seem to lose hold of the descriptive character of their terms less readily than does English, for instance.

We have just seen that the careful study of a vocabulary leads to inferences as to the physical and social environment of those who use the vocabulary; furthermore, that the relatively transparent or untransparent character of the vocabulary itself may lead us to infer as to the degree of familiarity that has been obtained with various elements of this environment. Several students, notably Schrader, in dealing with Indo-Germanic material, have attempted to make a still more ambitious use of the study of vocabularies of related languages. By selecting such words as are held in common by all, or at least several, of a group of genetically related languages, attempts have been made to gather some idea of the vocabulary of the hypothetical language of which the forms of speech investigated are later varieties, and in this way to get some idea of the range of concepts possessed by the speakers of the reconstructed language. We are here dealing with a kind of linguistic archeology. Undoubtedly many students of Indo-Germanic linguistics have

gone altogether too far in their attempts to reconstruct culture from comparative linguistic evidence, but the value of evidence obtained in this way cannot be summarily denied, even granted that words may linger on long after their original significance has changed. The only pity is that in comparing languages that have diverged very considerably from each other, and the reconstructed prototype of which must therefore point to a remote past, too little material bearing on the most interesting phases of culture can generally be obtained. We do not need extended linguistic comparison to convince us that at a remote period in the past people had hands and fathers, though it would be interesting to discover whether they knew of the use of salt, for instance. Naturally the possibility of secondary borrowing of a word apparently held in common must always be borne in mind. Yet, on the whole, adequate knowledge of the phonology and morphology of the languages concerned will generally enable a careful analyst to keep apart the native from the borrowed elements. There has been too little comparative linguistic work done in America as yet to enable one to point to any considerable body of tangible results of cultural interest derived from such study, yet there is little doubt that with more intensive study such results will be forthcoming in greater degree.

If the characteristic physical environment of a people is to a large extent reflected in its language, this is true to an even greater extent of its social environment. A large number, if not most, of the elements that make up a physical environment are found universally distributed in time and place, so that there are natural limits set to the variability of lexical materials in so far as they give expression to concepts derived from the physical world. A culture, however, develops in numberless ways and may reach any degree of complexity. Hence we need not be surprised to find that the vocabularies of peoples that differ widely in character or degree of

culture share this wide difference. There is a difference between the rich, conceptually ramified vocabulary of a language like English or French and that of any typical primitive group corresponding in large measure to that which obtains between the complex culture of the English-speaking or French-speaking peoples of Europe and America with its vast array of specialized interests, and the relatively simple undifferentiated culture of the primitive group. Such variability of vocabulary, as reflecting social environment, obtains in time as well as place; in other words, the stock of culture concepts and therefore also the corresponding vocabulary become constantly enriched and ramified with the increase within a group of cultural complexity. That a vocabulary should thus to a great degree reflect cultural complexity is practically selfevident, for a vocabulary, that is, the subject matter of a language, aims at any given time to serve as a set of symbols referring to the culture background of the group. If by complexity of language is meant the range of interests implied in its vocabulary, it goes without saying that there is a constant correlation between complexity of language and culture. If, however, as is more usual, linguistic complexity be used to refer to degree of morphologic and syntactic development, it is by no means true that such a correlation exists. In fact, one might almost make a case for an inverse correlation and maintain that morphologic development tends to decrease with increase of cultural complexity. Examples of this tendency are so easy to find that it is hardly worth our while going into the matter here. It need merely be pointed out that the history of English and French shows a constant loss in elaborateness of grammatical structure from their earliest recorded forms to the present. On the other hand, too much must not be made of this. The existence of numerous relatively simple forms of speech among primitive peoples discourages the idea of any tangible correlation between degree or form of culture and form of speech.

Is there, then, no element of language but its mere concrete subject matter or vocabulary that can be shown to have any relation to the physical and social environment of the speakers? It has sometimes been claimed that the general character of the phonetic system of a language is more or less dependent on physical environment, that such communities as dwell in mountainous regions or under other conditions tending to make the struggle for existence a difficult one develop acoustically harsh forms of speech, while such as are better favored by nature make use of relatively softer phonetic systems. Such a theory is as easily disproved as it seems plausible. It is no doubt true that examples may be adduced of harsh phonetic systems in use among mountaineers, as for instance those of various languages spoken in the Caucasus; nor is it difficult to find instances of acoustically pleasant forms of speech in use among groups that are subjected to a favorable physical environment. It is just as easy, however, to adduce instances to the contrary of both of these. The aboriginal inhabitants of the Northwest Coast of America found subsistence relatively easy in a country abounding in many forms of edible marine life; nor can they be said to have been subjected to rigorous climatic conditions; yet in phonetic harshness their languages rival those of the Caucasus. On the other hand, perhaps no people has ever been subjected to a more forbidding physical environment than the Eskimos, yet the Eskimo language not only impresses one as possessed of a relatively agreeable phonetic system when compared with the languages of the Northwest Coast, but may even perhaps be thought to compare favorably with American Indian languages generally. There are many cases, to be sure, of distinct languages with comparable phonetic systems spoken over a continuous territory of fairly uniform physical characteristics, yet in all such cases it can readily be shown that we are dealing not with the direct influence of the environment itself, but with psychological

factors of a much subtler character, comparable perhaps to such as operate in the diffusion of cultural elements. Thus the phonetic systems of Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, and Salish are not similar because belonging to languages whose speakers are placed in about the same set of environmental conditions, but merely because these speakers are geographically contiguous to each other and hence capable of exerting mutual psychological influence.

Leaving these general considerations on the lack of correlation between physical environment and a phonetic system as a whole, we may point to several striking instances, on the one hand of phonetic resemblances between languages spoken by groups living in widely different environments and belonging to widely different cultural strata; on the other hand, of no less striking phonetic differences that obtain between languages spoken in adjoining regions of identical or similar environment and sharing in the same culture. These examples will serve to emphasize the point already made. The use of pitch accent as a significant element of speech is found in Chinese and neighboring languages of southeastern Asia, Ewe and other languages of western Africa, Hottentot in South Africa, Swedish, Tewa in New Mexico, and Takelma in southwestern Oregon. In this set of instances we have illustrated practically the whole gamut of environmental and cultural conditions. Nasalized vowels occur not only in French and Portuguese, but also in Ewe, Iroquois, and Siouan. ‘Fortis’ consonants, i.e. stop consonants pronounced with simultaneous closure and subsequent release of glottal cords, are found not only in many languages of America west of the Rockies, but also in Siouan, and in Georgian and other languages of the Caucasus. Glottal stops as significant elements of speech are found not only plentifully illustrated in many, perhaps most, American Indian languages, but also in Danish and in Lettish, one of the Letto-Slavic languages of Western Russia. So highly peculiar sounds as the

hoarse ha and strangled-sounding ‘ain of Arabic are found in almost identical form in Nootka. And so on indefinitely. On the other hand, while the English and French may, on the whole, be said to be closely related culturally, there are very striking differences in the phonetic systems made use of by each. Turning to aboriginal America, we find that two such closely related groups of tribes, from a cultural standpoint, as the Iroquois and neighboring eastern Algonkins speak widely different languages, both phonetically and morphologically. The Yurok, Karok, and Hupa, all three occupying a small territory in northwestern California, form a most intimate cultural unit. Yet here again we find that the phonetic differences between the languages spoken by these tribes are great, and so on indefinitely again. There seems nothing for it, then, but to postulate an absolute lack of correlation between physical and social environment and phonetic systems, either in their general acoustic aspect or in regard to the distribution of particular phonetic elements.

One feels inclined to attribute a lack of correlation between phonetic system and environment to the comparatively accidental character of a phonetic system in itself; or, to express it somewhat more clearly, to the fact that phonetic systems may be thought to have a quasi-mechanical growth, at no stage subject to conscious reflection and hence not likely in any way to be dependent on environmental conditions, or, if so, only in a remotely indirect manner. Linguistic morphology, on the other hand, as giving evidence of certain definite modes of thought prevalent among the speakers of the language, may be thought to stand in some sort of relation to the stock of concepts forming the mental stock in trade, as it were, of the group. As this stock of concepts, however, is necessarily determined by the physical and social environment, it follows that some sort of correlation between these environments and grammatical structure might be looked for. And yet the negative

evidence is as strong in this case as in the parallel one just disposed of. We may consider the subject matter of morphology as made up of certain logical or psychological categories of thought that receive grammatical treatment and of formal methods of expressing these. The distinct character of these two groups of morphological phenomena may be illustrated by pointing out that neighboring languages may influence, or at any rate resemble, each other in the one set without necessary corresponding influence or resemblance in the other. Thus, the device of reduplication is widespread in American Indian languages, yet the concepts expressed by this method vary widely. Here we deal with a widespread formal device as such. Conversely, the notion of inferential activity, that is, of action, knowledge of which is based on inference rather than personal authority, is also found widely expressed in American languages, but by means of several distinct formal processes. Here we deal with a widespread grammatically utilized category of thought as such.

Now, in rummaging through many languages one finds numerous instances both of striking similarities in the formal processes of morphology and of striking similarities or identities of concepts receiving grammatical treatment, similarities and identities that seem to run in no kind of correspondence to environmental factors. The presence of vocalic changes in verb or noun stems in Indo-Germanic languages, Semitic, Takelma, and Yana may be given as an example of the former. A further example is the presence of the infixation of grammatical elements in the body of a noun or verb stem in Malayan, Mon-Khmer, and Siouan. It will be noticed that despite the very characteristic types of formal processes that I have employed for illustrative purposes they crop up in markedly distinct environments. A striking example, on the other hand, of a category of thought of grammatical significance found irregularly distributed

and covering a wide range of environments is grammatical gender based on sex. This we find illustrated in Indo-Germanic, Semitic, Hottentot of South Africa, and Chinook of the lower Columbia. Other striking examples are the existence of syntactic cases, primarily subjective and objective, in Indo-Germanic, Semitic, and Ute; and the distinction between exclusive and inclusive duality or plurality of the first person found in Kwakiutl, Shoshonean, Iroquois, Hottentot, and Melanesian.

The complementary evidence for such lack of correlation as we have been speaking of is afforded by instances of morphologic differences found in neighboring languages in use among peoples subjected to practically the same set of environmental influences, physical and social. A few pertinent examples will suffice. The Chinook and Salish tribes of the lower Columbia and west coast of Washington form a cultural unit set in a homogeneous physical environment, yet far-reaching morphologic differences obtain between the languages of the two groups of tribes. The Salish languages make a superabundant use of reduplication for various grammatical purposes, whereas in Chinook reduplication, though occurring in a limited sense, has no grammatical significance. On the other hand, the system of sex gender rigidly carried out in the noun and verb system of Chinook is shared by the Coast Salish dialects only in so far as pronominal articles are found to express distinctions of gender, while the interior Salish languages lack even this feature entirely. Perhaps an even more striking instance of radical morphological dissimilarity in neighboring languages of a single culture area is afforded by Yana and Maidu, spoken in north central California. Maidu makes use of a large number of grammatical prefixes and employs reduplication for grammatical purposes to at least some extent. Yana knows nothing of either prefixes or reduplication. On the other hand, Maidu lacks such characteristic

Yana features as the difference in form between the men's and women's language, and the employment of several hundreds of grammatical suffixes, some of them expressing such concrete verbal force as to warrant their being interpreted rather as verb stems in secondary position than as suffixes proper. To turn to the Old World, we find that Hungarian differs from the neighboring Indo-Germanic languages in its lack of sex gender and in its employment of the principle of vocalic harmony, a feature which, though primarily phonetic in character, nevertheless has an important grammatical bearing.

In some respects the establishment of failure of phonetic and morphologic characteristics of a language to stand in any sort of relation to the environment in which it is spoken seems disappointing. Can it be, after all, that the formal groundwork of a language is no indication whatsoever of the cultural complex that it expresses in its subject matter? If we look more sharply, we shall find in certain cases that at least some elements that go to make up a cultural complex are embodied in grammatical form. This is true particularly of synthetic languages operating with a large number of prefixes or suffixes of relatively concrete significance. The use in Kwakiutl and Nootka, for instance, of local suffixes denning activities as taking place on the beach, rocks, or sea, in cases where in most languages it would be far more idiomatic to omit all such reference, evidently points to the nature of the physical environment and economic interests connected therewith among these Indians. Similarly, when we find that such ideas as those of buying, giving a feast of some kind of food, giving a potlatch for some person, and asking for a particular gift at a girl's puberty ceremony, are expressed in Nootka by means of grammatical suffixes, we are led to infer that each of these acts is a highly typical one in the life of the tribe, and hence constitute important elements in its culture. This

type of correlation may be further exemplified by the use in Kwakiutl, Nootka, and Salish of distinct series of numerals for various classes of objects, a feature which is pushed to its greatest length, perhaps, in Tsimshian. This grammatical peculiarity at least suggests definite methods of counting, and would seem to emphasize the concept of property, which we know to be so highly developed among the West Coast Indians. Adopting such comparatively obvious examples as our cue, one might go on indefinitely and seize upon any grammatical peculiarity with a view to interpreting it in terms of culture or physical environment. Thus, one might infer a different social attitude toward woman in those cases where sex gender is made grammatical use of. It needs but this last potential example to show to what flights of fancy this mode of argumentation would lead one. If we examine the more legitimate instances of cultural-grammatical correlation, we shall find that it is not, after all, the grammatical form as such with which we operate, but merely the content of that form; in other words, the correlation turns out to be, at last analysis, merely one of environment and vocabulary, with which we have already become familiar. The main interest morphologically in Nootka suffixes of the class illustrated lies in the fact that certain elements used to verbify nouns are suffixed to noun stems. This is a psychological fact which cannot well be correlated with any fact of culture or physical environment that we know of. The particular manner in which a noun is verbified, or the degree of concreteness of meaning conveyed by the suffix, are matters of relative indifference to a linguist.

We seem, then, perhaps reluctantly, forced to admit that, apart from the reflection of environment in the vocabulary of a language, there is nothing in the language itself that can be shown to be directly associated with environment. One wonders why, if such be the case, so large a number of distinct phonetic systems and types of linguistic

morphology are found in various parts of the world. Perhaps the whole problem of the relation between culture and environment generally, on the one hand, and language, on the other, may be furthered somewhat by a consideration simply of the rate of change or development of both. Linguistic features are necessarily less capable of rising into the consciousness of the speakers than traits of culture. Without here attempting to go into an analysis of this psychological difference between the two sets of phenomena, it would seem to follow that changes in culture are the result, to at least a considerable extent, of conscious processes or of processes more easily made conscious, whereas those of language are to be explained, if explained at all, as due to the more minute action of psychological factors beyond the control of will or reflection. If this be true, and there seems every reason to believe that it is, we must conclude that cultural change and linguistic change do not move along parallel lines and hence do not tend to stand in a close causal relation. This point of view makes it quite legitimate to grant, if necessary, the existence at some primitive stage in the past of a more definite association between environment and linguistic form than can now be posited anywhere, for the different character and rate of change in linguistic and cultural phenomena, conditioned by the very nature of those phenomena, would in the long run very materially disturb and ultimately entirely eliminate such an association.

We may conceive, somewhat schematically, the development of culture and language to have taken place as follows: A primitive group, among whom even the beginnings of culture and language are as yet hardly in evidence, may nevertheless be supposed to behave in accordance with a fairly definite group psychology, determined, we will suppose, partly by race mind, partly by physical environment. On the basis of this group psychology, whatever tendencies it may possess, a language and a culture will slowly develop. As both of

these are directly determined, to begin with, by fundamental factors of race and physical environment, they will parallel each other somewhat closely, so that the forms of cultural activity will be reflected in the grammatical system of the language. In other words, not only will the words themselves of a language serve as symbols of detached cultural elements, as is true of languages at all periods of development, but we may suppose the grammatical categories and processes themselves to symbolize corresponding types of thought and activity of cultural significance. To some extent culture and language may then be conceived of as in a constant state of interaction and definite association for a considerable lapse of time. This state of correlation, however, cannot continue indefinitely. With gradual change of group psychology and physical environment more or less profound changes must be effected in the form and content of both language and culture. Language and culture, however, are obviously not the direct expression of racial psychology and physical environment, but depend for their existence and continuance primarily on the forces of tradition. Hence, despite necessary modifications in either with the lapse of time, a conservative tendency will always make itself felt as a check to those tendencies that make for change. And here we come to the crux of the matter. Cultural elements, as more definitely serving the immediate needs of society and entering more clearly into consciousness, will not only change more rapidly than those of language, but the form itself of culture, giving each element its relative significance, will be continually shaping itself anew. Linguistic elements, on the other hand, while they may and do readily change in themselves, do not so easily lend themselves to regroupings, owing to the subconscious character of grammatical classification. A grammatical system as such tends to persist indefinitely. In other words, the conservative tendency makes itself felt more profoundly in the formal groundwork

of language than in that of culture. One necessary consequence of this is that the forms of language will in course of time cease to symbolize those of culture, and this is our main thesis. Another consequence is that the forms of language may be thought to more accurately reflect those of a remotely past stage of culture than the present ones of culture itself. It is not claimed that a stage is ever reached at which language and culture stand in no sort of relation to each other, but simply that the relative rates of change of the two differ so materially as to make it practically impossible to detect the relationship.

Though the forms of language may not change as rapidly as those of culture, it is doubtless true that an unusual rate of cultural change is accompanied by a corresponding accelerated rate of change in language. If this point of view be pushed to its legitimate conclusion, we must be led to believe that rapidly increasing complexity of culture necessitates correspondingly, though not equally rapid, changes in linguistic form and content. This view is the direct opposite of the one generally held with respect to the greater conservatism of language in civilized communities than among primitive peoples. To be sure, the tendency to rapid linguistic change with increasingly rapid complexity of culture may be checked by one of the most important elements of an advanced culture itself, namely, the use of a secondary set of language symbols necessarily possessing greater conservatism than the primarily spoken set of symbols and exerting a conservative influence on the latter. I refer to the use of writing. In spite of this, however, it seems to me that the apparent paradox that we have arrived at contains a liberal element of truth. I am not inclined to consider it an accident that the rapid development of culture in Western Europe during the last 2,000 years has been synchronous with what seems to be unusually rapid changes in language. Though it is impossible to prove the matter definitely, I

am inclined to doubt whether many languages of primitive peoples have undergone as rapid modification in a corresponding period of time as has the English language.

We have no time at our disposal to go more fully into this purely hypothetical explanation of our failure to bring environment and language into causal relation, but a metaphor may help us to grasp it. Two men start on a journey on condition that each shift for himself, depending on his own resources, yet traveling in the same general direction. For a considerable time the two men, both as yet unwearied, will keep pretty well together. In course of time, however, the varying degrees of physical strength, resourcefulness, ability to orient oneself, and many other factors, will begin to manifest themselves. The actual course traveled by each in reference to the other and to the course originally planned will diverge more and more, while the absolute distance between the two will also tend to become greater and greater. And so with many sets of historic sequences which, at one time causally associated, tend in course of time to diverge.

ECOLINGUISTICS: STATE OF THE ART 1998

Alwin Fill

Introduction

Ecolinguistics began with a metaphor. Einar Haugen, in a talk given in August, 1970, spoke of the ‘interactions between any given language and its environment’ (1972), which he compared to the ecological relations between certain species of animals and plants in and with their environment. A different type of link between language and ecology was established in 1990, when Michael Halliday, speaking at the AILA conference in Thessaloniki, stressed the connection between language on the one hand and growthism, classism and speciesism on the other, admonishing applied linguists

not to ignore the role of their object of study in the growth of environmental problems. These two talks were ‘seminal’ in the sense that they triggered two approaches to ecolinguistics which can be associated with the two authors mentioned:

(1) ‘ecology’ is understood metaphorically and transferred to ‘language(s) in an environment’ (Haugen 1972).

(2) ‘ecology’ is understood in its biological sense; the role of language in the development and aggravation of environmental (and other societal) problems is investigated; linguistic research is advocated as a factor in their possible solution (Halliday 1992).

The two approaches are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. However, since the starting point of work in ecolinguistics is clearly either (1) or (2), it is advisable, for the purposes of this presentation, to separate the two strands of research. It will become clear in the discussion where the interface of the two theories is situated.

1. Ecology as Metaphor

1.1. The Ecology of Language (s)

Haugen’s ecological metaphor enjoyed a remarkable popularity in the 1980s. Evidence for this is the following (incomplete) list of book titles, book chapters and articles in which the word *ecology* or a derivative of it is used in connection with language:

Mackey 1980: ‘The Ecology of Language Shift’

Bolinger 1980: ch. 15 – ‘An Ecology of Language’

Haarmann 1980: (subtitle: *Elemente einer Sprachökologie*)

Denison 1982: ‘A Linguistic Ecology for Europe?’

Finke 1983: part II – ‘Ökologische konstruktive Linguistik’

Enninger and Haynes (eds) 1984: *Studies in Language Ecology*

Hagege 1985, pp. 146 f. ‘ecolinguistique’

Haarmann 1986: *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations*

Fill 1987: (*subtitle: Versuch einer Ökologie der Sprache*)

Trampe 1990: *Ökologische Linguistik*.

In all these publications, biological ecology is transferred in some way or other to language(s); ecological concepts such as ‘environment’, ‘conservation’, ‘interaction’ and ‘language world system’ (transferred from ‘ecosystem’) are used for psycho- and sociolinguistic phenomena with the intention of helping to see these in new perspectives.

In the 1990s, the impetus of Haugen’s metaphor seems to have weakened a little. There are as yet no books entitled ‘Ecology of the South African Languages’ or ‘A Linguistic Ecology of Great Britain’. However, the metaphor continues to be used, particularly in the study of minority languages and of language imperialism in the Pacific region.

The ‘Ecology of Language(s)’ in the Haugenian sense is a study urgently needed at a time when languages are disappearing faster and faster from decade to decade, and one would wish that more linguists were to take it up and embrace the cause of linguistic diversity. The task of investigating, documenting and perhaps saving the many endangered languages on this planet (as attempted by such organizations as TERRALINGUA) would be worth the while of more aspiring newcomers to ecolinguistics.

1.2. Ecological Linguistics

The idea of transferring concepts, principles and methods from biological ecology to the study of language was soon extended by a group of German researchers (most of them from the University of Bielefeld) in an approach called ‘ecological linguistics’ (‘ökologische Sprachwissenschaft’). Perhaps inspired by Niklas Luhmann’s ideas on ‘ecological communication’, Peter Finke (1983,1993,1996) transferred the concept of the ecosystem (first introduced by Tansley in 1935) to language world systems and to

cultural systems like science and language itself. Other scholars such as Wilhelm Trampe and Hans Strohner have followed suit and have used the ecosystem metaphor to show language and language use in its interaction with an 'environment', i.e. the world, and to elucidate the interactive process of (interchange which is going on all the time between language and the world (Trampe 1990).

Ecological linguistics stands in contrast to structural models with which only a language itself, not its environment, can be investigated (Finke 1983). Ecosystems are life systems, and language world systems are systems of experience (ibid.). In this approach, the comparison between biological ecology and language leads to the following critical hypothesis: in the same way as the creativity of life is threatened by our current treatment of nature, the creativity of language is endangered by our present use of it (Finke 1983). Ecological linguistics thus includes a critical study of language and language practice, as carried out for instance by Trampe (1990,1991), who criticizes the language of industrial agriculture with its technoeconomic ideology: the *word production*, for instance, replaces 'growing' and 'giving' and euphemizes the 'taking away' and 'killing' which actually happens.

Trampe's ecological criticism of language is, however, drawn into question by other ecolinguists, who see in it only a form of linguistic conservatism and oldfashioned purism. In particular, the use of environmental terms like *pollution* and *degradation* for processes of language change is criticized as merely a new form of the centuries old complaint about language decay (Jung 1996). The idea of an 'ecological correctness' is rejected by all authors, but the question as to whether ecolinguistics should contain a critique of language and language use or should only lead to greater language awareness remains one of the controversial topics in this field.

More recently, the ecosystem metaphor has been extended from language world systems to cultural systems in general (Finke 1996). The ecology of language has thus been supplemented by a cultural ecology which concerns itself with the evolution of cultural ecosystems from natural ecosystems with language as a kind of 'missing link' in between. For a discussion of this theory the reader is referred to Finke (1996), who also raises the intriguing question to what extent the 'rules of language' are the descendants of the 'rules of nature'.

1.3. Other 'Metaphoric' Approaches

The ecosystem metaphor has also been used (instead of the outdated machine metaphor or the computer metaphor) for cognitive processes going on in the human mind and quite generally for interpersonal communication, whose interactional processes are not satisfactorily explained with the traditional sender- and -receiver metaphor (Strohner 1991, 1996).

The ecological concepts of interaction, interplay and networking are also in evidence in research on such topics as 'language and conflict' (Fill 1993) and 'language, women and men'. They could also be used for research on the origin of language, since they explain the dynamics of many phenomena much better than previous approaches. If ecolinguistic concepts like 'interaction' ('Wechselwirkung') and 'dialectics' replace the old concepts of cause and effect, the artificiality of time-honoured controversies like the following becomes apparent: was the development of language the cause of the lateralization of the brain or its consequence? Was language the cause of certain improvements in the living conditions of human beings (more proteins in foodstuffs etc.), or was it the other way round: improved living conditions caused a more rapid development of the brain and thus made the rise of language possible? A dialectical approach to these topics recognizes the interplay of all factors concerned without asking for an initial cause and thus makes these controversies

superfluous. Finally, ‘ecological’ has also been transferred to linguistics in the sense of ‘transdisciplinary’ and ‘non-exclusive’ (Makkai 1993) or of ‘transcending traditional considerations of economy’ – with a critique of (Gricean) principles of relevance and economy (Weinrich 1990).

2. Language and Environmental Problems

Ever since the AILA conference of 1990 and the publication of Halliday’s ‘New Ways of Meaning’, there has been a growing interest, within ecolinguistics, in the role played by language in ecological issues and the environmental problems which affect more and more groupings and individuals. Indeed, the name ‘environmental linguistics’ has been suggested for such a study. However, the terms ‘language ecology’ or ‘linguistic ecology’ are to be preferred since they indicate that this research is being carried out within the general framework of ecolinguistic principles, as listed in the introduction to this paper.

2.1. Criticism of Discourse

The topic ‘language and ecological problems’ is approached by the different scholars on different levels and with different methodologies. The German linguist Matthias Jung (1989, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) uses text corpora from newspapers and investigates changes over time in environmental vocabulary. Jung draws into question the frequently heard assumption that lexical choices are made for manipulatory purposes.

A word association test reported by Jung (1994) shows the different associations of two German words for ‘nuclear energy’ (*Atomkraft* and *Kernenergie*) with such concepts as ‘Freiheit’ (freedom), ‘Wachstum’ (growth), ‘Krieg’ (war), ‘Fortschritt’ (progress): the only concept where the associations differ markedly is ‘Krieg’ (*war*), which is much more strongly linked with *Atomkraft* (*atomicpower*) than with *Kernenergie* (*nuclear energy*). The argument brought forward by environmentalists that the word

Kernenergie with its positive associations of healthy natural energy was used euphemistically and in a manipulatory way by the nuclear lobby is shown to be doubtful by Jung, who argues that ‘manipulation through language’ is only another cliché nourished by such books as George Orwell’s *1984* and Mackensen’s *Verführung durch Sprache*.

Other authors use the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (as developed by Fairclough 1989, Kress 1989 and others) for a critical analysis of texts about environmental topics. Andrea Gerbig (1993, 1996) analyses collocational patterns in environmental texts concerning the ozone layer debate; she shows that texts produced by opposing interest groups differ markedly in collocational frequencies (for instance concerning the lexemes *cause* and *responsible*). Another linguistic parameter used by Gerbig is the emphasis on or suppression of agency through the choice of active, passive and ergative constructions (cf. also Fairclough 1989). The following example is taken from Gerbig (1993):

1)... cases of non-malignant skin cancer have been increasing over many years ... In this authentic example from an industry group text ‘the ergative choice expresses a self-caused process for which no – not even an implicit – agent is retrievable. This means a shift from the actor, i.e. the person or thing responsible for the action, to the action itself.’

What is suppressed is that the industries which destroy the ozone layer are at least in part responsible for this process.

Agency in environmental texts also plays a role in some of the work of Richard Alexander. The following are examples from a NIREX advertisement in which agency is expressed in different ways (Alexander 1996):

- 2) *Britain* produces radioactive waste every day ...
- 3) the safe disposal of *our* radioactive waste ...

4) some of the most stringent *safety requirements* in the world *will have to be met* Agent shift in (2) (*'Britain produces...'*) and (3) (*'our radioactive waste'*) here implicates everyone in the production of nuclear waste; in (4) agent deletion through passivization (*'safety requirements will have to be met'*) is used as a 'device for distracting attention away from the human actors who have to carry out the disposal process'.

Agent (and patient!) deletion may also occur through the device of nominalization, as discussed by Goatly (1996, cf. also Fairclough 1989). Following J.R. Martin, Goatly shows that in environmental texts nominalization may put less emphasis on the affected beings: for example, in describing the killing of seals, the use of nominal groups such as in (5) makes it unnecessary to mention the affected (i.e. the seals) at all:

5) *a slaughtering operation, killing methods, killing techniques, a humane death.*

Compound nouns may 'reduce and downgrade the affected to modifier status: *the seal hunt, the whitecoat harvest*' (Goatly 1996). (The latter example also shows a characteristically euphemistic metaphor in the word 'harvest' for organized killing and thus explains the subtitle of Goatly's paper, 'metaphors we die by'.)

The Danish scholars J. Door and J. Chr. Bang use the categories of Agency and Deixis for their analysis of two Danish law texts on 'organic production of agricultural products'. This analysis reveals certain logical contradictions which result in making the ministry the agent in organic food production(!) and reducing the farmers to 'recipients' and 'applicants for grants', as in example (6) quoted in Bang and Door (1993:47):

6) *Applicants for grants ... shall upon request produce evidence that the conditions for the grant have been fulfilled.*

Bang and Door's attempt at establishing an ecological theory of language is intended to lead to a fresh approach to the ethical dimension of the ecological crisis and to show that traditional linguistics, which ignores the ideological implications of deixis, is part of this crisis (Door and Bang 1996a).

Environmental discourse is also analysed by Harre, Brockmeier and Muhlhausler (1999) in their volume *Greenspeak*.

2.2. *Criticism of the Language System*

Besides critically analyzing discourse, ecolinguists have also scrutinized the language system for ecological and unecological features. One author who has criticized language on this level is of course Michael Halliday. The influence of language on the world is described by Halliday (1992) as a 'dialectic between the system and the instance', in which grammar provides the systemic options which, however, 'resonate with the prevailing patterns of the culture' and are reinforced by being taken up in everyday discourse. Halliday's 'linguistic constructivism' is a severe critique of the language system (or 'grammar', as Halliday calls it). Halliday argues (1992) that the ideologies of growthism, sexism and classism are contained in the grammar of our languages and that the unlimitedness of our resources and the special position of humans are also structurally inherent in the language system.

In more detail, he contends that

(1) in our SAE languages natural resources are shown to be unlimited with the use of uncountable nouns or 'mass nouns' suggesting inexhaustibility (*oil, energy, water, air* etc.)

(2) in pairs of contrasts like *big* and *small* the 'growth word' is always the neutral term. It is always: how fast is the car (not how slow), how high is the building (not how low), how big is her income (not how small) etc.

(3) our languages are reluctant to admit non-human agents: ‘what’s that forest doing?’ would be judged unacceptable by most speakers

(4) the special position of the human species is expressed through the pronominal system (*he/she* as special pronouns for humans, *it* for all non-human beings) and through the exclusion of many collocations (*think, know, believe, amiable, sympathetic* etc.) for animals and plants.

While ecolinguists like Gerbig, Bang, Door and Alexander, in their analysis of environmental texts, have criticized the suppression of agents and experiencers, on this higher systemic level the very fact that language expresses such categories as ‘agent’, ‘experiencer’ and ‘recipient’ has become the focus of critical attention. The point in question is that the grammar of SAE languages, while in keeping with traditional Newtonian science, is out of step with modern ecological views of the world which question the traditional division into agent, experiencer, action and (temporal and local) positioning. This ‘fragmentation’ of the universe is contained for instance in the familiar grammatical structure subject, predicate, object which separates agent, process and experiencer from one another. The role of language in this separation was recognized earlier by such non-linguist authors as Frederic Vester (1991), David Bohm (1980) and James Lovelock (1988), but has received little attention from thinkers in linguistics. However, among the more recent topics of ecolinguists, the connection between language and the unecological fragmentation of the world figures prominently.

Goatly (1996), who adopts Lovelock’s Gaia theory, mentions, among others, the following ‘ways in which congruent language use for describing material processes often represents the world in ways which are inconsonant with modern scientific theory, and *Gaia* theory in particular’:

- A division into Agentive Participants, Affected Participants and Circumstances ... Such structures are an obstacle in conceiving the notion of undivided wholeness.

- The categorization of phenomena into Processes and Things, which is doubtful given the insights of modern physics.

In this context, ecolinguists also focus on the ‘anthropocentrism’ of language, which perpetuates the separation of humans from the rest of creation. Frans Verhagen (1993) puts the question: ‘How can language be used to shape a biocentric worldview away from an excessively anthropocentric and mechanistic worldview?’, and Goatly (1996) suggests that ‘an alternative Critical Discourse Analysis could target Anthropocentrism, including Marxist Humanism. Though we have reluctantly recognized that the world is not the centre of the universe, we have been slow to accept that humans may not be central either.’

Linguistic anthropocentrism comes to the surface in the way languages ‘name’ all natural phenomena from the point of view of their usefulness for humans (examples in Fill 1993), but also in implicit references to humans, for instance in existential constructions and other verb phrases; for example, all verb forms in the following description of land (from a geography text book quoted by Kress 1989) contain the implication ‘for humans’:

7) ... the soils are poor ... the land is used for little else except extensive beef grazing ... another land use, mining, *is* now of greater value ...

‘Land uses’ by beings other than human are simply not provided for in the ‘grammar’ of English.

2.3. The Ecologization of Language

A question frequently raised in connection with ecolinguistic criticism of language is whether one should aim at changing language or whether language users should only be made aware of

the linguistic facts criticized. Most ecolinguists turn against the idea of an ‘ecological correctness’ and stress that their criticism of language is ‘non-conservative’ (in the sense of ‘non-normative’), ‘gentle’ and not intended to change the language system (Finke 1983, Trampe 1990, Fill 1993). This criticism is meant to be placed within the Critical Language Awareness movement rather than in the neighbourhood of creating another Newspeak. One author who does suggest a change of language so that it can take care of new ecological views of the world is the physicist David Bohm (1980), who advocates the introduction of a new verbal modality called the Rheomode (Greek *rhein* – ‘to flow’) which might serve to express ‘process’ without expressing agent and experiencer.

An interesting hypothesis is put forward by Goatly (1996), who suggests that our languages will, in the course of time, by themselves (i.e. by their users) adapt to the new ecological insights and change accordingly. Incipient signs of this change can be observed in the increasing use of ergative constructions (e.g. ‘The earth warms’ – note, however Gerbig’s criticism of these as discussed in 2.1.) instead of transitive ones, and in the increase in reciprocal verbs (like *meet*, *touch*, *interact*, *talk*, *converse* etc.), which express mutuality instead of dominance. This ‘deep ecologization’ of language could be seen as a long evolutionary process of language change interactive with environmental processes – a process to be regarded in the framework of developments which might eventually slow down environmental degradation. Deep ecologization can be considered a counter-development to the ‘surface ecologization’ of discourse, which is apparent in the prolific use of environmental vocabulary in the language of advertising (e.g. in ‘green ads’) and much of current political discourse.

3. Linguistic and Biological Diversity

The naming of natural phenomena is a topic which also figures prominently in the research of Miihlhausler (e.g. 1995, 1996a, 1996b), although Miihlhausler is more concerned with the ethnocentrism of this process. In his work, the ecolinguistic plea for the maintenance of linguistic diversity is linked with concern about biological diversity. Linguistic diversity, according to Miihlhausler, 'reflects thousands of years of human accommodation to complex environmental conditions' (1996a:270); biological diversity is taken account of in differing degrees by the different languages. He shows that discourse about new environments can actually have an influence on these, particularly in the form that lack of linguistic resources may contribute to environmental degradation (1996). 'The decline and loss of small languages, illustrated with examples from Australia and the Pacific Region, is not a self-contained phenomenon, but embedded in and related to a much larger range of ecological factors' (1996a). Miihlhausler brings to light the relation between linguistic and biological factors by drawing from a great number of language world systems situated in Australia, Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the Pacific Region. The following example, which illustrates this relation, is taken from Miihlhausler (1996b):

A particularly clear example of the consequences of ... naming is that of the numerous small 'marsupials' which once inhabited the Australian Continent in prolific numbers. Most of them ended up being called bush rat or native rat, and having got that name were regarded very much like a rat in Britain: at best useless, at worst dangerous pests that needed to be eradicated.

Miihlhausler also discusses recent attempts 'to rescue the dwindling population of small marsupials by renaming them' or by reintroducing the old indigenous names. He shows that 'the effects of

names for individual animal species are paralleled by similar ones in the domain of plant names' (1996b).

In Miihlhausler's research, concern for the environment (or *con-vi-ronment* – a term which puts more emphasis on the togetherness of all beings) is combined with concern about the loss of linguistic diversity and the diminishing role of small languages. Miihlhausler's 'linguistic ecology' makes use of both the metaphorical and the literal meaning of *ecology* and *environment* and is thus perhaps the most comprehensive approach within ecolinguistics to date.

Conclusion

Ecolinguistics is a study which goes far beyond syntax, semantics and pragmatics and which therefore requires some new theorizing as well as innovative ideas concerning empirical investigation. After the first 30 years of its existence, ecolinguistics has still a long way to go before all possible topics within it have been addressed, let alone investigated in suitable depth. The range of ecolinguistics is very wide, since it imposes the following tasks on the discipline of language study:

- (1) the finding of appropriate theories of language
- (2) the study of language systems as well as of texts
- (3) the study of universal features of language relevant to the ecological issue
- (4) the study of individual languages with regard to such features (with the possibility of contrastive approaches)
- (5) studying the role of language in achieving 'ecoliteracy' (Capra 1997), i.e. in teaching ecological thinking to children and adults.

Ecolinguistics thus involves theoretical, methodological and empirical studies of language and offers new perspectives on all these levels for linguists interested in ecology. It can truly be claimed that here is a field of study worth being considered by linguistic talent in search of a challenging task.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND BILINGUALISM: CONSEQUENCES FOR A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

Ellen Bialystok

Language is the key interface between our social and cognitive worlds. As a social tool, it is the means by which human interactions occur, social position is determined, and educational opportunities are defined; as a cognitive instrument, it provides access to concepts and meanings, the logical system for problem solving, and creates the organizational basis for knowledge. It is not an accident that a significant portion of all developmental research is addressed to issues of language acquisition and language performance, that the primary focus of school curricula in the early years is on the language arts, and that an ongoing concern of parents is their children's language acquisition. Language has consequence. However, language acquisition occurs in a context, and differing environments are bound to influence the way language is learned and used by young children. Children growing up in bilingual environments will have different experiences than those who encounter only one language, and these differences may have a profound impact on children's social, cognitive, and linguistic development. Understanding how these linguistic environments affect children's development requires an examination of the interactions between the social and cognitive dimensions of development in different learning environments.

A complete understanding of language acquisition and language proficiency in children can only be achieved by considering how varied social and linguistic contexts alter the processes linked to language acquisition and language use. Despite this, there is surprisingly little research attention paid to a detailed examination of the context in which language acquisition occurs and the impact of variations in the context on outcomes for different types of children.

Is language acquired differently, and to different degrees of proficiency if more than one linguistic system is being learned? How do children who experience different paths in language acquisition because of special circumstances, such as autism, specific language impairment (SLI), or deafness, respond to bilingual environments and the need to learn two languages? How does specific linguistic knowledge required by the grammar of certain languages (e.g., Inuktitut) contribute to children's ability to adapt to and learn the structures used in different languages (e.g., French or English)? What does the acquisition of two languages do to the evolving system of concepts that emanate from the words in one of those languages? Does bilingualism have implications for the ease or means by which children learn to read? Is cognitive ability and performance influenced by the acquisition of two language systems?

Investigations of these questions contribute to our understanding of development in ways that go beyond language acquisition. A scientifically based understanding of how language-learning environments interact with linguistic and cognitive processes and outcomes is also fundamental to understanding basic issues in the developmental and educational sciences. To be more specific, the linguistic and cognitive world of children of immigrants who speak one language at home and another at school, bilingual children who speak two languages at home, atypically developing children whose language abilities are compromised, congenitally deaf children who have no access to the oral linguistic environment, or socially disadvantaged children who may receive impoverished linguistic models in one or sometimes two languages, cannot be understood without a clear description of how language interacts with these social and linguistic contexts. The study of bilingual children provides a perspective on these processes that is unavailable from studies of acquisition in monolingual settings, where word and

concept, language and thought, and performance and competence, are inextricably intertwined. Introducing two languages provides a prism that allows one to filter out the influences of language and cognitive systems individually and thereby to more fully appreciate their structure and development.

Models of language acquisition often ignore the social and linguistic context in which this seminal development occurs, assuming a homogeneous environment in which language has only one form, speakers only one face. However, this uniform linguistic landscape is not necessarily the norm. In much of the world, language is a matter of political obligation and social expedience: regional languages dominate in school settings, vernacular dialects sustain social interactions and family life, and official languages pervade bureaucratic interactions. To residents of these societies, this division of linguistic labor seems normal, and little energy is spent debating its consequences. In contrast, in countries such as the United States and various western European nations that are marked by linguistic homogeneity, there is active discussion about the role that the social and linguistic context plays in children's language acquisition, in particular, the consequences of a bilingual experience. In these countries, however, research on simultaneous bilingualism is often limited to minority language contexts. These examples point to a fundamental irony in the approach to research on bilingualism: the greatest concern appears to emanate from the most monolingual environments.

Canada stands partway between the traditions of multilingual countries that quietly accept linguistic pluralism and monolingual countries that actively study it. Canada is a socially diverse multilingual society with a policy of official bilingualism, a diversity of schools and school systems that operate in non-English languages, a rich array of indigenous languages, and an urban structure in which ethnic neighborhoods are supported for their linguistic and cultural

diversity. At the same time, much of Canada, and many Canadians live in a world described in our cultural literature as “two solitudes,” functioning largely as monolinguals but dipping into the bilingual pie through such choices as French immersion education for our Anglophone children and visits to Quebec for vacations that include a more complete linguistic and cultural experience. This blend of linguistic, sociocultural, and political factors has made Canada a unique forum in which to study these important issues on the interaction of societies and languages in development and on the consequences of social environments that require children to become bilingual. Our aim is to establish how environmental bilingualism, such as that created in multilingual societies, affects children’s development and determines how children’s developmental capacities for multilingualism are enhanced through the social context.

The insights gained from this endeavor can be used to elaborate models of language and cognitive development for children in all environments. This process will also lead to the creation of a more complete framework for understanding the subtle relations and interactions that define language acquisition. For example, the social dimension of bilingualism indicates differences in the circumstances of large bilingual populations in different countries, from poor and working class for Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States, to middle class for Welsh-English bilinguals in Wales. Similarly, the linguistic dimension of bilingualism delineates different contexts for children’s language acquisition, from immigrant children growing up in Germany, where only German is officially heard, to immigrant children in Canada, where a wide range of non-English languages define community life. Even within Canada, learning French as a minority language in Alberta is substantially different from learning French as a majority language in Quebec where the linguistic context

provides different types of support for bilingual language acquisition. The experiences and developmental capacities of bilingual children in these different environments are altered in important ways.

The papers in this Special Issue are organized into three sections that explore specific aspects of the topic. The focus of the first section is an examination of language acquisition and language use in bilingual environments. The papers by Pearson and by de Houwer investigate how home environments are organized to foster bilingual language acquisition under specific social conditions.

There are different ways to create bilingual environments at home, including homes in which two languages are spoken and those in which the home language is different from the community language, possibly because of immigration. These decisions, however, are invariably embedded in a context that is defined by such factors as socioeconomic level and the majority or minority status of specific languages. Equally, these social factors influence the way in which adults interact in bilingual environments. It is necessary to examine social differences such as those between children in privileged social circumstances and those in more compromised social environments, and those between children whose home environment operates in a valued majority and those who speak a minority language at home that is not valued outside the home to fully understand how the bilingual environment impacts on language performance. We know that the social environment is immensely important in shaping children's language acquisition, constraining children's cognitive development, and predicting children's school achievement. We need to understand as well how these social factors interact with bilingualism to determine long-term outcomes for children and adults whose lives are engaged in bilingual societies.

The focus of the second section is on the cognitive and linguistic implications of early bilingualism. The papers by

Verhoeven and by Nicoladis examine cognitive and nonlinguistic dimensions through investigations of the development of metalinguistic awareness and the use of gestures, respectively. The papers by Burns et al., Vihman et al., and Meisel concentrate on linguistic aspects of development for children raised in bilingual homes. These analyses are based on the acquisition of phonology, language proficiency with special attention to phonological awareness, and grammar, respectively.

Beginning from birth, infants raised in homes where two languages are spoken, or where the language spoken is different from that of the community, have a different basis for establishing phonological distinctions and early lexical and grammatical concepts than do children born into monolingual environments. Early exposure to multilingual environments, therefore, may have a significant impact on the establishment of linguistic categories that affect subsequent language learning. Therefore, children's acquisition of language, including phonology, lexicon, and grammar, is altered in bilingual acquisition. This early experience may also have implications for later linguistic and cognitive strategies. Previous research has indicated ways in which bilingualism affects development in metalinguistic awareness, literacy, and cognitive abilities, including nonlinguistic ones. Metalinguistic awareness is a significant basis for both cognitive and linguistic achievements, setting the stage for metacognitive reflection on knowledge and strategy use, so an impact of bilingualism on this development would be consequential. Moreover, the nonlinguistic dimensions of communication, such as gesture, are central to the child's communicative competence. It is important to understand how bilingualism may affect these developing skills.

The focus of the third section is on bilingual language acquisition for special populations. The paper by Allen examines the

acquisition of two languages in native communities for whom neither majority language is the first language. The paper by Mayberry investigates the acquisition of a sign and spoken language by deaf adults, and the paper by Paradis considers the acquisition of two languages for children with SLI.

Not all children come to bilingual language acquisition with the same initial abilities to learn and use language. In the monolingual literature, there is considerable research on language acquisition for children with special needs, but very little research examines how these children manage to learn two languages. These situations define special relationships between the interacting forces of the linguistic environment and the child's cognitive abilities. Children with SLI, for example, experience difficulty in language acquisition despite normal intelligence and cognitive functioning, so the balance between linguistic and cognitive factors is altered when these children are placed in bilingual environments or engage in learning a second language. Hearing children born to deaf parents often become bilingual from birth, using sign to communicate with their parents and spoken language to interact with the hearing world, but most deaf children are born to hearing parents and do not have this opportunity. Their bilingual development begins when they are exposed to English, usually through print. These are some of the special conditions that stretch our ability to understand how languages and environments interact in developing children's linguistic and cognitive competence.

These papers are part of a growing interest by researchers to understand the effect of multiple languages on individuals and on societies. A search of papers containing the keyword "bilingualism" in the 20 years between 1985 and 2005 indicates a dramatic increase in this trend. However, publications of all types have undoubtedly increased over these decades: there are simply more journals and more researchers producing scientific papers. Therefore, we

compared the growth of studies on bilingualism to that for speech production, an area of comparable specialization and research interest. The data showing the number of publications per year for both areas of research are shown in Figure 1; it is clear that bilingualism has enjoyed a surge in interest in the past 8 or 10 years that cannot be attributed to a simple increase in research productivity. Language is the defining element in our social and cognitive lives, and to the extent that we understand how languages are learned, used, and enjoyed, we will understand as well how individuals and societies interact and how we can make those interactions more harmonious and the induction of our children into these societies more seamless and productive for everyone.

NEW WAYS OF MEANING: THE CHALLENGE TO APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Michael A. K. Halliday

<...>

We live – we are constantly being told – in an information society. What this means is that the dominant mode of economic activity that human beings engage in is no longer that of exchanging goods-and-services, as it has been since the beginning of settlement, but that of exchanging information. And information is made of language. It is an applied linguistic world, in which even numbers, and numerical data, become significant only in the context of discursive constructions.

But there has been another, rather less publicized, change in the human condition: that our demands have now exceeded the total resources of the planet we live on. Within a microsecond of historical time the human race has turned from net creditor to net debtor, taking out of the earth more than we put in; and we are using up these

resources very fast. This is so little publicized that we might suspect what we are living in is really a disinformation society.

I took some cuttings from one day's newspaper, the day on which I happened to be writing this section of the paper. Here is an extract from one news article. The article is headed 'Air travel's popularity to soar to new heights' and, like most news nowadays, it is about what someone had to say, in this case the 'annual aviation market forecast of the US plane manufacturer Boeing':

Its forecast, regarded as one of the most reliable indicators of aviation trends, says airlines will buy 9,935 jet aircraft of all types over the next 15 years at a cost of \$834 billion.

It says airline traffic to, from and within the Pacific area will lead the growth with rates unmatched anywhere else in the world.

The study says the rationale for a more optimistic outlook includes prolonged air travel expansion driven by continued growth in discretionary income and a decrease in the real cost of travel.

(Sydney Morning Herald, Monday 12 March 1990)

Everything here, and in countless other such texts repeated daily all round the world, contains a simple message: growth is good. Many is better than few, more is better than less, big is better than small, grow is better than shrink, up is better than down. Gross National Products must go up, standards of living must rise, productivity must increase.

But we know that these things can't happen. We are using up the capital resources – not just the fossil fuels and mineral ones, which we could (*pace* Boeing) do without, but the fresh water supplies and the agricultural soils, which we *can't* live without. And at the same time as we are consuming we are also destroying. We are destroying many of the other species who form part of the planet's life cycle; and we are destroying the planet itself, through global warming and general poisoning with carbon dioxide and methane;

through ozone depletion; through acid rain; and most of all by increasing our population at a rate of almost a hundred million new people a year – at a time when human-kind is already using up nearly half of the total productive capacity of the globe.

Paul Ehrlich, one of those who (along with David Suzuki and Edward Goldsmith) are doing most to make us aware of these things, made a point that I referred to earlier, and that is fundamentally important to us as linguists. Human beings, he said, have evolved so that they are not equipped to deal with the kinds of change that are happening now. We are good at recognizing and responding to sudden, catastrophic changes; but bad at recognizing and admitting to ourselves what he calls ‘slow motion crises’ formed by gradual trends and shifts of probabilities. Even a massive change, provided it takes place slowly enough, will simply pass us by.

Ehrlich’s observation on this is that we have to ‘change the way in which we perceive the world’. He sees this as an exercise in information: educating people to respond to trends, graphs and numbers – not just to be able to follow them, but to take them seriously, to treat them as ‘news’. He suggests that ‘some important environmental state report should be shown every night on the media’. But let us look at the situation from a linguistic point of view. What I have been suggesting is that the same sort of gradual, stealthy processes as take place in the environment also take place in language; and we are equally unaware of them – more so, in fact, because they are beyond the range of our conscious attention.

It is not difficult to become aware of obvious verbal anomalies, like the following cartoon caption quoted by Charles Birch from the *Los Angeles Times*:

Eventually we will run out of food to feed ourselves and air to breathe ... this is something we must learn to live with!

Such explicit motifs, especially where self-contradiction is built in, are the most easily accessible to our conscious awareness. And we can fairly easily train ourselves to react to wordings like ‘the survey painted a bleak picture, saying that the number of business failures would continue rising’ and ‘there will be relatively stable fuel prices in the long term and no US or world recession in the foreseeable future’ – although we usually fail to perceive any contradictions unless they are thrust before us in adjacent sentences.

Still reasonably accessible to reflection – at the next level down in our consciousness, so to speak – are the lexical effects: single words with affective loadings of one kind or another and regular, more or less ritualized collocations, like *inflationary pressures*, *prospects sliding*, *optimistic outlook*, *unmatched growth rates*, *business climate improving*, *early stages of recession*. It does not take much work to show how our world view is constructed by expressions such as these. When we read *output fell sharply*, it is obvious that all our negative loadings from childhood come into play: falling is painful, sharp things are dangerous, and both (especially together!) are to be avoided. On the other hand *traffic is expected to grow* calls up all the comfortable smiles of the admiring aunts who told us how we’ve grown, as well as the positive relation of growth to consumption – eat your meat and you’ll grow into a big girl / boy. And we only have to mention a word like *shrink* to be aware of its pejorative connotations: shrunken bodies and heads, the one who shrinks heads (the psychiatrist), and so on. Some people have tried to maintain the positive value of *grow* but reconstrue it in expressions like *zero population growth* and *negative growth*; but the *zero* and the *negative* sabotage the effort – how can anything that is ‘zero’ or ‘negative’ be a desirable goal? (Others have tried to find negatively charged words for growth, like gigantism and elephantiasis; but these don’t work either – the words themselves are

too elephantine, and even if giants are baddies, elephants are definitely goodies). It might be more effective to redefine growth as a failure to shrink. Since we are going to have to reduce the GTP (gross terrestrial product), should we not exploit the power of words by making *shrink* the positive term and labelling ‘growth’ very simply as *negative shrinkage*»? This is using the power of the grammar: in this case the device of reversing the marking. How much more effective it would be, for example, if those who are ecologically aware, instead of letting themselves be called *greenies*, in marked contrast to ordinary people, became themselves the unmarked category and the rest of the population were reconstructed as *baddies*.

A little way beyond these is the outer layer of the grammar: the morphological construction of words, types of concord, and closed system or ‘function’ words like prepositions and pronouns. This third level is where much of the work of antisexist language planning is done: engineering the third person forms *he / she*, *his / her*, reconstructing words like *chairman*, *manpower*, *salesgirl*; taking out the markedness from pairs like *author / authoress*, *nurse* and *male nurse*; redesigning concord structures like *everyone knows his job* to *everyone knows their jobs*, and so on. On the other hand, of the semantics of growthism relatively little is construed at this level – and there is even some countersuggestion that small is beautiful, in the form of diminutives, although this tends to be neutralized by their patriarchal combination of sexism and childism.

But if we probe into the inner layer of the grammar, to the cryptogrammatic fourth level that people are least aware of, here we find a gradual, clause by clause synthesizing of a world view, a hidden theory of experience on which we unconsciously base our actions and our strategies for survival. There is a syndrome of grammatical features which conspire – in Martin’s term – to construe

reality in a certain way; and it is a way that is no longer good for our health as a species. Let me try and identify four of these, beginning with one that is familiar and easy to access.

1. Whorf pointed out many years ago how, unlike the American Indian languages he knew, ‘Standard Average European’ languages like English make a categorial distinction between two kinds of entity: those that occur in units, and are *countable* in the grammar, and those that occur in the mass and are *uncountable*. (More accurately, the latter can be counted; but when they are, the count refers to ‘kinds of, not ‘units of: e.g. *soils*). Our grammar (though not the grammar of human language as such) construes *air* and *water* and *soil*, and also *coal* and *iron* and *oil*, as ‘unbounded’ – that is, as existing without limit. In the horizons of the first farmers, and the first miners, they did. We know that such resources are finite. But the grammar presents them as if the only source of restriction was the way that we ourselves quantify them: a *barrel of oil*, a *seam of coal*, a *reservoir of water* and so on – as if they in themselves were inexhaustible.

2. Among the properties construed by the grammar as gradable, most have a negative and a positive pole: for example, with ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘good’ is construed as positive. So the *quality* of a thing means either ‘how good or bad it is’ or ‘the fact that it is good’, but never ‘the fact that it is bad’. In the first sense we can say *how do you rate the quality of these chocolates, good or bad?* In the second sense, the manufacturer can refer to them as *chocolates of quality* without worrying that this could ever mean ‘bad quality’. Similarly *size* means both ‘how big?’ and ‘being big’ (*look at the size of it!*); *length* means both ‘how long?’ and ‘being long’, and so on. There are various manifestations of this asymmetry throughout the grammar; but the significant point is that quality and quantity are always lined up together (as they are also in that expression). The grammar of ‘big’ is the

grammar of 'good', while the grammar of 'small' is the grammar of 'bad'. The motif of 'bigger and better' is engraved into our consciousness by virtue of their line-up in the grammar.

3. In transitivity, the part of the grammar that construes our experience of processes – actions and events, mental and verbal processes, relations of various kinds – the entities that take part in processes of a material kind are arranged by the grammar along a continuum according to their potential for initiating such processes: how likely they are to perform the action or to cause the event to take place. Naturally human beings come at the most active, agentive pole, with inanimate objects located at the other end. Such things are acted upon but do not act, and they stay where they are until disturbed. The only environment where inanimates regularly figure as agents is in catastrophic contexts, where (at least if they are big enough) they can become Actor in a process of the 'destroy' subcategory of material processes; and even here they are often metaphorized events, e.g. *the earthquake destroyed the city*; cf. *fire damaged the roof*, *a branch fell on the car*. The grammar does not present inanimate objects as doers, certainly not in ongoing, constructive or conservative processes. So we have problems with David Suzuki's formulation *all the kinds of things that forests do*. In English if I say of an inanimate object *what's it doing?* it means 'why is it there? – remove it!'. So *what's that forest doing?* implies 'clear it!' rather than expecting an answer such as that it's holding water in store, it's cleaning and moistening the atmosphere, it's stopping flooding, it's stabilizing the soil, harbouring life forms and so on. The language makes it hard for us to take seriously the notion of inanimate nature as an active participant in events.

4. There is one particular point on this continuum where the grammar introduces a sharp dichotomy, making a clear division of phenomena into two classes. This is often referred to as human

versus non-human, but it isn't that; it's conscious versus nonconscious – those entities that are treated as endowed with consciousness and those which are not. English constructs this dichotomy at various places all over the grammar. The most obvious manifestation is in the pronoun system, where conscious things are *he / she* while non-conscious things are *it*. More far-reaching, however, is the fundamental distinction made by the grammar of mental processes, where the Senser is always a conscious being: thus a clear line is drawn between entities that understand, hold opinions, have preferences, etc., and those that do not. Non-conscious entities can be a source of information, but they cannot project an idea (we can say *my watch says it's half past ten*, but not *my watch thinks it's half past ten*). This binary theory of phenomena has obviously been important for our survival, in the stage of history that is now coming to an end. But it imposes a strict discontinuity between ourselves and the rest of creation, with 'ourselves' including a select band of other creatures that are in some semantic contexts allowed in – the most typical of these being first our farm animals and now our highly destructive pets. And, of course, it totally excludes the concept of Gaia – of the earth itself as a conscious being. The grammar makes it hard for us to accept the planet earth as a living entity that not only breathes but feels and even thinks: that maintains its own body temperature despite massive changes in the heat that it receives from the sun, and that dies slowly but inevitably as each of the living species that compose it is destroyed. Let us at least try re-writing that last description: the earth as a living entity that... maintains her own body temperature despite massive changes in the heat that she receives from the sun, and that dies, slowly but inevitably, as each of the living species that compose her is destroyed. (We have to choose male or female, and Gaia was a goddess, the 'mother Earth'.)

A grammar, I have suggested, is a theory of experience; a theory that is born of action, and therefore serves as a guide to action, as a metalanguage by which we live. The particular grammars that we live with today are the products of successive ‘moments’ in the space-time of human history. Much of their meaning potential will no doubt continue to be valid; we are unlikely to demand a sudden, catastrophic reconstruction of reality. But at the same time there are disjunctions, contradictions and overdeterminacies which ensure that it must continue to evolve. A language is a metastable system, which can only persist by constantly changing in interaction with its environment. The slowest part of it to change is the grammar, especially the inner layers of the grammar, the cryptogrammar, where the real work of meaning is done. The lexis is much more accessible; indeed we already have our slogans for the new age, based on words like *sustain*; what we need now, we are told, is *sustainable development*. We have an American professor lecturing in Australia on *global sustainability* (note here level two at work: everything is possible, by nominalizing the potentiality morpheme – *sustain, sustainable, sustainability*). But, by the same token, the lexis is rather easily co-opted:

INSECTS may provide the vital factor in making Australia a world leader on sustainable development.

(*Australian*, 10 March 1990)

– and we are back at leading, being out in front, and so once again to growth. You cannot on the other hand co-opt the grammar in this way; certainly not its inner layers.

But, again by the same token, neither can you engineer it. I do not think that even the language professionals of AILA can plan the inner layers of the grammar; there is an inherent antipathy between grammar and design. What we can do is draw attention to it; to show how the grammar promotes the ideology of growth, or

growthism. This may suggest in a fragmentary way what the alternatives might be like. But – and this brings me to my final motif – I think that this could only be done effectively under certain conditions. Let me summarize at this point some of the strands in this rather peripatetic discourse.

I started with one of our central concerns, language planning; and more specifically systematic language planning. Although language is an evolved system, not a designed system, it may become necessary to manage it at certain times and places in history: typically, where a language has rapidly to take on new functions, especially technical functions. This is not the management of information; it is the management of the system out of which information is constructed.

Such language planning is thematic not disciplinary: that is to say, it is concerned not with language as object but with systematically extending the power to mean, typically in the context of particular ‘fields’, or types of social activity. Institutionally, such language planning may involve all the major components of applied linguistics: computational linguistics and artificial intelligence, first and second language teaching, even clinical linguistics, as well as the more obvious concerns of sociolinguistics, multilingualism, and language in relation to culture.

To understand these processes, and especially to be able to intervene in them, we have to theorize about how language constructs reality: how language evolved as the resource whereby human beings construe experience. The lexicogrammatical continuum, from the vocabulary (the part showing above the surface of consciousness – the tip of the iceberg, so to speak) to the inner layers of the grammar, is the key component, the central processing unit for construing ideational meanings and mapping them on to meanings of the other primary kind, the interpersonal meanings which construct and enact social relationships. <...>

The other problematic sphere is that of language and prejudice. Here, while sexist and racist attitudes are clearly constructed in language, it is not any particular variety that is at issue, nor the system of the language as a whole, but the deployment of resources within the system. Thus sex roles are construed by such things as mothers taking up different grammatical options in answering questions asked by boys and by girls; different interpersonal choices made in forms of address and reference; and different transitivity roles assigned to men and women in narratives. Sexual difference, racial otherness, social inequalities of all kinds are engendered and perpetuated by varying the probabilities in the selection of options within the grammar of the everyday language.

Social class is likewise construed in language, and transmitted by parents from different classes favouring different selections within the grammar. But it is a more ‘slow motion’ and cryptotypic process than the construction of gender or race: a long-term quantitative effect of orientation towards one ‘quarter’ rather than another within the overall semantic space described by the language. Perhaps because of the pervasive effect of different attitudes towards generalization and abstraction, the two ‘feel like’ competing realities. The theory of ‘codes’ attempts to locate the linguistic basis of classism at the point where the system and the instance meet (where *parole* becomes *langue* – except that we have to redefine *langue* and *parole* for this to make sense), showing that the different coding orientations of the two classes are *not* different systems but different deployment of resources within the system: different enough, however, such that the contradiction which is construed in this way has not yet been historically transcended.

Meanwhile, according to some scientists, a deeper crisis is at hand, no less than the threatened destruction of the entire planet as a habitable environment. This too we can investigate linguistically as a

site for possibly deconstructing reality through the grammar. We might be able to work on specific issues at the outer layers of the grammar, replacing war discourse (the language of the Pentagon) by peace discourse, the discourse of borrowing (the language of commercialism and credit capital) by that of saving, the discourse of building (the language of megacontracts) by that of keeping under repair. We might put certain key words in the dock, words like *production and growth*. Production is a major semantic confidence trick; as Goldsmith has pointed out, we don't produce anything at all – we merely transform what is already there into something else, almost always with some unwanted side effects. (Just as a cow does not 'produce' meat: it transforms grass into meat, churning out vast quantities of methane in the process.) We could perhaps relexicalize the semantic domain of 'production'. Growth means evolving or maturing, but it also means getting fat; we have noted the collocational and morphological support for the motif of 'small is beautiful' – but also that much of it is suspect as being patriarchal. But all these are relatively minor issues, semantically somewhat 'localized' in their scope. The main issue is that of growthism in the grammar; and we saw how deeply engrammatized are the motifs of growth versus shrinkage, of the unboundedness of our material resources, of the passivity of the inanimate environment and of the uniqueness of humankind instead of our continuity with creation. These and other features of the language system construe our experience in such a way that we believe we can expand for ever – our own numbers, our own power and dominance over other species, our own consumption and so-called 'standard of living'. Whereas in fact, as Suzuki has shown us, even at present population levels the rich 20% will have to live far more frugally if the poorer 80% are to be able to live at all.

You may think that by now I have left language behind, and am talking simply of social and political issues. But I don't think I

have. My point is that such issues are also linguistic ones. Growthism and classism are our two major ideological menaces; and ideologies are constructed in language. But the linguistic perspective suggests one further consideration: that we shall not solve one of these problems without also solving the other. Both growthism and classism were positive and constructive for a certain moment in our history; both have now become negative, the means of self-destruction by division among ourselves and by division between ourselves and the rest of creation. So much we must accept. Now we have seen that, as a general principle, it is the *linguistic* system (things about which we have no choice) that divides us from everything else; whereas it is the *choice of options within the system* (taking up different probabilities) that divides us among ourselves. To come back to gender again: what construes our sex roles is not the inherent sexism in the forms of the language (such things are useful for making people conscious of the problem, but in themselves are trivial – some of the most sexist societies have no trace of gender morphology in their languages) but the way the resources of the language are deployed, how the meaning potential is taken up in the construction of the subject in the family, the media, popular literature and elsewhere. In other words those things which all humans share, or at least all the members of a primary culture band, are construed for them by the forms of the grammar; while those which divide them, which discriminate one group over another, are construed by systematic variation in the choices made within the grammar – what Hasan refers to as ‘semantic variation’.

But there is no insulation between these two, because the system is the set of its probabilities, in the same way that climate is the set of probabilities in the weather. Climate and weather are one phenomenon, not two; but interpreted within different time depths. So if the linguistic *system* (that is, our long-term slow motion

semiotic praxis) construes us as lords of creation, our shorter-term but no less systematic praxis, the regular exercise of *choice within* the system, construes a fractal pattern whereby some of us are lords over the rest. The one construct that lies nearest the point of complementarity – that is, that can be equally well interpreted as long-term patterns of choice within the system or as a rather ill-defined system of its own (either as longterm weather patterns or as a temporary kind of climate) – is that of social class. It will be difficult to deconstruct growthism without also deconstructing classism, especially now that class has become a world phenomenon, so that what were previously regions of the city are now regions of the globe. The linguistic evidence suggests that these two transformations will have to take place together: that the hegemony arrogated by the human species is inseparable from the hegemony usurped by one human group over another, and that neither will come to an end as long as the other still prevails.

Now that our friends and colleagues from the heart of the Eurasian continent are leaping out of the socialist frying-pan into the capitalist fire; and we ponder whether, with Fukuyama, history is about to end or, with Marx, it is (after all) still not ready to begin; and we realize that, long before we reach the (by now proverbial) one square metre of ground per human being, we have to learn to educate five billion children (and *that* is an applied linguistic task if ever there was one!) – at such a time it is as well to reflect on how language construes the world. *We* cannot transform language; it is people's acts of meaning that do that. But we can observe these acts of meaning as they happen around us, and try to chart the currents and patterns of change. Suzuki says 'the planet may soon become unlivable – it's a matter of survival'. Let us formulate this in terms of possible outcomes: there is no historical necessity that this planet will survive in a habitable form, such that we (among others) can continue to live on its surface – this is

merely one of the possibilities for the future. What I have tried to suggest is that the things which may rule out this possibility and which we ourselves have brought about – classism, growthism, destruction of species, pollution and the like – are not just problems for the biologists and physicists. They are problems for the applied linguistic community as well. I do not suggest for one moment that we hold the key. But we ought to be able to write the instructions for its use.

ЭКОЛОГИЯ КУЛЬТУРЫ

Д. С. Лихачев

Человек живет не только в определенной биосфере (термин академика В. И. Вернадского), но и в сфере, создаваемой им самим в результате его культурной и «некультурной» (более редкой) деятельности. Человек осваивает природу (иногда нарушая существующие в ней равновесия), изменяет почву, растительность, создает и свою собственную культуру, менее зависящую от природы, но и чрезвычайно для него важную; поколения людей создают язык, письменность, литературу, все виды искусств, науку, обычаи. Традиции формируют его поведение, он наследует бытовые знания и бытовые материальные ценности. С момента появления своего на свет каждый человек оказывается в сфере, созданной тысячами поколений людей. Эту сферу я предложил в свое время назвать по образцу терминов, предложенных В. И. Вернадским, гомосферой («человекоокружением»). <...>

В этой гомосфере огромную роль играет литература, через которую человеку передаются нравственные и эстетические представления. Эта передача совершается непосредственно, когда человек читает, слушает или воспроизводит тексты вслух – одновременно «читая» и слушая их. Но передача совершается и опосредованно, когда человек воспринимает ценности литературы через других, через сформированные под влиянием

литературы в обществе нравственные понятия, нормы поведения и эстетические представления. <...>

Роль литературы огромна, и счастлив тот народ, который имеет великую литературу на своем родном языке. Литература обогащает гомосферу в высокой сфере.

У каждого народа, помимо общей гомосферы, гомосферы человечества, существует и своя, присущая ему гомосфера, своя ее разновидность, свои источники обогащения гомосферы, национальная специфика. Поэтому можно говорить не только о гомосфере, но и об этногомосфере.

Чтобы воспринять культурные ценности во всей их полноте, необходимо знать их происхождение, процесс их созидания и исторического изменения, заложенную в них культурную память. Чтобы воспринять художественное произведение точно и безошибочно, надо знать, кем, как и при каких обстоятельствах оно создавалось. Также точно и литературу в целом мы по-настоящему поймем, когда будем знать, как литература создавалась, формировалась, как участвовала в жизни народа. <...>

Любовь к родному краю, к родной культуре, к родному селу или городу, к родной речи начинается с малого – с любви к своей семье, к своему жилищу, к своей школе. Постепенно расширяясь, эта любовь к родному переходит в любовь к своей стране – к ее истории, ее прошлому и настоящему, а затем ко всему человечеству, к человеческой культуре.

Истинный патриотизм – это первая ступень к действительному интернационализму. Когда я хочу себе представить истинный интернационализм, я воображаю себя смотрящим на нашу Землю из мирового пространства. Крошечная планета, на которой мы все живем, бесконечно дорогая нам и такая одино-

кая среди галактик, отделенных друг от друга миллионами световых лет.

Человек живет в определенной окружающей среде. Загрязнение среды делает его больным, угрожает его жизни, грозит гибелью человечества. Всем известны те гигантские усилия, которые предпринимаются нашим государством, отдельными странами, учеными, общественными деятелями, чтобы спасти от загрязнения воздух, водоемы, леса, чтобы охранить животный мир нашей планеты спасти становища перелетных птиц, лежбища морских животных. Человечество тратит миллиарды и миллиарды не только на то, чтобы не задохнуться, не погибнуть, но чтобы сохранить также природу, которая дает людям возможность эстетического и нравственного отдыха. Целительная сила природы хорошо известна.

Наука, которая занимается охраной и восстановлением окружающей природы, называется экологией и как дисциплина начинает уже сейчас преподаваться в университетах. <...>

Но экологию нельзя ограничивать только задачами сохранения природной биологической среды. Для жизни человека не менее важна среда, созданная культурой его предков и им самим. Сохранение культурной среды – задача не менее существенная, чем сохранение окружающей природы. Если природа необходима человеку для его биологической жизни, то культурная среда столь же необходима для его духовной, нравственной жизни, для его «духовной оседлости», для его привязанности к родным местам, для его нравственной самодисциплины и социальности. А между тем вопрос о нравственной экологии не только не изучается, он даже и не поставлен нашей наукой как нечто целое и жизненно важное для человека. Изучаются отдельные виды культуры и остатки культурного прошлого, вопросы реставрации памятников и их

сохранения, но не изучается нравственное значение и влияние на человека всей культурной среды во всех ее взаимосвязях, хотя сам факт воспитательного воздействия на человека его окружения ни у кого не вызывает ни малейшего сомнения. <...>

Человек воспитывается в определенной, сложившейся на протяжении многих веков культурной среде, незаметно вбирая в себя не только современность, но и прошлое своих предков. История открывает ему окно в мир, и не только окно, но и двери, даже врата.

Улицы, площади, каналы, дома, парки – напоминают, напоминают ... ненавязчиво и ненастойчиво творения прошлого, в которые вложены талант и любовь поколений, входят в человека, становясь мерилom прекрасного. Он учится уважению к предкам, чувству долга перед потомками. И тогда прошлое и будущее становятся неразрывными для него, ибо каждое поколение – это как бы связующее звено во времени. Любящий свою родину человек не может не испытывать нравственной ответственности перед людьми будущего, чьи духовные запросы будут все множиться и возрастать.

Если человек не любит хотя бы изредка смотреть на старые фотографии своих родителей, не ценит память о них, оставленную в саду, который они возделывали, в вещах, которые им принадлежали, – значит он не любит их. Если человек не любит старые улицы, старые дома, пусть даже и плохонькие, – значит у него нет любви к своему городу. Если человек равнодушен к памятникам истории своей страны – он, как правило, равнодушен и к своей стране.

Культурную экологию не следует смешивать с наукой реставрации и сохранения отдельных памятников. Культурное прошлое нашей страны должно рассматриваться не по частям, как повелось, а в его целом.

Пока же в науке об экологии нет раздела о культурной среде, позволительно говорить о впечатлениях. <...>

Итак, *экология культуры!*

Есть большое различие между экологией природы и экологией культуры, к тому же весьма принципиальное.

До известных пределов утраты в природе восстановимы. Можно очистить загрязненные реки и моря, можно восстановить леса, поголовье животных, конечно, если не перейдена известная грань, если не уничтожена та или иная порода животных целиком, если не погиб тот или иной вид растений. Природа ... сама помогает человеку, ибо она «живая». Она обладает способностью к самоочищению, к восстановлению нарушенного человеком равновесия. Она залечивает раны, нанесенные ей извне — пожарами, вырубками, ядовитой пылью, сточными водами.

Иначе обстоит дело с памятниками культуры. Их утраты невосстановимы, ибо памятники культуры всегда индивидуальны, всегда связаны с определенной эпохой, с определенными мастерами. Каждый памятник разрушается навечно, искажается навечно, ранится навечно.

«Запас» памятников культуры, «запас» культурной среды крайне ограничен в мире, и он истощается со все прогрессирующей скоростью. Техника, которая сама является продуктом культуры, служит иногда в большей мере умерщвлению культуры, чем продлению ее жизни.

Градостроителям, как никому, нужны знания в области экологии культуры. <...>

Чтобы сохранить памятники культуры, необходимые для «нравственной оседлости» людей, мало только платонической любви к своей стране, любовь должна быть действенной.

А для этого нужны знания, и не только краеведческие, но и более глубокие, объединяемые в особую научную дисциплину – экологию культуры. <...>

Про то и про се...

Смотря передачу «В мире животных», я твердо усвоил: хищники нужны для экологического равновесия. Ну а если рассматривать человеческое общество как некое экологическое целое? Зачем нужны в нем прихвостни, доносчики, склочники? Достаточно, чтобы в здоровом коллективе появилось два-три таких хищника, – и всякое экологическое равновесие оказывается полностью разрушенным – сообщество просто перестает существовать. Человеческое общество в экологическом отношении отнюдь не похоже на животный мир.

Правда, в животном мире тоже бывают экологические нарушения: города переполняют вороны, а где есть вода – чайки. Они лишили города певчих птиц. Их нужно отстреливать.

А что делать со склочниками в научных учреждениях, которые тоже уничтожают «певчих птиц» – людей, способных к научной работе? Находят у них идеологические ошибки, перегибы, загибы, уклоны, методологические неправильности и пр.? Я думаю, что наши законы слишком для них демократичны, охраняют их, тогда как полагалось бы охранять здоровую часть коллектива от них. Что, например, делать с громилой В., позорившим нас за рубежом и со все нарастающей силой продолжающим разваливать учреждения, в которых его принимают на работу после изгнания (с огромным трудом) из очередного научно-исследовательского и педагогического института. Ведь он не один! Изменить порядки и привлекать к ответственности за ложные доносы.

Если в письме, обращенном таким хищником в выше-стоящие организации, есть неподтвержденные данные, немедленно привлекать к ответственности. А по телевидению открыть новую передачу «В мире людей», в которой рисовать психологию людей хороших и плохих, порядочных и лжецов, создающих хорошую атмосферу вокруг себя и разрушающих общество. Передачу по психологии поведения.

БИОСФЕРА И НООСФЕРА

В. И. Вернадский

Ноосфера есть новое геологическое явление на нашей планете. В ней впервые человек становится *крупнейшей геологической силой*. Он может и должен перестраивать своим трудом и мыслью область своей жизни, перестраивать коренным образом по сравнению с тем, что было раньше. Перед ним открываются все более и более широкие творческие возможности. И может быть, поколение наших внуков уже приблизится к их расцвету.

Здесь перед нами встала новая загадка. *Мысль не есть форма энергии*. Как же может она изменять материальные процессы? Вопрос этот до сих пор научно не разрешен. Его поставил впервые, сколько я знаю, американский ученый, родившийся во Львове, математик и биофизик *Альфред Лотка*. Но решить его он не мог. Как правильно сказал некогда Гёте (1749–1832), не только великий поэт, но и великий ученый, в науке мы можем знать только, *как* произошло что-нибудь, а не *почему*. Что касается наступления ноосферы, то эмпирические результаты такого «непонятного» процесса мы видим кругом нас на каждом шагу. Минералогическая редкость – самородное железо – вырабатывается теперь в миллиардах тонн. Никогда не существовавший на нашей планете самородный алюминий

производится теперь в любых количествах. То же самое имеет место по отношению к почти бесчисленному множеству вновь создаваемых на нашей планете искусственных химических соединений (биогенных «культурных» минералов). Масса таких искусственных минералов непрерывно возрастает. Все *стратегическое сырье* относится сюда. Лик планеты – биосфера – химически резко меняется человеком сознательно, и главным образом бессознательно. Меняется человеком физически и химически воздушная оболочка суши, все ее природные воды. В результате роста человеческой культуры в XX в. все более резко стали меняться прибрежные моря и части океана. Человек должен теперь принимать все большие и большие меры к тому, чтобы сохранить для будущих поколений никому не принадлежащие морские богатства. Сверх того человеком создаются новые виды и расы животных и растений. В будущем нам рисуются как возможные сказочные мечтания: человек стремится выйти за пределы своей планеты в космическое пространство. И, вероятно, выйдет.

В настоящее время мы не можем не считаться с тем, что в переживаемой нами великой исторической трагедии мы интуитивно пошли по правильному пути, который отвечает ноосфере. Я говорю «интуитивно», поскольку вся история человечества развивается в этом направлении. Историк и государственный деятель только подходят к охвату явлений природы с этой точки зрения. Очень интересен в этом отношении подход к этой проблеме, как историка и государственного деятеля, *Уинстона Черчилля* (1932).

Ноосфера – последнее из многих состояний эволюции биосферы в геологической истории – состояние наших дней. Ход этого процесса только начинает нам выясняться из изучения ее геологического прошлого в некоторых своих

аспектах. Приведу несколько примеров. Пятьсот миллионов лет тому назад, в кембрийской геологической эре, впервые в биосфере появились богатые кальцием скелетные образования животных, а растений больше двух миллиардов лет тому назад. Эта кальциевая функция живого вещества, ныне мощно развитая, была одной из важнейших эволюционных стадий геологического изменения биосферы. Не менее важное изменение биосферы произошло 70–110 млн лет тому назад, во время меловой системы, и особенно третичной. В эту эпоху впервые создались в биосфере наши зеленые леса, всем нам родные и близкие. Это другая большая эволюционная стадия, аналогичная ноосфере. Вероятно, в этих лесах эволюционным путем появился человек около 15–20 млн лет тому назад.

Сейчас мы переживаем новое геологическое эволюционное изменение биосферы. Мы входим в ноосферу. Мы вступаем в нее – в новый стихийный геологический процесс – в грозное время, в эпоху разрушительной мировой войны. Но важен для нас факт, что идеалы нашей демократии идут в унисон со стихийным геологическим процессом, с законами природы, отвечают ноосфере. Можно смотреть поэтому на наше будущее уверенно. Оно в наших руках. Мы его не выпустим.

22 июля, Боровое – 15 декабря 1943 г., Москва.

ПРИРОДА ПАССИОНАРНОСТИ

Л. Н. Гумилев

УЧЕНИЕ В. И. ВЕРНАДСКОГО О БИОСФЕРЕ

Поставив вопрос об энергетической сущности этногенеза, мы должны показать, какая форма энергии создает эти процессы. Но для этого необходимо отрешиться от некоторых обывательских представлений и заменить их научными. Вместо привычного отношения к себе как к независимому организму,

пусть даже постоянно взаимодействующему с другими организмами, «мы должны выразить живые организмы, как нечто целое и единое, ибо все они являются функцией биосферы... и огромной геологической силой, ее определяющей». Организмы, населяющие Землю, – не только совокупность индивидуальностей, но и «живое вещество», которое «связано с окружающей средой биогенным током атомов: своим дыханием, питанием и размножением».

Биосфера, согласно учению В. И. Вернадского, – это не только пленка «живого вещества» на поверхности планеты, но и все продукты ее жизнедеятельности за геологическое время: почвы, осадочные и метаморфические породы и свободный кислород воздуха. Мы ходим по трупам наших предков; мы дышим жизнью тех, кто давным-давно умер, и мы сами войдем в эту стихию, чтобы нами дышали наши потомки. «Все живое представляет непрерывно изменяющуюся совокупность организмов, между собою связанных и подверженных эволюционному процессу в течение геологического времени. Это динамическое равновесие, стремящееся с ходом времени перейти в статическое равновесие... Чем более длительно существование, если нет никаких равноценных явлений, действующих в противоположную сторону, тем ближе к нулю будет свободная энергия».

Для того чтобы понять этот принцип, надо усвоить еще одно обстоятельство. Косное вещество планеты подчинено закону возрастания энтропии. А живое вещество, наоборот, обладает антиэнтропийными свойствами. И все это многообразие живого и косного связано «биогенной миграцией атомов» или «биохимической энергией живого вещества биосферы».

Эта форма энергии столь же реальна и действенна, как и прочие, изученные физиками. И она, подобно им, подчиняется

закону сохранения энергии, т.е. может быть выражена в калориях или килограммометрах. За геологическое время наша планета обогащалась энергией, поглощая: 1) лучистую энергию Солнца; 2) атомную энергию радиоактивного распада внутри Земли; 3) космическую энергию рассеянных элементов, исходящую из нашей галактики.

И эта форма энергии заставляет организмы размножаться до возможных пределов, подобно тому как достаточно одного лепестка ряски, появившегося в пруду весной, чтобы к осени затянуло всю его поверхность до естественной границы – берегов. Тот же закон предельного распространения действителен для всех живых существ биосферы, а значит, и для людей.

Однако сама биосфера ставит границы организмам, ее составляющим. Биосфера мозаична: одни виды животных или растений ограничивают другие, и возникает гармония жизни – динамическое равновесие биоценозов большего и меньшего масштаба. Климатические условия на Земле разнообразны. Они определяются зональностью, удаленностью от океанов, сменами характеристик атмосферного давления – происхождения циклонов и другими причинами. А коль скоро так, то для организмов возникает потребность в адаптациях, что ограничивает возможности распространения уже территориально. Поэтому геобиоценозы, которые можно интерпретировать как сложные системы из живых и косных элементов, устойчивы. В них идут постоянные процессы, обеспечивающие циркуляцию энергии среди растений и животных одного местообитания, т.е. конверсия биоценоза.

Но ведь и люди входят в биоценозы. На преодоление постоянно возникающих трудностей уходят силы этнического сообщества, венчающего биоценоз. В спокойном состоянии оно лишено агрессивности по отношению к соседям и неспособно к

активному изменению природы, что способствует увеличению числа его членов за счет интенсивного размножения. Так создается этнос как система, так соподчиненность особей является условием существования. Но та же самая пассионарность толкает людей на взаимоистребление ради преобладания в системе; и тогда пассионарное напряжение уменьшается, пока не дойдет до нуля. После этого инерция движения, коренящаяся в социальных институтах и традициях, поддерживает существование системы, но она обречена и переходит в гомеостаз. Значит, все «застойные» этносы некогда были развивающимися, и те этносы, которые развиваются теперь, если не исчезнут, то станут «стабильными» когда-нибудь.

Подавляющее большинство этносов, без учета их численности, обитает или обитало на определенных территориях, входя в биоценоз данного ландшафта и составляя вместе с ним своего рода «замкнутую систему». Другие, развиваясь и размножаясь, распространяются за пределы своего биохора, но это расширение оканчивается тем, что они превращаются в этносы первого типа на вновь освоенной, но стабилизированной области приспособления. Наблюдается полная аналогия с космическими процессами термодинамики: «В замкнутой системе энтропия непрерывно увеличивается. Следовательно, организм (или система организмов – этнос. – Л. Г.) должен систематически удалять накапливающуюся энтропию. Поэтому живое вещество должно постоянно обмениваться с окружающей средой энергией и энтропией. Этот обмен регулируется управляющими системами, использующими для этого запасы информации. Совершенно невероятно, чтобы запасы информации возникали в организме или системе самопроизвольно. Следовательно, они передаются по наследству».

Как было показано выше, отмеченная физиками передача информации по наследству на языке историков называется «традицией», а на языке биологов – «сигнальной наследственностью». Исходя из всего, что было отмечено выше, этногенез – это процесс энергетический, а пассионарность – это эффект той формы энергии, которая питает этногенез.

МУТАЦИИ – ПАССИОНАРНЫЕ ТОЛЧКИ

Но спокойные состояния геобиоценозов не вечны. Они прерываются спазмами странной активности, губительной для ее носителей. Кузнечики, мирно скачущие по лугу, внезапно превращаются в саранчу, которая летит навстречу гибели, уничтожая все на своем пути. Тропические муравьи покидают свои благоустроенные жилища и движутся, истребляя все, что находят... для того чтобы погибнуть по дороге. Лемминги проходят сотни верст, чтобы броситься в волны океана. Микроорганизмы... и те поступают так же, порождая губительные эпидемии. Как объяснить эти странные явления? Видимо, нам следует снова обратиться к трудам В. И. Вернадского по биогеохимии.

Первый биогеохимический принцип гласит: «Биогенная миграция атомов химических элементов в биосфере всегда стремится к максимальному своему проявлению. Все живое вещество планеты является источником свободной энергии, может производить работу», разумеется, в физическом смысле, а под «свободной энергией» В. И. Вернадский понимает «энергию живого вещества, которая проявляется в сторону, обратную энтропии. Ибо действием живого вещества создается развитие свободной энергии, способной производить работу». Следовательно, наша планета получает из космоса больше энергии, нежели необходимо для поддержания равновесия биосферы, что ведет к эксцессам, порождающим среди

животных явления, подобные описанным выше, а среди людей – пассионарные толчки, или взрывы этногенеза.

Обязательным условием возникновения и течения процесса этногенеза (вплоть до затухания его, после чего этнос превращается в реликт) является пассионарность, т. е. способность к целенаправленным сверхнапряжением. Объяснить ее мы пока можем, лишь приняв гипотезу, т. е. суждение, объясняющее отмеченные факты, но не исключающее возможности появления других объяснений: пассионарность – это врожденная способность организма абсорбировать энергию внешней среды и выдавать ее в виде работы. У людей эта способность колеблется настолько сильно, что иногда ее импульсы ломают инстинкт самосохранения, как индивидуального, так и видового, вследствие чего некоторые люди, по нашей терминологии, – пассионарии, совершают и не могут не совершать поступки, ведущие к изменению их окружения. Это изменение касается в равной степени природной среды и отношений внутри человеческих сообществ, т. е. этносов. Следовательно, пассионарность имеет энергетическую природу, а психика особи лишь трансформирует на своем уровне импульсы, стимулирующие повышенную активность носителей пассионарности, создающей и разрушающей ландшафты, народы и культуры.

Наше утверждение отнюдь не парадоксально. Оно опирается на бесспорные положения физиологии. Еще И. М. Сеченов определил роль среды как физиологического фактора: «Организм без внешней среды, поддерживающий его существование, невозможен, поэтому в научное определение организма должна входить среда, влияющая на него». А если так, то не может быть исключен из рассмотрения и энергетический баланс среды.

Разумеется, необходимую для жизнедеятельности энергию организм получает не только путем питания, которое поддерживает температуру тела и восстанавливает отмирающие клетки. Ведь и дыхание, т. е. окислительные процессы в легких, не менее необходимо для жизни организма. То же самое следует сказать про взаимодействие с другими формами энергии: электрической (ионизация покровов), световой, радиационной, гравитационной. Все они по-разному влияют на организм, но без любой из них жить нельзя. Поэтому механизм переработки энергии внешней среды в энергию организма – это предмет физиологии. Для этнологии важно другое: почему у человека в отличие от животных колебания степени активности столь велики?

Тут можно предложить две равноправных гипотезы. Либо пассионарная особь захватывает больше энергии, нежели нормальная, либо она при равном захвате направляет энергию концентрированно (разумеется, бессознательно) на достижение той или иной цели. В обоих случаях результат будет тот же: высшая нервная деятельность особи будет более активной, нежели это характерно для нормальной, свойственной виду как таковому.

Таким образом, если социальные условия определяют направленность поступков человека, то энергетическое их напряжение зависит от состояния организма, в том числе генетически обусловленных признаков. Здесь мы соприкасаемся с некоторыми явлениями биологии: возникновением нового признака, появившегося внезапно не вследствие смешения. Это значит, что взрыву пассионарности (или пассионарному толчку) сопутствует мутагенный сдвиг, порождающий разнообразные отклонения от нормы. Однако большая часть физических и психических уродов гибнет без последствий, пассионарность же, являясь также продуктом мутации, в этом смысле – исключение.

Я. Я. Рогинский и М. Г. Левин, отмечая малую пластичность расовых признаков сравнительно с нерасовыми, тем не менее указывают на наличие даже расовых соматических изменений, возникших помимо метисации за исторический период. Изменения признаков идут либо вследствие адаптации к новым условиям, либо вследствие мутаций.

В последнем случае полезный признак сохраняется, а вредный – удаляется естественным отбором. Пассионарность – признак нерасовый и вредный, если не сказать губительный, и для самого носителя, и для его близких. И вот почему. Если войны происходят за пределами страны, то пассионарии отправляются в далекие походы, покидая свои семьи, хозяйство которых приходит в упадок. Так было в Испании в XVI в., когда конкистадоры сражались в Анауаке, Перу, на Филиппинах, а регулярные войска – в Нидерландах и во Франции. Нехватка умелых работников ощущалась столь остро, что даже гвозди для строительства кораблей приходилось закупать в Нидерландах и Германии. А ведь за сто лет до того толедские брони считались лучшими в Европе.

Но это еще не самое плохое. При пассионарных перегревах часто возникают кровавые уوبيцы, жертвами которых становятся не только соперники, но и их семьи. Таковы войны гвельфов и гибеллинов в Европе и эпоха «войны царств» (403–221 гг. до н.э.) в Китае. В этих и аналогичных войнах уцелели не те, кто воевал, а те, кто умел искусно прятаться. Однако особенности пассионарности как признака состоят, кроме прочего, в том, что она задерживается в популяции благодаря наличию так называемых «незаконных детей», наследующих биологические, а не социальные особенности родителей. Наличие же системных связей, как жестких (социальных), так и корпускулярных (этнических), повышает значение признака

для системы в целом, будь то «социальный организм» или суперэтнос. Ведь степень воздействия на природную среду и этническое окружение зависит не только от уровня техники, но и от пассионарной напряженности этноса как целостности, проходящей ту или иную фазу этногенеза. Но, мало того, Г. Ф. Дебец, И.А. и Н. Н. Чебоксаровы указывают, что мутации охватывают не всю Ойкумену, а определенные географические регионы: «Наши предки имели коричневую кожу, черные волосы, карие глаза, а блондины со светлыми глазами появились путем мутаций, сосредоточившихся главным образом в Северной Европе у берегов Балтийского и Северного морей».

Но разве эта мутация отличается от пассионарных толчков чем-либо, кроме того, что они возникают несколько чаще?

Можно было бы запросто отмахнуться от ответа на вопрос о происхождении мутаций и причине мутагенеза. Сами биологи на этот вопрос ответа не дают, справедливо ссылаясь на то, что данные, получаемые ими в эксперименте, т. е. артефакт, и механическое перенесение закономерностей, прослеженных в лаборатории, на то, что мы видим в природе, неоправданны. Но наша наука — этнология располагает абсолютной хронологией, а с помощью такого инструмента можно достичь некоторых полезных результатов.

Поскольку мы приравняли пассионарный толчок к микромутации, то, исследуя историческим путем даты и ареалы толчков, мы можем обогатить биологию данными, которые биологи смогут интерпретировать со своих позиций. Выше было наглядно показано, что биологические микромутации, а на языке этнологии — образование суперэтносов, связанное с пассионарными толчками, всегда захватывает зону земной поверхности, вытянутую в меридиональном или широтном направлении под каким-либо углом к меридиану и широте.

Но какие бы ландшафтные зоны ни находились на этой территории: горы, пустыни, морские заливы и т. п., она остается монолитной. Ландшафты и этнические субстраты обуславливают только то, что на охваченной взрывом пассионарности территории могут возникнуть два, три, четыре разных суперэтнуса в одну и ту же эпоху. Заведомо исключен перенос признака пассионарности путем гибридизации, так как последняя непременно отразилась бы на антропологическом типе метисов. Наземные барьеры исключают также культурный обмен и заимствование путем подражания. То и другое легко было бы проследить на произведениях искусства и материальной культуры.

Очевидно, мы встречаем особое явление, требующее специального описания. Напомним, что новый суперэтнос (или этнос) возникает из обязательного смешения нескольких этнических субстратов. Но не напоминает ли это простую электрическую батарею, для получения тока в которой должны присутствовать цинк, медь и кислота? Это, конечно, метафора, но ведь она иллюстрирует энергетический процесс, постепенно затухающий вследствие сопротивления среды. Но если так, то импульс тоже должен быть энергетическим, а поскольку он, по видимому, не связан с наземными природными и социальными условиями, то происхождение его может быть только внепланетарным.

Когда рассматриваешь ареалы пассионарных взрывов, то создается впечатление, будто земной шар исполосован неким лучом, причем – с одной лишь стороны, а распространение пассионарного толчка ограничивалось кривизной планеты. На месте «удара» появляются разнообразные мутанты, большая часть которых не жизнеспособна и исчезает в первом же поколении. Пассионарии также находятся вне нормы, но

особенности пассионарности таковы, что, прежде чем ее устранил естественный отбор, она оставляет след в этнической истории и в истории искусства и литературы, поскольку то и другое – продукт жизнедеятельности этноса.

Можно выдвинуть и другие гипотезы происхождения пассионарных взрывов или толчков: случайные флуктуации, наличие блуждающего гена, реакция на экзогенный возбудитель. Однако всему перечисленному противоречат факты. Не исключено, что и изложенная здесь гипотеза не подтвердится, но это никак не повлияет на применение концепции энергетической природы этногенеза к насущным проблемам географии и истории.

<...>

МЫСЛИ ПО ПОВОДУ НООСФЕРЫ

Как уже неоднократно отмечалось, сознательная деятельность людей играет не меньшую роль в исторических процессах, чем эмоциональная, но характер их различен принципиально. Бескорыстное стремление к истине порождает научные открытия, которые определяют возможность технических усовершенствований и тем самым создают предпосылки для роста производительных сил. Увлечение красотой формирует психику и художника, и зрителя. Жажда справедливости стимулирует социальные переустройства. Короче говоря, «человеческий разум, который не является формой энергии, а производит действия, как будто ей отвечающие», становится импульсом явления, именуемого прогрессом, и, следовательно, связан с общественной формой движения материи. Связь этих двух форм движения материи, которые соприсутствуют в каждом историческом событии, большом или малом, очевидна. Согласно В. И. Вернадскому, именно эволюция видов приводит к созданию форм жизни, устойчивых в биосфере (второй биохимический принцип),

и, следовательно, направленное (прогрессивное) развитие – это явление планетарное. Ю. П. Трусов уточняет это положение, утверждая, что «по отношению к породившему его ограниченному миру общество имеет не только черты преемственности, но и глубокие принципиально новые черты, которые выделяют его из всего биологического мира... Эти черты связаны прежде всего с разумом, познанием мира и социально организованным трудом». Это различие заставляет его выделить из биосферы особую область – ноосферу, т. е. сферу разума, продуктом которой является техника в самом широком смысле, включающем искусство, науку и литературу как кристаллизацию деятельности разума.

Но плоды рук человеческих имеют изначальное отличие от творений природы. Они выпадают из конверсии биоценозов, где идет постоянный обмен веществом и энергией, поддерживающий биоценозы как системные целостности. Человеческое творчество вырывает из природы частицы вещества и ввергает их в оковы форм. Камни превращаются в пирамиды или Парфенов, шерсть – в пиджаки, металл – в сабли и танки. А эти предметы лишены саморазвития; они могут только разрушаться. На это принципиальное различие природы и техники в широком смысле обратил внимание С. В. Калесник, указавший также, что не все создания человека таковы. Поле пшеницы, арык, стадо коров или домашняя кошка остаются в составе географической среды, несмотря на воздействие человека.

Итак, антропосфера занимает промежуточное положение между мертвой техносферой и живой природой. Но коль скоро так, то они находятся в оппозиции. И тут уместно ввести поправку Ю. К. Ефремова к оценке «ноосферы», которую он назвал «социосфрой»: «Так ли уж разумна «сфера разума»? Ведь ее развитие ведет к замене живых процессов, обогативших нашу планету запасами конденсированной энергии, укрытой

в почвах и осадочных породах, в каменном угле и нефти. Былая жизнь микроорганизмов подарила нам кислородную атмосферу и озоновый слой, спасающий нас от убийственных космических излучений. Растения, покрывающие землю, – это фабрики фотосинтеза, перерабатывающие свет в живую материю. Животные – наши меньшие братья регулируют биоценозы и сообщают им устойчивость».

А что дала нам ноосфера, даже если она действительно существует? От палеолита остались многочисленные кремневые: отщепы и случайно оброненные скребки да рубила; от неолита – мусорные кучи на местах поселений. Античность подарила нам развалины городов, а Средневековье – руины замков. Даже тогда, когда древние сооружения доживали до нашего времени, как, например, пирамиды или Акрополь, это всегда инертные структуры, разрушающиеся относительно медленно. И вряд ли в наше время найдется человек, который предпочел бы видеть на месте лесов и степей груды отходов и бетонированные площадки. А ведь техника и ее продукты – это овеществление разума.

Короче говоря, как бы мы ни относились к идее существования ноосферы, полярность техники и жизни неоспорима. И тут перед нами встает задача определить соотношение пассионарности, инициирующей создание этносов, и сферы сознания, порождающего культуру и технику.

QUESTIONS ON COMPREHENSION AND FOR DISCUSSION

1. Who and what gave birth to ecolinguistics?
2. How did Einar Haugen define language ecology?
3. What is metaphorical about “*language is a “tool” or an “instrument” of communication*”?
4. Why does it seem to Haugen that the term “ecology of language” covers a broad range of interests?
5. What are Edward Sapir’s considerations on language and environment?
6. What according to Sapir most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of the speakers?
7. What about the languages of primitive and civilized peoples? Comment on the following sentence from the article: “*A lion is merely a lion, but a mountain lion suggests something more than the animal referred to*” and “*A culture, however, develops in numberless ways and may reach any degree of complexity*”?
8. What facts about the beginning of ecolinguistics does Al. Fill present in the article? What are the essential points of the article? How do other papers complete it?

PART III. PUBLICIST TEXTS

THE G 20'S NEW GUIDELINES WILL HELP INVESTORS TACKLE CLIMATE CHANGE

The companies in their portfolios will be pressured to report on climate change: Guidelines

Emma Herd

New guidelines being presented to the G20 this weekend will change the way individuals, companies, investors and regulators manage the financial risks of climate change. These risks include physical events, such as changing weather patterns and natural disasters, as well as new technologies and regulations.

As big investors adopt the guidelines, the companies in their portfolios will be pressured to report on climate change. This will make it easier for investors of all kinds to understand the impacts of climate change on their portfolios, and to assess new opportunities, such as new products and services that will be required and developed.

Companies like BHP have already begun reporting on how climate change will affect their businesses. But, until now, corporate disclosure on climate change has been patchy, shallow and not always financially relevant.

The new guidelines will create a common language for talking about climate change as a financial risk. This will drive more detailed reporting on how climate change is impacting investment portfolios, investment decisions, financial performance and strategies to manage the risk.

What are the guidelines?

The guidelines have been created by a G20 taskforce that includes investors, businesses, accounting firms, stock exchanges and ratings agencies from around the world. The guidelines are voluntary but are already being adopted by big investors who want a standard for reporting on climate risks. As big investors adopt the guidelines they will pressure the companies in their portfolios to do the same.

The guidelines build on existing accounting and reporting frameworks. The focus is on company performance data and market information that can be used in investment decisions.

The guidelines cover a range of reporting requirements about the impact of climate change. Companies will need to report increased operating costs due to new regulation, necessary investment in low-emissions technology, or reduced revenue as a result of heat stress or extreme weather events. This kind of information allows investors to compare how effectively companies are managing climate-related events.

The taskforce is also recommending that individual companies report on their corporate governance approach to climate change, actual and potential climate impacts over the short, medium and long term and strategies for tackling these impacts, as well as their overall approach to managing climate risk.

There will be additional guidance for a range of specific industries that account for the largest proportion of greenhouse gas emissions, energy and water usage.

One of the taskforce's key recommended disclosures responds to investor calls for companies to publish "2 C scenario analyses". These reports assess the potential business, strategic and financial impacts of climate change, taking into consideration different climate-related scenarios. In Australia, BHP, AGL and Westpac have all published 2 C scenario analyses. Other major companies have work under way.

What is the impact?

In light of the new guidelines, a group of Australian and New Zealand institutional investors with \$1.6 trillion in assets under management have developed a guide to review and improve climate change reporting in Australia.

We are already seeing big investors pressure the companies in their portfolios to report on climate risks.

One of the world's largest investors, Blackrock, recently voted in favour of a shareholder resolution calling on oil giant ExxonMobil to increase its climate change reporting. The resolution passed with 62% of the vote after a similar resolution failed last year.

There is good news for the ordinary investors as well. The more big investors and companies report on the impacts of climate change, the more information will be available for everyone. You and I will be able to better understand what role our retirement savings are playing in tackling climate change.

What gets measured gets managed, including climate change. Whether it is choosing to place your savings with a fund that best mirrors your personal concerns about the climate, or selecting a specific deep green or fossil-fuel-free fund option, the more information funds produce, the better informed all of our investment decisions will be.

From *The Conversation* July 8, 2017

GREENING THE BIG APPLE

The mayor's long-term plans for saving the environment

The city is in pretty good shape. Unemployment is at a record low. It is safer now than it was when Kennedy was president. Tourism is thriving. The bond rating is high. After the September 11th 2001 attack, many expected the worst for New York. But the

mayor, Michael Bloomberg, has turned deficits into surpluses. He has also managed to make New Yorkers live healthier lives, banning smoking and trans-fats. Now, he has set his sights on the city's long-term sustainability.

The population is expected to grow by almost 1 m to 9 m by 2030 – and the infrastructure is already crumbling. If something is not done to make the Big Apple greener, said Mr Bloomberg on April 22nd, New York will be on a “collision course with the environment”. He proceeded to unveil a 25-year vision that he hopes will be a model for other cities.

The mayor is proposing 127 new initiatives dealing with land, air, water, energy and transport. His proposals include introducing molluscs into the city's waterways as natural bio-filters, adding bicycle lanes and hastening the cleaning and rezoning of 7,600 acres (3,100 hectares) of contaminated land. He hopes to add 1m trees. New parks should mean that every New Yorker lives no more than 10 minutes away from one. School playgrounds will be open to the public.

Some of his provisions are even more ambitious. He plans to cut the city's greenhouse gas emissions by 30% in part by improving the efficiency of power plants. To pay for this, a \$2.50 monthly surcharge will go on electricity bills. He argues that by spending \$30 a year until 2015, every household will save \$240 a year after that. This bid for energy conservation would be the broadest attack on climate change ever undertaken by an American city.

The most controversial proposal and the most politically courageous is congestion pricing. A one-time sceptic, Mr Bloomberg has been won over by the success of pricing in London and Singapore and now intends to set up a three-year pilot programme. The \$8 fee to enter Manhattan below 86th Street will, he hopes, encourage more people to use public transport, thus improving the

air, general health (in some areas one in four children suffer from asthma) and the quality of life. Taxis are exempt. By his reckoning, only 5% of New Yorkers commute to Manhattan by car. Those drivers will pay about half the fees, suburban commuters and commercial vehicles the rest.

Arnold Schwarzenegger, California's verdant governor, and Britain's Prime Minister, Tony Blair, both sent messages of support to the mayor. But Mr Bloomberg still has to win over his own state. He hopes, for instance, that the state legislature will agree to create a body with authority to raise money for improving transport. The city will commit \$200m a year to such an authority and he wants Albany to match it, plus help from the federal government. Congestion pricing is expected to raise \$380m in its first year alone.

Mr Bloomberg's vision is ambitious. But he needs to overcome Albany's doubts, and to win over public opinion in New York. He must do it fast: he will be in office for fewer than 1,000 more days.

From *The Economist*, April 26, 2007

THE PRICE OF VIRTUE: HOW TO GET PEOPLE RECYCLING MORE – EVEN IF THEY DO NOT PARTICULARLY WANT TO

Plastic here, newspapers there, bottles in that pile, tin cans over there. Across the rich world tonight a small army of worthy householders will pick through their rubbish to ready it for the recyclers. It is hardly pleasant work, but at least recyclers bear the mark of civic virtue – unlike those ghastly, unrecycling planet-wreckers next door.

That mix of indignation and righteousness is an odd attitude to hold towards a week's yellowing copies of the *Times* and a few empty wine bottles. But it is what Ken Livingstone, London's mayor, taps into when he condemns expensive four-by-four

“Chelsea tractors” for the petrol they consume and the fumes they emit (even if sports cars are more extravagant). When free-riders, unrestrained and undertaxed, are thought to trample over the diligence of others, the others soon become peeved. Why should you recycle if the extra room in the landfill is taken up by the rubbish of those too selfish or lazy to care? It is the moral expression of a market failure.

Unfortunately, it is also an invitation to bureaucracy to do its worst. Recycling is too often too complex – paper but not cardboard, plastic or no plastic, and so on. It is littered with targets and directives, requiring this and mandating that, without much sign that the thresholds are well-founded. Indeed, plenty of people suspect that lorry-loads of stuff collected for recycling end up in landfill instead. That is a pity, because it discourages a useful practice.

Selling rubbish

It should not be taken for granted that recycling is more efficient than chucking something away. Comparing all the costs, including collection, landfill, disposal, pollution and the value of new materials is difficult. But the signs are that recycling usually does make sense. A study by the Technical University of Denmark looked at 55 products and compared the effects of burying, burning or recycling them. More than 80% of the time, the researchers found, recycling was the most efficient thing to do with household rubbish. There were exceptions – Britain imports too much green glass (all that wine), which is wastefully ground into aggregates and sand for building; it would be more economically efficient and environmentally friendly to throw the bottles away. But the savings are mostly worthwhile. Recycling aluminium requires 95% less energy than making it from scratch; the figure is 70% for plastics and 40% for paper.

So what is the best way to get more people to recycle more? The first step is to use new technologies that allow for a “single stream” of recyclable waste which is sorted on a conveyor belt using an arsenal of hands, “spinning disc” screens and sorting machines. People are more inclined to recycle things if they do not have to sort them into different bins. San Francisco switched to single-stream recycling a few years ago and now boasts one of the highest recycling rates in America.

The second step is to acknowledge that the best way of recycling waste may well be to sell it, often to emerging markets. That is controversial, because of the suspicion that the waste will be dumped, or that workers and the environment will be poorly protected. Yet recycling has economies of scale and the transport can be virtually free – filling up the containers that came to the West full of clothes and electronics and would otherwise return empty to China. What’s more, those who are prepared to buy waste are likely to make good use of it.

The last step is to make people pay for their unrecyclable waste and reward them for what they recycle. Electronic tags fixed to bins can weigh each household’s waste and bill for it accordingly. Recycling, even if cheaper than outright disposal, will not usually pay for itself, but local authorities can share the savings with households. There are limits to this approach: you do not want people fly-tipping or putting unrecyclable rubbish into the recycling bin just to earn credits. But a system that relies more on self-interest than on virtue should both increase recycling and decrease neighbourly ill will.

From *The Economist*, June 7th 2007

WEATHER

The naughtiest thing in the world is the weather. It's like a capricious woman who always does the opposite to what you ask her. When you want to go for a picnic in the open air you ask the skies to remain clear and the day to be fine. Nervously you switch on the radio and listen to the weather forecast. You tremble with joy to hear that it'll stay warm and dry with bright sunshine and moderate breeze. Your imagination draws a hot summer afternoon and yourself saying: "Nice weather we are having today!" You take a lot of food and no warm clothes, go to the countryside but ... do not get anything sunny. You get it cloudy and cool with intermittent drizzle which ends with a thundery shower. The sky is so heavily cast with clouds, the downpours follow one another with such frequency, the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning are so frightening that you've got no illusions left. You throw away the food and go back hungry and angry. And when you are already approaching your home soaked to the skin it suddenly brightens up. Oh, Goodness! Each summer every student survives through the best of his or her life - an examination session. Then many students plead: "Please, weather, stay cloudy, chilly and even cold with brisk northerly wind and rain torrents leaving pools and puddles everywhere, especially on the playground. And I'll be a good student." The radio promises: "Patchy light drizzle with showery outbreaks of rain." But the "patch" is never in the right place. Instead the skies send heat and excellent weather for a sun tan. Everyone knows that sun tan never helps at exams. 15 And it is always like this. When you go skiing and want to have frosty weather with a lot of snow, it starts thawing and your skis sink in the slush. Instead of a snowfall and hoarfrost on the trees you get excellent sleet. The weather does not feel any pangs of remorse. When you go in the car to the country, enjoying nice weather and a beautiful view of a rainbow in the blue sky, you pay no attention to some haze on the horizon.

Some time later a thin mist in the distance turns into a thick fog and you spend a lovely two hours instead of one at the steering wheel. When you plant some much-cared-for flowers in the garden, either a ground frost or a hail storm kills them. Digging muddy flowerbeds one feels exasperated: "What beastly weather we've had this week! And it keeps nasty! Wretched!" To tell the truth, sometimes the weather is ashamed and turns for the better. But not always. More often it sticks to its own pattern and after a short warm spell turns bad again. Why is it always like this? Maybe, because the weather likes surprises and wants to bring in adventures to our life, breaking the boring routine with marvellous happenings? In England, where the weather seems to change every minute, you might imagine that people's moods would reflect these changes. But the English are regarded as an undemonstrative and rather placid race. For myself, I know I am affected by the weather. There is a big difference in my energy levels during the different seasons. In winter I have nothing like as much enthusiasm for doing things as I have in the summer. Even on sunny days I find it difficult to make myself do anything more than I have to. While not getting particularly depressed during winter, I do feel rather like a hibernating animal. The one exception to this is when I go to the mountains - in spite of the freezing temperatures, I feel exhilarated by the fresh, clear air and once more ready for anything. Unlike most people, I love the wind. I have never experienced a tornado or a real hurricane, just a strong gale, and I find it thrilling. The wind gives me both physical and mental energy. It sweeps away all my stale thoughts and gives me the feeling of being able to start again. It makes me feel much more creative, but at the same time slightly mad. In contrast to this happy feeling produced by the wind, my lowest time is on days of grey skies and constant rain. Then, it doesn't take much to make me short-tempered with people; also, the ability to make sensible decisions seems to go out of the window at this time. My wet weather

mood contrasts greatly with my sunny day behaviour. I notice two changes in me – one which is more dramatic than the other. If we have a period of dull weather followed by a bright sunny day, I feel cheerful, happy and full of joy, as if a burden has been lifted from me. If this one sunny day is followed by more and more sunny days, my mood settles down into one of contentment, openness and a feeling of physical well-being. My face relaxes, as does my body, and I feel able to cope with everybody and everything. There is no doubt that the weather plays an important part in my behaviour. Sometimes, however, it is difficult to distinguish between a weather-related mood and just a bad temper. It's very easy to blame the weather!

From Seasons and Weather and Time

ANIMALS ON-LINE

J. Wilson, A. Clare

They are marketed as the perfect birthday present for animal-loving children, or a classy addition to the image-conscious suburban home. But the products being sold over the Internet are not soft toys or unusual knick-knacks, but potentially dangerous live animals from the world's most endangered species.

Gorillas, tigers and chimps can be bought and sold as little as a few hundred dollars, despite international bans on their sale. The illegal online trade in rare and exotic wildlife is now worth billions of dollars, according to a report by the IFAW (the International Fund for Animal Welfare). Indeed, IFAW researchers discovered well over 9,000 live animals and products made from endangered species for sale on Internet auction sites, in chat rooms and on the small ads pages. The scale of the trade is astonishing.

So what exactly would it cost and what would you have to do to buy a wild animal? The researchers say you wouldn't have to do a great deal. Want a gorilla in your living room? It's yours for \$9,000.

Just go to London and pick it up as if it were a kitten, no questions asked. What about proof that you can look after and house it adequately? None needed. Although gorillas require space and very specialized care, the IFAW found a British-based website selling a seven-year-old gorilla in January 2005. For those with a little more headroom, giraffes can also be bought. Got-PetsOnline.com offered a ‘sweet natured’ two-year-old giraffe for \$ 15,000.

However, it is monkeys that make up a large majority of Internet sales, and experts are particularly concerned at the way they are marketed and traded on the net. A number of websites describe them as if they are little more than large hairy dolls. These websites offer ‘accessories’ such as nappies, feeding bottles and clothes to go with the monkey. The traders even have a ‘cute’ name for themselves: ‘monkey moms’. They call the animals themselves ‘monkids’. Virtually none of these websites explain how to look after the animals.

When the IFAW undercover investigators contacted some of the US traders, they were told that it would be possible to export them to the UK – a blatant breach of EU law. There is also concern that demand for monkeys and chimps is fuelling the illegal trapping and trading of wild species. Where there were approximately two million chimpanzees in the wild a century ago, there are as few as 150,000 left, and one research project says that by 2020 there will be a maximum of 100,000.

Phyllis Campbell-McRae, director of IFAW UK, says, “Trade on the Internet is easy, cheap and anonymous. Criminal gangs are taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the Web. The result is a cyber black market where the future of the world’s rarest animals is being traded away. Our message to online shoppers is simple buying wildlife online is as damaging as killing it yourself.”

How watching animals will save us and how rats will rescue us...

During the tsunami disaster of 2004, over 300,000 people died. No one has counted the number of animals killed, but we know that it wasn't many. All over the region, before the disaster struck, animals were behaving strangely.

Shortly before the tsunami, in Khaolak, Thailand, twelve elephants that were giving tourists rides became agitated. They suddenly left their usual habitat, carrying four surprised Japanese tourists to safety. On the Eastern coast of India, flamingos, which should have been breeding at that time of the year, suddenly flew to higher ground. Of the two thousand wild pigs that inhabit an Indian nature reserve, only one was found dead after the tsunami.

The idea that animals are able to predict disasters is nothing new. In fact, it has been well-documented over the years. Twelve hours before Hurricane Charlie hit Florida in 2004, fourteen electronically tagged sharks left their natural habitat and stayed in deeper waters for two weeks. The sharks, which were being observed by US biologists, had never done this before. They escaped the hurricane. In the winter of 1975 in Haicheng, China, snakes which have normally have been hibernating were seen on the ground. Days later there was an earthquake which measured 7,3 on the Richter Scale.

Unlike human beings, wild animals perceive a great deal of information about the worlds around them. Their senses are sharper and they can feel even the smallest changes in the environment. In other words, they see natural warnings that are invisible to the human eye. Ancient people probably had similar 'animal instincts', which they needed to survive, but these have been lost to us as modern technology leads us further away from the dangers that nature poses.

The real question is, can we use the reaction of animals to save ourselves from natural disasters? Animal behavior expert, Rupesh Kaneira, believes we have no choice. ‘The technology which we can rely on isn’t always perfect, and in poorest countries it isn’t even available. Animals know the environment better than any of us. When they run for their lives, we must follow.’

* * *

In the earthquake capitals of the world – Japan, Los Angeles, Turkey – rats will soon be Man’s new best friend.

In the aftermath of an earthquake, rescue teams send in dogs which are trained to smell people. No one knows how many lives they have saved, but there are, of course, drawbacks: dogs are big and they can’t get into small spaces. Now a new research project is using a smaller animal to save lives: the rat.

How does it work? Firstly, the rat is trained to smell people. When this happens, the rat’s brain gives off a signal, similar to what happens when a dog smells a bomb. So the trained rats are sent into the wreckage. On their back is a very small radio, which is connected to the rat’s brain. The rescuers, at a safe distance, monitor the radio signals. When the rat’s brain activity jumps, the rescuers know that someone is alive.

Of course there are already robots which can do this job, one of which looks and moves like a snake, but rats are better because they can smell more efficiently than robots, whose noses don’t work well when there are other smells around. Rats also crawl efficiently in destroyed buildings – something which robots are not as good at – and they don’t need electricity. What’s more, rats have a survival instinct: they get out when it isn’t safe.

From Total English Advanced Pearson Longman 2007

THE SECRET WORLD OF ANIMALS

Tom Martin

There is a long history of animals being used to defend and protect us – from Hannibal’s elephants to guide dogs for the blind. But nowadays there’s a whole new dimension to what animals can do – including spying missions!

Codename: Mr Codfish

The US Navy started using trained sea lions to protect their ports in 2000. They can see and hear extremely well under water, and are able to detect enemy swimmers and sea mines. Traditionally, human divers have had to do this job but now they don’t need to, as sea lions can stay underwater for much longer periods. They have been so successful that the Navy might start using other marine animals for this work.

Codename: Goldwing

Pigeons were extensively used as messengers in the two World Wars and were so important that UK citizens couldn’t shoot them. They had two crucial qualities: they were able to find their way home from anywhere and could fly at great speed. On one famous occasion in 1918, a heroic French pigeon called *Cher Ami* saved 194 soldiers, and won a medal for bravery! Another equally heroic pigeon had to wear a camera around its neck and was supposed to take photos. Unfortunately, he couldn’t fly very far with it, but still succeeded in returning on foot two days later!

Codename: Squeak-squeak-bang-bang

A Belgian research group has trained rats to find landmines in ex-war zones like Mozambique. Rats can do the job very well because of their excellent sense of smell. They have to run around a specified area and are supposed to stop and scratch the ground when they smell explosives. More than 50 people a day are killed or

injured by landmines but rats have been able to reduce this risk. On one occasion, they managed to find nine mines in one day, and are sure to get better at it in future.

However, not everybody is happy about all this. One animal rights supporter said, “Why has such cruelty to animals been allowed in this country? Ordinary people can’t treat animals badly but scientists are allowed to. There’s so much technology these days, they needn’t use sea lions! Missions like this can be very dangerous, and the animals could die. In fact, they might! But nobody will ever tell us. Animals shouldn’t suffer like this. They should be free!”

From *Success* by J. Comyns Carr, J. Parsons

HOW TO SHOOT AN AMATEUR NATURALIST

G. Durrell

(Shoot One)

They say contrasts are good for you. Well, we had a contrast. We left the shimmering city of Nimes, we left the twanging Punch-and-Judy accents of Provence and we flew up to the most northerly point of the British Isles, to the island of Unst in Shetland, where the air was bland and only as warm as fresh milk, and the accents were as blurred as the gentle noises of humble-bees.

Aberdeen is a lovely, neat city its solemn-faced houses, wearing roof with great beds of roses with huge multi-coloured petals, silk-soft, feasting the eye and the nose. I was delighted that, because of the complications of getting to Shetland on the right date, we were forced to fly from Aberdeen to Lerwick, the southernmost tip of the island, and then make our way in a minibus by road to Unst, crossing by two ferries en route as a bonus.

It was the colouring that first struck you. The gentleness of the colours, was as though each green or brown had been muted and softened by an appliqué of chalk, and the clouds, low and sculpted to the exact shade of grey and very pale coffee of the tangles of sheep's wool that hung on the fences and in spiky thickets. The rolling, low hills were pale, creamy emerald or, where the heather grew, a rich chocolatey-mauve. The hedges along the way were golden with buttercups and dandelions, and in places purple loose-strife blazed and in the damp hollows golden iris bloomed like banners in an army of green sword-shaped leaves. For some reason, it reminded me of New Zealand with its rolling empty landscape and roads with practically no traffic and the same sense of remoteness. In places the heather was sabre-slashed where the peat had cut out in pieces from the land. These bricks of peat, rich and dark as plum cake, lay drying in great jumbled piles beside the tiny crofts.

We drove as far as we could, and then started over the slopes of heather and emerald-green grass towards the great cliffs of Hermaness. In amongst the heather, sundews raised innocent sticky faces to any passing insect, ready to trap and engulf it, so many thumbnail octopi growing among the twisted witches'-broom heather roots. Over the green grass, cropped like a bowling-green by the grazing sheep, cotton-grass grew in great profusion. From a distance, this looked like fields of snow, but when you got close and walked through it and it was blown by the wind it was like a million rabbit scuts, flicking and glinting.

Overhead, the chocolate-dark skuas wheeled on huge wings, keeping a careful eye on us, for they had young concealed in the heather. We discovered one youngster, the size of a small chicken. Clad in pale tawny down, with his black face and beak and huge, dark, soulful eyes, he was an enchanting baby. Lee and I pursued him

as he waddled off through the heather and his parents started to dive-bomb us – a really impressive performance. Huge wings taut, they swooped at us, the wind whooshing through their feathers, looking like strange, coffee-coloured Concordes.

We moved on, the flocks of sheep like clotted cream on the green baize of the turf, the sun brilliant above us. We had come muffled up against the reputedly inclement weather of the Shetland Islands and now found ourselves sweating and discarding coats and pullovers. Presently, the land started to drop away to precipitous cliffs and beyond was the Atlantic, blue as gentian flowers. Wheatears were everywhere, their rumps flashing like white lights as they danced ahead of us. Two ravens, black as mourning-bands, flew slowly along the edge of the cliffs, cronking at one another dolefully. High in the sky, a lark hung and poured forth its wonderful liquid song. If a shooting star could sing, I believe it would sing like a lark.

Soon we came to the cliff-edge. Some six hundred feet below us, the great smooth blue waves shouldered their way in between the rocks in a riot of spray like beds of white chrysanthemums. The air was full of the surge of surf and the cries of thousands upon thousands of seabirds that drifted like a snowstorm along the cliffs. The mind boggled at the numbers. Hundreds upon hundreds of gannets, kitti-wakes, fulmars, shags, razorbills, gulls, skuas, and tens of thousands of puffins. Could the sea possibly hold enough fish to feed this cacophonous aerial army and its numerous families that lined the cliff-faces?

At the cliff-edge, where the earth was soft enough for digging, was the puffins' special area. Here they excavated their burrows with powerful beaks and feet. They sat around in their hundreds, almost letting you tread on them before launching themselves over the cliff's edge and flying away with rapid wing-beats, their feet trailing behind

them like little orange ping-pong bats. To see the green cliff-tops lined with hundreds of these comical waddling birds, each very upright in its neat black and white dinner-jacket, each wearing (as it were) one of those carnival noses, a huge beak striped orange and red. It was like watching a convention of clowns. Many of them, to add to their ridiculous aspect, had just flown in from fishing far out at sea (for they travel as far as three hundred kilometres away to fish) bearing in their brightly painted breaks handfuls of sand-eels. These were carefully arranged across the beak, hanging down each side like a fishy moustache. The extraordinary thing was that the sand-eels were arranged head to tail like sardines in a tin. How the birds manage to catch the eels and arrange them in this meticulous way is an extraordinary feat.

MODERN ENGLISH

Lennox Morrison

With non-native English speakers outnumbering native speakers, it's up to Anglophones to learn how to speak their language within a global community.

16 December

Until seven years ago, Chicago-born Ben Barron had worked only with fellow Americans. But when he took a job with Zurich Insurance Company, an international company headquartered in Switzerland, Barron found that his new colleagues across Europe, who used English as a shared language, had difficulty understanding him.

“Fortunately I was surrounded by people who would stop and say things like, ‘So what do you mean by that?’ and make me clarify,” he recalls. “So I started to become aware of some of my own verbal communication habits that might lead to misunderstandings.”

After taking an in-company e-learning course to help native English speakers communicate better with non-native speakers, Barron slowed down his pace of speaking and edited his “American speak” to avoid jargon and idioms that don’t translate globally.

“That e-learning exposed me to the thought that maybe people could not process my verbal information as quickly as I thought they were,” says Barron, who is now the company’s senior learning and development consultant for international operations, in Schaumburg, Illinois.

“Another takeaway was avoiding the use of sayings,” he says. “For example, a saying like ‘That dog don’t hunt’ which means ‘That’s probably not that good of an idea’. That’s a very southern American saying that people didn’t understand.”

He also filtered out references to baseball and football and changed his writing style. Instead of contractions like ‘can’t’, ‘don’t’ and ‘doesn’t’, he writes the phrases out in full.

Barron is one of a small but growing number of native English speakers recalibrating how he uses his mother tongue.

Turning the tables

With non-native English speakers now vastly outnumbering native speakers, it’s up to the latter to be more adaptable, says Neil Shaw, intercultural fluency lead at the British Council, the UK’s international educational and cultural body. About 1.75 billion people worldwide speak English at a useful level, and by 2020 it’s expected to be two billion, according to the British Council.

In the Council’s new intercultural fluency courses launched in September, native English speakers in countries from Singapore to South Africa have been prompted to rethink how they communicate. “It’s a bit of a revelation to many of them that their English isn’t as clear and effective as they think it is,” Shaw says.

Increasingly, English is being used as a lingua franca. “It’s not an exotic thing anymore to be working in a global, virtual team,” says Robert Gibson, an intercultural consultant based in Munich, Germany. “It’s everyday life for many people and it’s quite stressful and difficult.”

It can be a culture shock for native speakers to encounter new varieties of English.

“The English language is changing quite radically,” says Gibson. “The trend is not to have one or two clear standard Englishes like American English and British English, but to have a lot of different types of English.”

Chinese English, known as chinglish, and German English, called denglish, are examples, he says. “English is also developing within organisations. In companies, they have their own style of English which is not necessarily understood by native speakers. We are getting away from saying that there is a standard English you need to conform to [towards] saying that there are different standards of English for different situations.”

A native-speaker disadvantage

Mother-tongue English may not even be an advantage anymore, says Dr Dominic Watt, sociolinguistics expert at the University of York in the UK.

“It’s not necessarily in your interests to be a native speaker of English because you haven’t had to go through the same learning process that the non-natives have. So they’re all on the same page and it’s the native speakers who are the odd ones out,” Watt says.

At the European Parliament, for instance, non-native speakers complain to the Anglophones, “Can’t you just speak English like the rest of us do!”, says Watt. “The power balance has shifted a bit by sheer virtue of numbers.”

Gradually, native speakers are realising that something is going wrong with the way they're communicating, says Cathy Wellings, director of the London School of International Communication in the UK.

"People are presenting to a non-native speaker audience and they realise that it isn't going across as well as at home, or they're great negotiators at home but they don't end up winning the deals when they take it overseas," she says.

Monolingual English speakers have no insight into the challenges faced by non-native speakers. "One of the things I always reinforce with native speakers is that the cognitive load of operating in another language is high, it's tough and tiring, so if we native speakers can help them out it's going to make it easier," Wellings adds.

When it comes to English grammar, learners often outshine native speakers. "In written business communication courses with mixed groups, the Brits can be quite sheepish that they don't know the grammar that non-native speakers do," she says.

Slow down and shut up

The most useful change native speakers can make is to slow down their speech, says Bob Dignen, director and owner of UK-based York Associates, the international communications training provider that created Zurich Insurance's e-learning course, English for the Native Speaker.

Native speakers on average speak 250 words per minute, while the average intermediate non-native speaker is comfortable with around 150 words per minute, Dignen explains. "To speak at a slower speed is a behavioural competence that can take six to 12 months to master. Actors learn these skills – to control speech, increase the length of pause," says Dignen. "You can kind of train by just recording yourself on a mobile phone as you speak to somebody

and then play that back and try to control your speech until you're speaking at 150 words per minute."

Articulation is also important, he says. "Instead of 'I will' we tend to say 'I'll' and then in fast speech we don't even say that we say 'ull'. Begin to non-contract and say 'I will' and 'I am' rather than 'I'll' and 'I'm' and you can make yourself more intelligible."

Monolinguals tend to use a communication style that leads "unwittingly to the marginalisation of the non-native speaker in conversation," he says. "It leads to dominance in terms of talking time with the monolingual speaking more than the non-native speaker."

"Shutting up and asking more questions is what I counsel native speakers to do. It makes a huge, huge difference."

www.bbc.com/capital/story/20161215-you-need-to-go-back-to-school-to-relearn-english

NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS ARE THE WORLD'S WORST COMMUNICATORS

Lennox Morrison

In a room full of non-native speakers, 'there isn't any chance of understanding'. It might be their language, but the message is often lost.

31 October 2016

It was just one word in one email, but it triggered huge financial losses for a multinational company.

The message, written in English, was sent by a native speaker to a colleague for whom English was a second language. Unsure of the word, the recipient found two contradictory meanings in his dictionary. He acted on the wrong one.

Months later, senior management investigated why the project had flopped, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars. “It all traced back to this one word,” says Chia Suan Chong, a UK-based communications skills and intercultural trainer, who didn’t reveal the tricky word because it is highly industry-specific and possibly identifiable. “Things spiralled out of control because both parties were thinking the opposite.”

When such misunderstandings happen, it’s usually the native speakers who are to blame. Ironically, they are worse at delivering their message than people who speak English as a second or third language, according to Chong.

“A lot of native speakers are happy that English has become the world’s global language. They feel they don’t have to spend time learning another language,” says Chong. “But... often you have a boardroom full of people from different countries communicating in English and all understanding each other and then suddenly the American or Brit walks into the room and nobody can understand them.”

The non-native speakers, it turns out, speak more purposefully and carefully, typical of someone speaking a second or third language. Anglophones, on the other hand, often talk too fast for others to follow, and use jokes, slang and references specific to their own culture, says Chong. In emails, they use baffling abbreviations such as ‘OOO’, instead of simply saying that they will be out of the office.

“The native English speaker... is the only one who might not feel the need to accommodate or adapt to the others,” she adds.

Relating to your audience

With non-native English speakers in the majority worldwide, it’s Anglophones who may need to up their game.

“Native speakers are at a disadvantage when you are in a lingua franca situation,” where English is being used as a common

denominator, says Jennifer Jenkins, professor of global Englishes at the UK's University of Southampton. "It's the native English speakers that are having difficulty understanding and making themselves understood."

Non-native speakers generally use more limited vocabulary and simpler expressions, without flowery language or slang. Because of that, they understand one another at face value. Jenkins found, for instance, that international students at a British university understood each other well in English and swiftly adapted to helping the least fluent members in any group.

‘What the hell is ETA?’

Zurich-based Michael Blattner's mother tongue is Swiss-German, but professionally he interacts mostly in English. "I often hear from non-native colleagues that they do understand me better when listening to me than when doing so to natives," says the head of training and proposition, IP Operations at Zurich Insurance Group.

One bugbear is abbreviations.

"The first time I worked in an international context somebody said 'Eta 16:53' and I thought 'What the hell is ETA?'," says Blattner. "To add to the confusion, some of the abbreviations in British English are very different from American English."

And then there's cultural style, Blattner says. When a Brit reacts to a proposal by saying, "That's interesting" a fellow Brit might recognise this as understatement for, "That's rubbish." But other nationalities would take the word "interesting" on face value, he says.

Unusual words, speed of talking and mumbling don't help, he adds – especially if the phone or video connection is poor quality. "You start disengaging and doing something else because there isn't any chance of understanding," he says.

At meetings, he adds, “typically, native English speakers dominate about 90% of the time. But the other people have been invited for a reason.”

Dale Coulter, head of English at language course provider TLC International House in Baden, Switzerland, agrees: “English speakers with no other language often have a lack of awareness of how to speak English internationally.”

In Berlin, Coulter saw German staff of a Fortune 500 company being briefed from their Californian HQ via video link. Despite being competent in English, the Germans gleaned only the gist of what their American project leader said. So among themselves they came up with an agreed version, which might or might not have been what was intended by the California staff.

“A lot of the information goes amiss,” Coulter says.

When simpler is better

It’s the native speaker who often risks missing out on closing a deal, warns Frenchman Jean-Paul Nerriere, formerly a senior international marketing executive at IBM.

“Too many non-Anglophones, especially the Asians and the French, are too concerned about not ‘losing face’ – and not approvingly while not getting the message at all,” he says.

That’s why Nerriere devised Globish – a distilled form of English, stripped down to 1,500 words and simple but standard grammar. “It’s not a language, it’s a tool,” he says. Since launching Globish in 2004 he’s sold more than 200,000 Globish text books in 18 languages.

“If you can communicate efficiently with limited, simple language you save time, avoid misinterpretation and you don’t have errors in communication,” Nerriere says.

As an Englishman who’s worked hard to learn French, Rob Steggle, senior marketing director for Europe at telecommunications

giant NTT Communications, has advice for Anglophones. Based in Paris, Steggles says, “you need to be short, clear and direct and you need to simplify. But there’s a fine line between doing that and being patronising.”

“It’s a tightrope walk,” he adds.

Giving others a chance

When trying to communicate in English with a group of people with varying levels of fluency, it’s important to be receptive and adaptable, tuning your ears into a whole range of different ways of using English, Jenkins says.

“People who’ve learned other languages are good at doing that, but native speakers of English generally are monolingual and not very good at tuning into language variation,” she says.

In meetings, Anglophones tend to speed along at what they consider a normal pace, and also rush to fill gaps in conversation, according to Steggles.

“It could be that the non-native speaker is trying to formulate a sentence,” he says. “You just have to wait a heartbeat and give them a chance. Otherwise, after the meeting they come up and say, ‘What was all that about?’ Or they walk away and nothing happens because they haven’t understood.”

He recommends making the same point in a couple of different ways and asking for some acknowledgement, reaction or action.

“If there’s no participation,” Steggles cautions, “you don’t know whether you’ve been understood or not.”

<http://www.bbc.com/capital/story/20161028-native-english-speakers-are-the-worlds-worst-communicators>

IS THERE A COMMON LANGUAGE IN SWITZERLAND?

Given that four languages are used in Switzerland, what language would somebody from one part use to talk to another? Is there any language that is spoken by all Swiss people?

Jason Li, lived in Switzerland

Updated Nov 20, 2013

English :)

According to one of my Swiss colleagues, the army is the place where men from different regions of Switzerland get mixed together. He is from Geneva and speaks French, and he told the story that one day at army camp he tried to talk to a new guy who's from around St. Gallens, the German-speaking part of Switzerland. They both learnt each other's language at school, so he first tried to speak in German, and then the other guy tried French. After 10 minutes they both gave up and spoke English instead for the rest of the day!

Emilie Roulet, Swiss student, eternal newborn

Written May 9, 2013

We don't have a common language. Larger linguistic group speaks Swiss-German ("Schwiizerdütsch" which is definitely not German, to which we recall as "Hochdeutsch"), then French, then Italian, then rheto-romanish (which is extinguishing). All Swiss have to learn at least 2 national languages at school. So you'd think we'd communicate in the major language German (Swiss-German kids speak Hochdeutsch at school) but the French-speaking are really bad at it when the swiss-german actually master French AND Hochdeutsch way better. Blame language teachers and... Mentality / Culture. The swiss-german are usually more dedicated to learn and to study in the French speaking part while the French-

speaking tend to rely on English. And when the swiss-german don't want to speak French or Italian it's down to English...

Peter Warne, lived in Switzerland long enough to be Swiss

Written May 5, 2013

When two Swiss from different linguistic regions meet, they speak one of the two's languages. So no, there is no one language that they use as a lingua franca. English is widely spoken, but this is only used between Swiss if there is an English-speaker also present. Adult Swiss have all learned another Swiss national language as their first foreign language, even though this is changing in some Cantons in favour of English.

David Schrag, Project manager (Mobile Apps) for biggest Swiss real estate website

Written May 15, 2013

The short answer is no, it isn't. In business or private meetings, when both people don't speak either one's language, it is not uncommon to switch to English. It used to be different, but in the last few years this has happened more and more.

As a German speaker this has been my experience, since I don't speak French nor Italian.

Dieter Neth, Born and raised in Switzerland – and got back after 21 years abroad

Written Mar 12, 2016

As already stated, there is no "official" language in Switzerland, everybody is supposed to learn. Some 50, 70 years ago, one could have argued that it was French. France's influence in the world was much greater back then, and it was common among us german-swiss to spend a year over there in the French part after

finalizing school with 16. Even among the “lower” classes. Nowadays this got noticed by the government, and they try to boost language-proficiency by starting to teach French AND English in elementary school. Very mixed results! While in business settings you might find quite a few Swiss who speak decent English, as soon as you move out of these sections of the populace English dominance is very limited. Even in tourist areas, most people there only are able to resolve “tourist issues” in a foreign language. And with French it gets only worse. Contrary to what people say, I found that French speaking Swiss do a pretty good job about learning formal German. (Hochdeutsch) I live not too far from the linguistic border and love to spend time over there. I never had any issues with them not speaking German or at least English once they see my hapless intentions to mangle French. Even in France! But a little bit of humility does go a long way, and I feel bad about myself that after 7 years of French classes and having learnt Spanish flawlessly I still cannot speak French! At least I can read it now, many words and the structure of the language is similar to Spanish. Maybe if we would have gone to the western part when returning from Mexico I would speak French today, too, but I wished to return to familiar territory when starting yet again a new life.

<https://www.quora.com/Is-there-a-common-language-in-Switzerland-Given-that-4-languages-are-used-in-Switzerland-what-language-would-somebody-from-one-part-use-to-talk-to-another>

QUESTIONS ON COMPREHENSION AND FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do you learn about G 20 Hamburg Summit devoted to climate change? What questions on climate change did the participants discuss? Did they sign any joint declaration? Did they manage to reach an agreement?
2. What do risks of climate change include? Have any companies ever reported on how climate change will affect their businesses? Could you account for the idea “What gets measured gets managed, including climate change”?
3. What factors prove that New York city is in pretty good shape? What new initiatives does Mr Bloomberg, the mayor of NY city, include? What are the most controversial and politically courageous proposals?
4. Why should people recycle the rubbish? What makes this process difficult to realize? What is necessary to do in order to make recycling efficient? What is the best way to encourage people to recycle more?
5. Would you ever consider buying an animal on the Internet? Should people have wild animals as pets? What do you have to do to buy a wild animal? How much can it cost? Is the scale of the animal trade astonishing? What can the IFAW do to stop illegal trade? What did the researchers of the International Fund for Animal Welfare discover?
6. There is a long history of animals being used to defend and protect people. Can you give examples? Could you prove that animals are able to predict disasters? In what way can it be helpful for people?

7. Animals-rights advocates say that many animals die during the tests. People for the Ethical Treatment of animals say that animals have feelings just like people. They get hungry, thirsty, they feel fear and pain. Should animals be used to test new products?
8. Do you think it is right to meddle with nature? To what extent is it justified? Would you give up certain luxuries to save the environment?

PART IV. FICTION AND POETRY

FICTION

MY FAMILY AND OTHER ANIMALS

Gerald Durrell

Gerald Malcolm Durrell (1925–1995) was a British naturalist, zookeeper, conservationist, author and television presenter. He founded what is now called the Durrell Wildlife Conservation Trust and the Durrell Wildlife Park on the Channel Island of Jersey in 1959. He wrote a number of books based on his life as an animal collector and enthusiast. The most famous is “My Family and Other Animals”, which has become a modern classic.

The Migration

July had been blown out like a candle by a biting wind that ushered in a leaden August sky. A sharp, stinging drizzle fell, billowing into opaque grey sheets when the wind caught it. Along the Bournemouth sea-front the beach-huts turned blank wooden faces towards a greeny-grey, froth-chained sea that leapt eagerly at the cement bulwark of the shore. The gulls had been tumbled inland over the town, and they now drifted above the house-tops on taut wings, whining peevishly. It was the sort of weather calculated to try anyone's endurance.

Considered as a group my family was not a very prepossessing sight that afternoon, for the weather had brought with it the usual selection of ills to which we were prone. For me, lying on the floor, labeling my collection of shells, it had brought catarrh, pouring it into my skull like cement, so that I was forced to breath stertorously through open mouth. For my brother Leslie, hunched dark and glowering by the fire, it had inflamed the convolutions of his ears so

that they bled delicately but persistently. To my sister Margo it had delivered a fresh dappling of acne spots to a face that was already blotched like a red veil. For my mother there was a rich, bubbling cold, and a twinge of rheumatism to season it. Only my eldest brother, Larry, was untouched, but it was sufficient that he was irritated by our failings.

It was Larry, of course, who started it.

“What we all need,” said Larry, getting into his stride again, “is sunshine ... a country where we can grow.”

“I had a letter from George this morning – he says Corfu’s wonderful. Why don’t we pack up and go to Greece?”

So we sold the house and fled from the gloom of the English summer, like a flock of migrating swallows.

The Unsuspected Isle

We threaded our way out of the noise and confusion of Customs shed into the brilliant sunshine on the quay. Around us the town rose steeply, tiers of multi-coloured houses piled haphazardly, green shutters folded back from their windows, like the wings of a thousand moths. Behind us lay the bay, smooth as a plate, smouldering with that unbelievable blue.

By the following morning Mother had decided that we would hire a car and go out house-hunting on our own. She was convinced that somewhere on the island there lurked a villa with a bathroom. We did not share Mother’s belief, and so it was a slightly irritable and argumentative group that she herded down to the taxi-rank in the main square.

“We are looking,” said Mother firmly, “for a villa with a bathroom. Do you know one?”

The man brooded like a great, sun-tanned gargoyle, his black eyebrows twisted into a knot of thoughtfulness.

“Sure, I’ll takes yours. Gets into the cars.

We sped down a white road covered in a thick layer of silky dust that rose in a boiling cloud behind us, a road lined with prickly pears like a fence of green plates each cleverly balanced on another's edges, and splashed with knobs of scarlet fruit.

"Theres you ares," he said, pointing with great stubby forefinger; "that's the villa with the bathrooms, like yous wanted."
<...>

Mother, who had kept her eyes firmly shut throughout the drive, now opened them cautiously and looked. Spiro was pointing at a gentle curve of hillside that rose from the glittering sea. The hill and the valleys around it were an eiderdown of olive-groves that shone with a fish-like gleam where the breeze touched the leaves. Half way up the slope, guarded by a group of tall, slim cypress-trees, nestled a small strawberry-pink villa, like some exotic fruit lying in the greenery. The cypress-trees undulated gently in the breeze, as if they were busily painting the sky a still brighter blue for our arrival.

The Strawberry-Pink Villa

The villa was small and square, standing in its tiny garden with an air of pink-faced determination. Its shutters had been faded by the sun to a delicate creamy-green, cracked and bubbled in places. The garden, surrounded by tall fuchsia hedges, had the flow-beds worked in complicated geometrical patterns, marked with smooth white stones. The white cobbled paths, scarcely as wide as a rake's head, wound laboriously round beds hardly larger than a big straw hat, beds in the shape of stars, half-moons, triangles and circles, all overgrown with a shaggy tangle of flowers run wild. Roses dropped petals that seemed as big and smooth as saucers, flame-red, moon-white, glossy and unwrinkled; marigolds like broods of shaggy suns stood watching their parent's progress through the sky. The warm air was thick with the scent of a hundred dying flowers, and full of the gentle, soothing whisper and murmur of insects. As soon as we saw it, we wanted to

live there – it was as though the villa had been standing there waiting for our arrival. We felt we had come home. <...>

For myself, the garden held sufficient interest; together Roger and I learnt some surprising things. Roger, for example, found that it was unwise to smell hornets, that the peasant dogs ran screaming if he glanced at them through the gate, and that the chickens that leapt suddenly from the fuchsia hedge, squawking wildly as they fled, were unlawful prey, however desirable.

This doll's-house garden was a magic land, a forest of flowers through which roamed creatures I had never seen before. Among the thick, silky petals of each rose-bloom lived tiny, crab-like spiders that scuttled sideways when disturbed. Their small, translucent bodies were coloured to match the flowers they inhabited: pink, ivory, wine-red or buttery-yellow. On the rose-stems, encrusted with green flies, lady-birds moved like newly painted toys; lady-birds pale red with large black spots; lady-birds apple-red with brown spots; lady-birds orange with grey-and-black freckles. Rotund and amiable, they prowled and fed among the anæmic flocks of greenfly. Carpenter bees, like furry, electric-blue bears, zigzagged among the flowers, growing fatly and busily. Humming-bird hawkmoths, sleek and neat, whipped up and down the paths with a fussy efficiency, pausing occasionally on speed-misty wings to lower a long, slender proboscis into a bloom. Among the white cobbles large black ants staggered and gesticulated in groups round strange trophies: a dead caterpillar, a piece of rose-petal or a dried grass-head fat with seeds. As an accompaniment to all this activity there came from the olive-groves outside the fuchsia hedge the incessant shimmering cries of the cicadas. If the curious, blurring heat-haze produced a sound, it would be exactly the strange, chiming cries of these insects. <...>

I found that the little crab-spiders could change colour just as successfully as any chameleon. Take a spider from a wine-red rose,

where he had been sitting like a bead of coral, and place him in the depths of a cool white rose. If he stayed there – and most of them did – you would see his colour gradually ebb away, as though the change had given him anemia, until, some two days later, he would be crouching among the white petals like a pearl.

I discovered that in the dry leaves under the fuchsia hedge lived another type of spider, a fierce little huntsman with the cunning and ferocity of a tiger. He would stalk about his continent of leaves, eyes glistening in the sun, pausing now and then to raise himself up on his hairy legs to peer about. If he saw a fly settle to enjoy a sun-bath he would freeze; then, as slowly as a leaf growing, he would move forward, imperceptibly, edging nearer and nearer, pausing occasionally to fasten his life-line of silk to the surface of the leaves. Then, when close enough, the huntsman would pause, his legs shift minutely as he got a good purchase, and then he would leap, legs spread out in a hairy embrace, straight on to the dreaming fly. Never did I see one of these little spiders miss its kill, once it had manœuvred into the right position.

All these discoveries filled me with a tremendous delight, so that they had to be shared, and I would burst suddenly into the house and startle the family with the news that the strange, spiky black caterpillars on the roses were not caterpillars at all, but the young of lady birds, or with the equally astonishing news that lacewing-flies laid eggs on stilts. This last miracle I was lucky enough to witness. I found a lacewing-fly on the roses and watched her as she climbed about the leaves, admiring her beautiful, fragile wings like green glass, and her enormous liquid golden eyes. Presently she stopped on the surface of a rose-leaf and lowed the tip of her abdomen. She remained like that for a moment and then raised her tail, and from it, to my astonishment, rose a slender thread, like a pale hair. Then, on the very tip of this stalk, appeared the egg. The female had a rest, and

then repeated the performance until the surface of the rose-leaf looked as though it was covered with a forest of tiny club moss. The laying over, the female rippled her antennæ briefly and flew off in a mist of green gauze wings.

Perhaps the most exciting discovery I made in this multi-coloured Lilliput to which I had access was an earwig's nest. I had long wanted to find one and had searched everywhere without success, so the joy of stumbling upon one unexpectedly was overwhelming like suddenly being given a wonderful present. I moved a piece of bark and there beneath it was the nursery, a small hollow in the earth that the insect must have burrowed out for herself. She squatted in the middle of it, shielding underneath her a few white eggs, but there did not seem to be many, so I presumed that she had not yet laid her full complement. Tenderly I replaced her lid of bark.

From that moment I guarded the nest jealously. I erected a protecting wall of rocks round it, and as an additional precaution I wrote out a notice in red ink and stuck it on a pole nearby as a warning to the family. <...> The notice read: "BEWAR – EARWING – QUIAT PLESE." It was only remarkable in that two correctly spelt words were biological ones. Every hour or so I would subject the mother earwig to ten minutes' close scrutiny. I didn't dare examine her more often for fear she might desert her nest. Eventually the pile of eggs beneath her grew, and she seemed to have become accustomed to my lifting off her bark roof. I even decided that she had begun to recognize me, from the friendly way she wagged her antennæ.

To my acute disappointment, after all my efforts and constant sentry duty, the babies hatched out during the night. I felt that, after all I had done, the female might have held up the hatching until I was there to witness it. However, there they were, a fine brood of young

earwigs, minute, frail, looking as though they had been carved out of ivory. They moved gently under their mother's body, walking between her legs, the more venturesome even climbing on to her pincers. It was a heart-warming sight. The next day the nursery was empty: my wonderful family had scattered over the garden. I saw one of the babies some time later: he was bigger, of course, browner and stronger, but I recognized him immediately. He was curled up in a maze of rose-petals, having a sleep, and when I disturbed him he merely raised his pincers irritably over his back. I would have liked to think that it was a salute, a cheerful greeting, but honesty compelled me to admit that it was nothing more than an earwig's warning to a potential enemy. Still, I excuse him. After all, he had been very young when I last saw him.

Gradually the magic of the island settled over us as gently and clingingly as pollen. Each day had a tranquility, a timelessness, about it, so that you wished it would never end. But then the dark skin of night would peel off there would be a fresh day waiting for us, glossy and colourful as a child's transfer and with the same tinge of unreality.

The Rose-Beetle Man

In the morning, when I woke, the bedroom shutters were luminous and barred with gold from the rising sun. The morning air was full of the scent of charcoal from the rising sun. The morning air was full of the scent of charcoal from the kitchen fire, full of eager cock-crows, the distant yap of dogs and the unsteady, melancholy tune of the goat-bells as the flocks were driven out to pasture.

We ate breakfast out in the garden, under the small tangerine-trees. The sky was fresh and shining, not yet the fierce blue of noon, but a clear milky opal. The flowers were half-asleep, roses dew-crumpled, marigolds still tightly shut. Breakfast was, on the whole, a leisurely and silent meal, for no member of the family was very

talkative at that hour. By the end of the meal the influence of the coffee, toast and eggs made itself felt, and we started to revive, to tell each other what we intended to do, why we intended to do it, and then argue earnestly as to whether each had made a wise decision. I never joined in these discussions, for I knew perfectly well what I intended to do, and would concentrate on finishing my food as rapidly as possible. <...>

ALL CREATURES GREAT AND SMALL

James Herriot

James Alfred “Alf” Wight, (1916–1995), known by the pen name James Herriot, was a British veterinary surgeon and writer, who used his many years of experiences as a veterinary surgeon to write a series of books each consisting of stories about animals and their owners. He is best known for these semi-autobiographical works, beginning with “All Creatures Great and Small” in 1972. The British television series adapted from the books is also titled “All Creatures Great and Small”. The Herriot books are described often as “animal stories”. Yet animals play a lesser, sometimes even a negligible, role in many of Wight’s tales: the overall theme of his stories is Yorkshire country life, with its people and their animals as primary elements, which provide their distinct character.

Chapter II

... I realised the bus was clattering along a narrow street which opened on to a square where we stopped. Above the window of an unpretentious grocer shop I read “Darrowby Co-operative Society.” We had arrived.

I got out and stood beside my battered suitcase, looking about me. There was something unusual and I couldn’t put my finger on it

at first. Then I realised what it was – the silence. The other passengers had dispersed, the driver had switched off his engine and there was not a sound or a movement anywhere. The only visible sign of life was a group of old men sitting round the clock tower in the centre of the square but they might have been carved from stone.

Darrowby didn't get much space in the guide books but when it was mentioned it was described as a grey little town on the river Darrow with a cobbled market place and little of interest except its two ancient bridges. But when you looked at it, its setting was beautiful on the pebbly river where the houses clustered thickly and straggled unevenly along the lower slopes of Herne Fell. Everywhere in Darrowby, in the streets, through the windows of the houses you could see the Fell rearing its calm, green bulk more than two thousand feet above the huddled roofs.

There was a clarity in the air, a sense of space and airiness that made me feel I had shed something on the plain, twenty miles behind. The confinement of the city, the grime, the smoke – already they seemed to be falling away from me.

Trengate was a quiet street leading off the square and I had my first sight of Skeldale House. I knew it was the right place before I was near enough to read "S. Farnon M.R.C.V.S." on the old-fashioned brass plate hanging slightly askew on the iron railings. I knew by the ivy which climbed untidily over the mellow brick to the topmost windows. It was what the letter had said – the only house with ivy; and this could be where I would work for the first time as a veterinary surgeon.

Now that I was here, right on the doorstep, I felt breathless, as though I had been running. If I got the job, this was where I would find out about myself. There were many things to prove.

But I liked the look of the old house. It was Georgian with a fine, white-painted doorway. The windows, too, were white – wide

and graceful on the ground floor and first storey but small and square where they peeped out from under the overhanging tiles far above. The paint was flaking and the mortar looked crumbly between the bricks, but there was a changeless elegance about the place. There was no front garden and only the railings separated the house from the street a few feet away.

I rang the doorbell and instantly the afternoon peace was shattered by a distant baying like a wolf pack in full cry. The upper half of the door was of glass and, as I peered through, a river of dogs poured round the corner of a long passage and dashed itself with frenzied yells against the door. If I hadn't been used to animals I would have turned and run for my life. As it was I stepped back warily and watched the dogs as they appeared, sometimes two at a time, at the top of their leap, eyes glaring, jaws slavering. After a minute or two of this I was able to sort them out and I realised that my first rough count of about fourteen was exaggerated. There were, in fact, five; a huge fawn greyhound who appeared most often as he hadn't so far to jump as the others, a cocker spaniel, a Scottie, a whippet and a tiny, short-legged hunt terrier. This terrier was seldom seen since the glass was rather high for him, but when he did make it he managed to get an even more frantic note into his bark before he disappeared.

I was thinking of ringing the bell again when I saw a large woman in the passage. She rapped out a single word and the noise stopped as if by magic. When she opened the door the ravening pack was slinking round her feet ingratiatingly, showing the whites of their eyes and wagging their tucked-in tails. I had never seen such a servile crew. <...>

The house had been built in the grand manner, high-ceilinged and airy with a massive fireplace flanked by arched alcoves. One end was taken up by a french window which gave on a long, high-walled

garden. I could see unkempt lawns, a rockery and many fruit trees. A great bank of peonies blazed in the hot sunshine and at the far end, rooks cawed in the branches of a group of tall elms. Above and beyond were the green hills with their climbing walls.

Ordinary-looking furniture stood around on a very worn carpet. Hunting prints hung on the walls and books were scattered everywhere, some on shelves in the alcoves but others piled on the floor in the corners. A pewter pint pot occupied a prominent place at one end of the mantelpiece. It was an interesting pot. Cheques and bank notes had been stuffed into it till they bulged out of the top and overflowed on to the hearth beneath. I was studying this with astonishment when Mrs. Hall came in with a tea tray. <...>

“I’ve never been in Yorkshire before, but I like what I’ve seen.”

But, looking around me, I began to feel better. The sunshine beat back from the high old walls, bees droned among the bright masses of flowers. A gentle breeze stirred the withered blooms of a magnificent wistaria which almost covered the back of the house. There was peace here.

THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS

Kenneth Grahame

Grahame, Kenneth (1859–1932) – an English essayist and writer of childrens’ books. He worked on the staff of the Bank of England as a Secretary. “The Wind in the Willows” (1908) – a classic childrens’ fantasy featuring the characters of Mole, Water Rat, Mr. Toad and other small animals. This book grew out of a series of stories Grahame told to his small son at bedtime.

THE RIVER BANK

The Mole had been working very hard all the morning, spring-cleaning his little home. First with brooms, then with dusters; then on ladders and steps and chairs, with a brush and a pail of whitewash; till he had dust in his throat and eyes, and splashes of whitewash all over his black fur, and an aching back and weary arms. Spring was moving in the air above and in the earth below and around him, penetrating even his dark and lowly little house with its spirit of divine discontent and longing. It was small wonder, then, that he suddenly flung down his brush on the floor, said 'Bother!' and 'O blow!' and also 'Hang spring cleaning!' and bolted out of the house without even waiting to put on his coat.

Something up above was calling him imperiously, and he made for the steep little tunnel which answered in his case to the gravelled carriage-drive owned by animals whose residences are nearer to the sun and air. So he scraped and scratched and scrabbled and scrooged and then he scrooged again and scrabbled and scratched and scraped, working busily with his little paws and muttering to himself, 'Up we go! Up we go!' till at last, pop! His snout came out into the sunlight, and he found himself rolling in the warm grass of a great meadow.

'This is fine!' he said to himself. 'This is better than whitewashing!' The sunshine struck hot on his fur, soft breezes caressed his heated brow, and after the seclusion of the cellarage he had lived in so long the carol of happy birds fell on his dulled hearing almost like a shout. Jumping off all his four legs at once, in the joy of living and the delight of spring without its cleaning, he pursued his way across the meadow till he reached the hedge on the further side.

'Hold up!' said an elderly rabbit at the gap. 'Sixpence for the privilege of passing by the private road!' He was bowled over in an instant by the impatient and contemptuous Mole, who trotted along

the side of the hedge chaffing the other rabbits as they peeped hurriedly from their holes to see what the row was about.

‘Onion-sauce! Onion-sauce!’ he remarked jeeringly, and was gone before they could think of a thoroughly satisfactory reply. Then they all started grumbling at each other. ‘How stupid you are! Why didn’t you tell him-’ ‘Well, why didn’t you say-’ ‘You might have reminded him-’ and so on, in the usual way; but, of course, it was then much too late, as is always the case.

It all seemed too good to be true. Hither and thither through the meadows he rambled busily, along the hedgerows, across the copses, finding everywhere birds building, flowers budding, leaves thrusting-everything happy, and progressive, and occupied. And instead of having an uneasy conscience pricking him and whispering ‘whitewash!’ he somehow could only feel how jolly it was to be the only idle dog among all these busy citizens. After all, the best part of a holiday is perhaps not so much to be resting yourself, as to see all the other fellows busy working.

He thought his happiness was complete when, as he meandered aimlessly along, suddenly he stood by the edge of a full-fed river. Never in his life had he seen a river before – this sleek, sinuous, full-bodied animal, chasing and chuckling, gripping things with a gurgle and leaving them with a laugh, to fling itself on fresh playmates that shook themselves free, and were caught and held again.

All was a-shake and a-shiver- glints and gleams and sparkles, rustle and swirl, chatter and bubble. The Mole was bewitched, entranced, fascinated. By the side of the river he trotted as one trots, when very small, by the side of a man who holds one spell-bound by exciting stories; and when tired at last, he sat on the bank, while the river still chattered on to him, a babbling procession of the best stories in the world, sent from the heart of the earth to be told at last to the insatiable sea.

As he sat on the grass and looked across the river, a dark hole in the bank opposite, just above the water's edge, caught his eye, and dreamily he fell to considering what a nice snug dwelling-place it would make for an animal with few wants and fond of a bijou riverside residence, above flood level and remote from noise and dust. As he gazed, something bright and small seemed to twinkle down in the heart of it, vanished, then twinkled once more like a tiny star. But it could hardly be a star in such an unlikely situation; and it was too glittering and small for a glow-worm. Then, as he looked, it winked at him, and so declared itself to be an eye; and a small face began gradually to grow up round it, like a frame round a picture.

A brown little face, with whiskers.

A grave round face, with the same twinkle in its eye that had first attracted his notice.

Small neat ears and thick silky hair.

It was the Water Rat! <...>

This day was only the first of many similar ones for the emancipated Mole, each of them longer and full of interest as the ripening summer moved onward. He learnt to swim and to row, and entered into the joy of running water; and with his ear to the reed-stems he caught, at intervals, something of what the wind went whispering so constantly among them.

THE CALL OF THE WILD

Jack London

Jack London was a 19th century American author and journalist, best known for the adventure novels "White Fang" and "The Call of the Wild". He was born John Griffith Chaney on January 12, 1876, in San Francisco, California. After working in the Klondike, London returned home and began publishing stories. His novels, including "The Call of the Wild", "White Fang" and

“Martin Eden”, placed London among the most popular American authors of his time. London, who was also a journalist and an outspoken socialist, died in 1916.

Buck did not read the newspapers, or he would have known that trouble was brewing, not alone for himself, but for every tide-water dog, strong of muscle and with warm, long hair, from Puget Sound to San Diego. Because men, groping in the Arctic darkness, had found a yellow metal, and because steamship and transportation companies were booming the find, thousands of men were rushing into the Northland. These men wanted dogs, and the dogs they wanted were heavy dogs, with strong muscles by which to toil, and furry coats to protect them from the frost.

Buck lived at a big house in the sun-kissed Santa Clara Valley. Judge Miller’s place, it was called. It stood back from the road, half hidden among the trees, through which glimpses could be caught of the wide cool veranda that ran around its four sides. The house was approached by gravelled driveways which wound about through wide-spreading lawns and under the interlacing boughs of tall poplars. At the rear things were on even a more spacious scale than at the front. There were great stables, where a dozen grooms and boys held forth, rows of vine-clad servants’ cottages, an endless and orderly array of outhouses, long arbors, green pastures, orchards, and berry patches. Then there was the pumping plant for the artesian well, and the big cement tank where Judge Miller’s boys took their morning plunge and kept cool in the hot afternoon.

And over this great demesne Buck ruled. Here he was born, and here he had lived the four years of his life. It was true, there were other dogs. There could not but be other dogs on so vast a place, but they did not count. They came and went, resided in the populous kennels, or lived obscurely in the recesses of the house after the fashion of Toots, the Japanese pug, or Ysabel, the Mexican hairless,

– strange creatures that rarely put nose out of doors or set foot to ground. On the other hand, there were the fox terriers, a score of them at least, who yelped fearful promises at Toots and Ysabel looking out of the windows at them and protected by a legion of housemaids armed with brooms and mops.

But Buck was neither house-dog nor kennel-dog. The whole realm was his. He plunged into the swimming tank or went hunting with the Judge's sons; he escorted Mollie and Alice, the Judge's daughters, on long twilight or early morning rambles; on wintry nights he lay at the Judge's feet before the roaring library fire; he carried the Judge's grandsons on his back, or rolled them in the grass, and guarded their footsteps through wild adventures down to the fountain in the stable yard, and even beyond, where the paddocks were, and the berry patches. Among the terriers he stalked imperiously, and Toots and Ysabel he utterly ignored, for he was king, – king over all creeping, crawling, flying things of Judge Miller's place, humans included.

His father, Elmo, a huge St. Bernard, had been the Judge's inseparable companion, and Buck bid fair to follow in the way of his father. He was not so large, – he weighed only one hundred and forty pounds, – for his mother, Shep, had been a Scotch shepherd dog. Nevertheless, one hundred and forty pounds, to which was added the dignity that comes of good living and universal respect, enabled him to carry himself in right royal fashion. During the four years since his puppyhood he had lived the life of a sated aristocrat; he had a fine pride in himself, was even a trifle egotistical, as country gentlemen sometimes become because of their insular situation. But he had saved himself by not becoming a mere pampered house-dog. Hunting and kindred outdoor delights had kept down the fat and hardened his muscles; and to him, as to the cold-tubbing races, the love of water had been a tonic and a health preserver.

DEATH OF A HERO

Richard Aldington

Richard Aldington (1892–1962) poet, novelist, critic, and biographer who wrote searingly and sometimes irascibly of what he considered to be hypocrisy in modern industrialized civilization. His best and best known novel, “Death of a Hero” (1929), to which “All Men Are Enemies” (1933) was a sequel, reflected the disillusionment of a generation that had fought through World War I.

They had crossed the road outside Bushey Park and entered the palace gates. Between the wall which backs the Long Border, the Tudor side of the palace, and another long high wall, is the Wilderness, or old English garden, composed on the grandiose scale advocated by Bacon. It is both a garden and a “wilderness”, in the sense that it is planted with innumerable bulbs (which are thinned and renewed from time to time), but otherwise allowed to run wild. George and Elizabeth stopped with that sudden ecstasy of delight felt by the sensitive young – a few of them – at the sight of loveliness. Great secular trees, better protected than those in the outer Park, held up vast fans of glittering green-and-gold foliage which trembled in the light wind and formed moving patterns on the tender blue sky. The lilacs had just unfolded their pale hearts, showing the slim stalk of closed buds which would break open later in foam of white and blue blossoms. Underfoot was the stouter green of wild plants, spread out like an evening sky of verdure for the thick-clustered constellations of flowers. There shone the soft, slim yellow trumpet of the wild daffodil; the daffodil which has a pointed ruff of white petals to display its gold head; and the more opulent double daffodil which, compared with the other two, is like an ostentatious merchant between Florizel and Perdita. There were the many-headed jonquils, creamy and thick-scented; the starry narcissus, so alert on its long, slender, stiff stem, so sharp-eyed, so unlike a languid youth gazing

into a pool; the hyacinth-blue frail squilla almost lost in the lush herbs; and the hyacinth, blue and white and red, with its firm, thick-set stem and innumerable bells curling back their open points. Among them stood tulips – the red, like thin blown bubbles of dark wine; the yellow, more cup-like, more sensually open to the soft furry entry of the eager bees; the large parti-coloured gold and red, noble and sombre like the royal banner of Spain.

English spring flowers! What an answer to our ridiculous “cosmic woe”, how salutary, what a soft reproach to bitterness and avarice and despair, what balm to hurt minds! The lovely bulb-flowers, loveliest of the year, so unpretentious, so cordial, so unconscious, so free from the striving after originality of the gardener’s tamed pets! The spring flowers of the English woods, so surprising under those bleak skies, and the flowers the English love so much and tend so skilfully in the cleanly wantonness of their gardens, as surprisingly beautiful as the poets of that bleak race! When the inevitable “fuit Ilium” resounds mournfully over London among the appalling crash of huge bombs and the foul reek of deadly gases while the planes roar overhead, will the conqueror think regretfully and tenderly of the flowers and the poets?...

THE APPLE TREE

John Galsworthy

John Galsworthy (1867–1933) is a well-known English novelist, short-story writer, and playwright. He is one of the first critical realists of 20 century English literature. “The Forsyte Saga”, which embraces “The Man of Property” (1906), “In Chancery” (1920), and “To Let” (1921), is considered his masterpiece. He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1932. Galsworthy was also a successful dramatist, his plays, written in a naturalistic style, usually examining some controversial ethical or

social problem. They include "The Silver Box" (1906), "Strife" (1909), "Justice" (1910), and "Loyalties" (1922), the best of his later plays. He also wrote verse. Galsworthy's novels, by their abstention from complicated psychology and their greatly simplified social viewpoint, became accepted as faithful patterns of English life for a time. Galsworthy is remembered for this evocation of Victorian and Edwardian upper middle-class life and for his creation of Soames Forsyte, a dislikable character who nevertheless compels the reader's sympathy.

Such were Ashurst's memories, sitting against the wall among the gorse, on his silver-wedding day. At this very spot, where he had laid out the lunch, Megan must have stood outlined against the sky when he had first caught sight of her. Of all queer coincidences! And there moved in him a longing to go down and see again the farm and the orchard, and the meadow of the gipsy bogle. It would not take long; Stella would be an hour yet, perhaps.

How well he remembered it all-the little crowning group of pine trees, the steep-up grass hill behind! He paused at the farm gate. The low stone house, the yew-tree porch, the flowering currants-not changed a bit; even the old green chair was out there on the grass. Under the window, where he had reached up to her that Right to take the key. Then he turned down the lane, and stood leaning on the orchard gate-grey skeleton of a gate, as then. A black pig even was wandering in there among the trees. Was it true that twenty-six years had passed, or had he dreamed and awakened to find Megan waiting for him by the big apple tree? Unconsciously he put up his hand to his grizzled beard and brought himself back to reality. Opening the gate, he made his way down through the docks and nettles till he came to the edge, and the old apple tree itself. Unchanged! A little more of the grey-green lichen, a dead branch or two, and for the rest it might have been only last night that he had embraced that mossy

trunk after Megan's flight and inhaled its woody savour, while above his head the moonlit blossom had seemed to breathe and live. In that early spring a few buds were showing already: the blackbirds shouting their songs, a cuckoo calling, the sunlight bright and warm. Incredibly the same-the chattering trout-stream, the narrow pool he had lain in every morning, splashing the water over his flanks and chest; and out there in the wild meadow the beech clump and the stone where the gipsy bogle was supposed to sit. And an ache for lost youth, a hankering, a sense of wasted love and sweetness, gripped Ashurst by the throat. Surely, on this earth of such wild beauty, one was meant to hold rapture to one's heart, as this earth and sky held it! And yet, one could not!

He went to the edge of the stream, and looking down at the little pool, thought: 'Youth and spring! What has become of them all, I wonder?' And then, in sudden fear of having this memory jarred by human encounter, he went back to the lane, and pensively retraced his steps to the cross-roads.

Beside the car an old, grey-bearded labourer was leaning on a stick, talking to the chauffeur. He broke off at once, as though guilty of disrespect, and touching his bat, prepared to limp on down the lane. Ashurst pointed to the narrow green mound. "Can you tell me what this is?"

The old fellow stopped: on his face had come a look as though he were thinking: "You've come to the right shop, mister!"

"Tes a grave," he said.

"But why out here?"

The old man smiled. "That's a tale, as yu may say. AB' not the first time as I've a-told et-there's plenty folks asks 'bout that bit o' turf. 'Maid's Grave' us calls et, 'ereabouts."

THE WEATHER

George Mikes

George Mikes (1912–1987) was a Hungarian-born British journalist, humourist and writer, best known for his humorous commentaries on various countries. His first book published in 1945, was “We Were There To Escape”. The Times Literary Supplement praised the book for the humour it showed in parts, which led him to write his most famous satiric book, “How to be an Alien”, which proved a great success in post-war Britain in 1946. Other subjects include God (“How to be God”), his cat (“Tsi-Tsa”), wealth (“How to be Poor”) and philosophy (“How to be a Guru”). He wrote his ironic autobiography with the title “How to be Seventy”, published in 1982. Mikes wrote over forty books, thirty-five of them humorous.

This is the most important topic in the land. Do not be misled by memories of your youth when, on the Continent, wanting to describe someone as exceptionally dull, you remarked: “He is the type who would discuss the weather with you.” In England this is an ever-interesting, even thrilling topic, and you must be good at discussing the weather.

Now observe the last few sentences of this conversation. A very important rule emerges from it. You must never contradict anybody when discussing the weather. Should it hail and snow, should hurricanes uproot the trees from the sides of the road, and should someone remark to you: “Nice day, isn’t it?” – answer without hesitation: “Isn’t it lovely?”

Learn the above conversation by heart. If you are a bit slow in picking things up, learn at least one conversation, it would do wonderfully for any occasion.

If you do not say anything else for the rest of your life, just repeat this conversation, you still have a fair chance of passing as a

remarkably witty man of sharp intellect, keen observation and extremely pleasant manners.

English society is a class society, strictly organised almost on corporative lines. If you doubt this, listen to the weather forecasts. There is always a different weather forecast for farmers. You often hear statements like this on the radio:

“Tomorrow it will be cold, cloudy and foggy; long periods of rain will be interrupted by short periods of showers.”

And then:

“Weather forecast for farmers. It will be fair and warm, many hours of sunshine.”

You must not forget that farmers do grand work of national importance and deserve better weather.

It happened on innumerable occasions that nice, warm weather had been forecast and rain and snow fell all day long, or vice versa. Some people jumped rashly to the conclusion that something must be wrong with the weather forecasts. They are mistaken and should be more careful with their allegations.

I have read an article in one of the Sunday papers and now I can tell you what the situation really is. All troubles are caused by anti-cyclones. (I don't quite know what anti-cyclones are, but this is not important; I hate cyclones and am very anti-cyclone myself.) The two naughtiest anti-cyclones are the Azores and the Polar anti-cyclones.

The British meteorologists forecast the right weather – as it really should be – and then these impertinent little anti-cyclones interfere and mess up everything.

That again proves that if the British kept to themselves and did not mix with foreign things like Polar and Azores anti-cyclones they would be much better off.

From How to be an Alien

THE LANGUAGE OF WATER

David S. Mackenzie

David Shaw Mackenzie was born in the north-east Scotland, and was a social worker before teaching English abroad. He now works as a systems analyst. His main works are the following: "The Truth of Stone" (1992), "The Language of Water" (Contemporary British Stories (2009)).

I went fishing with Garfield the other day. It was a cold, bright, cloudless morning and the pool I had chosen on the river was flat and lifeless like a huge skein of grey silk. I knew we wouldn't catch anything and so did Garfield but I feigned enthusiasm and said I'd caught two sea-trout there the day before. Although it was a lie I was able to carry it off reasonably well because I had caught two but in a different part of the river.

I usually go fishing alone. The river is beautiful, especially in the summer at half past five or six in the morning when it is already light and the sea-trout are beginning to move in the pools. There is a particular favourite spot of mine away down river by the estuary. It is hard to get to and if I 'm there really early I can remain undisturbed for hours. I used to go fishing with my father and now I sometimes go with my brother but I usually go alone. I suppose it's just that I'm selfish.

It was a little different with Garfield. Garfield is an old man. He used to go fishing with my father whom he knew for thirty years or so. He went for company rather than any real wish to catch fish. He never went fishing with anyone else and rarely caught any trout. In fact, when my father died six years ago, Garfield gave up fishing, although it could be said that he had never really taken it up in the first place. Two weeks ago Garfield asked me to go fishing with him and what would normally have been an imposition became

something I felt I wanted to do. No, perhaps that isn't quite right. What I wanted was that Garfield should catch a fish.

Garfield arrived for our morning's fishing at about nine fifteen. His big old estate car has rust on the wings and Garfield complained that if he continued buying new parts for it at the present rate he would have a brand new car in a year or two as nothing of the original would remain. It was a joke but I could see that it was also a niggling little worry. He has had to accept a lower standard of living since he retired and a new car is out of the question. As he got his fishing gear out of the back, his rod in its cloth case, his landing net, bag and waders, I noticed that one of the rear tyres was almost flat. It had a slow leak, he said, and he usually pumped it up every morning. This morning he had forgotten. I had no pump and suggested that we change the wheel there and then but he said no, wait till we get back from the river. Then there was the question of how to get to the pool. I had chosen the nearest pool but even this ten-minute walk seemed a bit long to Garfield. I suggested that he could drive round the village to the bridge above the pool and I could walk down through the fields carrying the rods since we had already put the rods up. He agreed, and then we remembered the flat tyre. Right, I said, let's do it now, let's change the wheel now. But he said no, no, no, it would be all right, he would walk down with me. I began to feel that it had all started badly, that things were already out of my grasp, beyond control, that the morning could no longer be saved. We set off eventually on foot and I wanted to offer to carry his bag but I couldn't for fear of calling him a weak old man. We took it gently, a quiet, unhurried stroll, and when we arrived at the pool the sun was quite high and the water was smooth and silver and very beautiful but I knew we wouldn't catch anything.

'There's a fish in there for us, I said. 'Don't worry.'

'It looks a bit flat to me.' Garfield said.

We are in the landrover. I am in the passenger seat and Garfield is driving. He is driving fast along the rutted track that leads to the Outpost and he is punishing the machine which is bouncing over the pitted earth, flinging up mud to either side. I am finding it difficult to maintain my balance and my fingers hold on tight to the edge of the grey leather seat because my feet can find no purchase on the metal floor. In fact my feet hardly reach the floor. It is 1958 and I am nine years old.

‘There she is, Sandy! Mr McLeod says, pointing up ahead to a large stone building reached through a wooden five-bar gate which has swung open over a huge area of mud. There seem to be acres of mud; the big barn known as the Outpost is afloat in a sea of it. Mr McLeod draws the landrover up as near the big red sliding door of the barn as possible. When the vehicle stops I can feel the tingling in my fingers and my bottom as the seat is at last still underneath me. By the time I regain my composure Mr McLeod has left the landrover, drawn back the huge red barn door and has disappeared inside.

From the landrover, when I open the door, I look down on nothing but brown mud. I am wearing a new pair of Wellingtons that I know are meant for such situations but I don’t want to get them dirty. It would be easier, really, if I got out on Mr McLeod’s side as it is nearer the door of the barn but I feel I should ask him first if this is okay, this crossing over into his territory, but I can’t because he has already gone and I wouldn’t want to call him back just for this...

Eventually I get out my own side and tiptoe, insofar as I am able to, round to the door. My Wellingtons are now muddy despite my efforts but I will be able to wash them at the outside tap in the yard when I get home so no one will be angry with me. Mr McLeod is inside the big empty barn, over there at the far end. He has a hoe in his hand. There is nothing in the barn but the smell the hay has left behind. The concrete floor is dry and clean. I turn round and see the muddy footprints I have left when making the few steps from the door. Will Mr

McLeod be angry? He has left footprints too, I notice, so maybe it isn't so bad after all. But then I remember that perhaps this reasoning will not hold, perhaps it is all right for Mr McLeod to make the floor muddy but not me. Maybe he will be upset. It is his barn. Mr McLeod has the hoe in his hand and he is poking about with it above his head at the ends of the rafters where the sloping roof meets the top of the wall. What is he doing? I go back to the door and kick off as much mud from my boots as I can. That should do. When I walk across the concrete floor now there is hardly a mark. I make my way towards Mr McLeod. There are tiny shrieks of alarm from a half-fledged baby pigeon which whirs down on immature wings from the rafters to the floor about halfway between Mr McLeod and me. It sets off running towards me. I have never seen one so close before and I bend down towards it in wonder at the strange mixture of grey feathers and pink flesh. I am half aware that Mr McLeod is coming up behind the little bird, in fact he is running. I have my hands out, feeling I might be able to scoop up this little creature but just before it reaches me Mr McLeod shouts a warning. He overtakes the squawking, frightened, scurrying bird and kills it by stamping its head into the concrete floor. I am too shocked to cry. Mr McLeod runs off to kill another pigeon in the same way. The first one, a yard or so in front of me, continues to flutter for about half a minute and then stops. It stays in the same place because it is stuck like glue to the floor. Mr McLeod comes back over and kicks the dead pigeon towards the door of the barn. There is a little red mark on the floor. I try to rub it off with my toe, hoping there is enough mud left on my boot to cover up this red spot. There isn't. All I do is make the mark bigger – red and brown. What about the other pigeon? There is a mark there too probably. I don't want to go over there. Mr McLeod calls me from the door and I go out. It is raining heavily; the mud is deeper. I get into the landrover. I am thinking of the pigeon, the one Mr McLeod killed in front of me and I still can't speak. Nobody says anything. Nobody says anything until I get to Mr McLeod's house. His wife is in the kitchen

and she asks me to take my boots off. I look round and see all the mud I have brought in on the black and white tiles of the kitchen floor.

I decided that everything would be all right if we could catch a fish. It didn't even have to be Garfield who caught it. He I couldn't wade far anyway. I had noticed that the rubber of his waders had perished where they had been folded over so there were little holes at knee height. It had been so long since his last fishing trip and they had laid unwanted in a cupboard. Which was worse – to point out to him that there were holes in his waders or let him get his feet wet? I told him. He waded only a few feet from the bank and I knew he had no chance of a fish. It would be all right though, even if I could do it; I could catch one for us. It would be our fish and something would be saved. I fished hard. I cast out as far as I could and worked the fly as delicately as possible across the surface of the water. I ached for a fish to rise but the river said no.

I reeled in and went back to join Garfield. He had already left the water and was lighting up his pipe. We stood in silence for a while and just looked at the river. It was as beautiful as I had ever seen it and I wondered for a moment if catching a fish had really been so important. 'Too flat,' Garfield said, and I was torn between wanting to punch him and wanting to confess that it was all my fault. I could have forgiven him everything, his awkwardness, what he had said about the book, even the pigeons, I could almost have forgiven him for the pigeons if only we could have caught one little fish.

Garfield said he was tired. He took off his fore-and-aft and I could see a little sweat glistening on his forehead. He took out a handkerchief and wiped his face. 'It's a pity,' he said.

We walked back through the fields, slowly. Garfield asked me to carry his rod and his bag and I did.

From *Contemporary British Stories*

FLOOD

Annie Dillard

Annie Dillard (b.1945) is an American author, best known for her narrative prose in both fiction and non-fiction. She has published works of poetry, essays, prose, and literary criticism, as well as two novels and one memoir. Her 1974 work "Pilgrim at Tinker Creek" won the 1975 Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction. From 1980, Dillard taught for 21 years in the English department of Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut.

It was just this time last year that we had the flood. It was Hurricane Agnes, really, but by the time it got here, the weather bureau had demoted it to a tropical storm. I see by clipping I saved that the date was June twenty-first, the solstice, midsummer's night, the longest daylight of the year; but I didn't notice it at the time. Everything was so exciting, and so very dark.

All it did was rain. It rained, and the creek started to rise. The creek, naturally, rises every time it rains; this didn't seem any different. But it kept raining, and, that morning of the twenty-first, the creek kept rising.

That morning I'm standing at my kitchen window. Tinker Creek is out of its four-foot banks, way out, and it's still coming. The high creek doesn't look like our creek. Our creek splashes transparently over a jumble of rocks; the high creek obliterates everything in flat opacity. It looks like somebody else's creek that has usurped or eaten our creek and its roving frantically to escape, big and ugly, like a black-snake caught in a kitchen drawer. The color is foul, a rusty cream. Water that has picked up clay soils looks worse than other muddy waters, because the particles of clay are so fine; they spread out and cloud the water so that you can see light through even an inch of it in a drinking glass.

Everything looks different. Where my eye is used to depth, I see the flat water, near, too near. I see trees I never notices before, the black verticals of their rain-soaked trunks standing out of the pale water like pilings for a rotted dock. The stillness of grassy banks and stony ledges is gone; I see rushing, a wild sweep and hurry in one direction, as swift and compelling as a waterfall. The Atkins kids are out in their tiny rain gear, staring at the monster creek. It's risen up to their gates; the neighbors are gathering; I go out.

I hear a roar, a high windy sound more like air than like water, like the run-together whips of a helicopter' propeller after the engine is off, a high million rushings. The air smells damp and acrid, like fuel oil, or insecticide. It's raining.

I'm in no danger; my house is high. I hurry down the road to the bridge. Neighbours who have rarely seen each other all winter are there shaking their heads. Few have ever seen before: the water is over the bridge. Even when I see the bridge now, which I do every day, I still can't believe it: the water was over the bridge, a foot or two over the bridge, which at normal times is eleven feet above the surface of the creek.

Now the water is receding slightly; someone has produced empty metal drums, which we roll to the bridge and set up in a square to keep cars from trying to cross. It takes a bit of nerve even to stand on the bridge; the flood has ripped away a wedge of concrete that buttressed the bridge on the bank. Now one corner of the bridge hangs apparently unsupported while water hurls in an arch just inches below.

It's hard to take it all in, it's all so new. I look at the creek at my feet. It smashes under the bridge like a fist, but there is no end to its force; it hurtles down as far as I can see till it lurches round the bend, filling the valley, flattening, mashing, pushed, wider and faster, till it fills my brain.

It's like a dragon. Maybe it's because the bridge we are on is chancy, but I notice that no one can help imagining himself washed over-board, and gauging his chances for survival. You couldn't live. Mark Spitz couldn't live. The water arches where the bridge's supports at the hanks prevent its enormous volume from going wide, forcing it to go high; that arch drives down like a diving whale, and would butt you on the bottom. "You'd never know what hit you," one of the men says. But if you survived that part and managed to surface...? How fast can you live? You would need a windshield. You couldn't keep your head up; the water under the surface is fastest. You would spin around like a sock in a clothes dryer. You couldn't grab onto a tree trunk without leaving that arm behind. No, you couldn't live. And if they ever found you, your gut would be solid red clay.

It's all I can do to stand. I feel dizzy, drawn, mauled. Below me the floodwater roils to a violent froth that looks like dirty lace, a lace that continuously explodes before my eyes. If I look away, the earth moves backwards, rises and swells, from the fixing of my eyes at one spot against the motion of the flood. All the familiar land looks as though it were not solid and real at all, but painted on a scroll like a backdrop, and that unrolled scroll has been shaken, so the earth sways and the air roars.

Everything imaginable is zipping by, almost too fast to see. If I stand on the bridge and look downstream, I get dizzy; but if I look upstream, I feel as though I am looking up the business end of an avalanche. There are dolls, split wood and kindling, dead fledgling songbirds, bottles, whole bushes and trees, rakes and garden gloves. Wooden, rough-hewn railroad ties charge by faster than any express. Lattice fencing bobs along, and a wooden pocket gate. There are so many white plastic gallon milk jugs that when the flood ultimately

recedes, they are left on the grassy banks looking from a distance like a flock of white geese.

I expect to see anything at all. In this one way, the creek is more like itself when it floods than at any other time: mediating, bringing things down. I wouldn't be at all surprised to see John Paul Jones coming round the bend, standing on the deck of the *Bon Homme Richard*, or Amelia Earhart waving gaily from the cockpit of her floating Lockheed. Why not a cello, a basket of breadfruit, a casket of antique coins? Here comes the Franklin expedition on snowshoes, and the three magi, plus camels, afloat on a canopied barge!

The whole world is on flood, the land as well as the water. Water streams down the trunks of trees, drips from hat-brims, courses across roads. The whole earth seems to slide like sand down a chute; water pouring over the least slope leaves the grass flattened, silver side up, pointing downstream. Everywhere windfall and flotsam twigs and leafy boughs, wood from wood-piles, bottles, and saturated straw spatter the ground or streak it in curving windrows. Tomatoes in flat gardens are literally floating in mud; they look as though they have been dropped whole into a boiling, brown-gravy stew. The level of the water table is at the top of the toe of my shoes. Pale muddy water lies on the flat so that it all but drowns the grass; it looks like a hideous parody of a light snow on the field, with only the dark tips of the grass blades visible.

When I look across the street, I can't believe my eyes. Right behind the road's shoulder are waves, waves whipped in rhythmically peaking scallops, racing downstream. The hill where I watched the praying mantis lay her eggs is a waterfall that splashes into a brown ocean. I can't even remember where the creek usually runs – it is everywhere now. My log is gone for sure, I think – but in fact, I discover later, it holds, rammed between growing trees. Only the cable suspending the steer's fence is visible, and not the fence itself; the steer'

pasture is entirely in flood, a brown river. The river leaps its banks and smashes into the woods where the motorbikes go, devastating all but the sturdiest trees. The water is so deep and wide it seems as though you could navigate the Queen Mary in it, clear to Tinker Mountain.

What do animals do in these floods? I see a drowned muskrat go by like he's flying, but tin all couldn't die; the water rises after every hart rain, and the creek is still full of muskrats. This flood is higher than their raised sleeping platforms in the banks; they must just race for high ground and hold on. Where do the fish go, and what do they do? Presumably their gills can filter oxygen out of this muck, but I don't know how. They must hide from the current behind any barriers they can find, and fast for a few days. They must: otherwise we'd have no fish; they'd all be in the Atlantic Ocean. What about herons and kingfishers, say? They can't see to eat. It usually seems to me that when I see any animal, its business is urgent enough that it couldn't easily be suspended for forty-eight hours. Crayfish, frogs, snails, rotifers? Most things must simply die. They couldn't live. Then I suppose that when the water goes down and clears, the survivors have a field day with no competition. But you'd think the bottom would be knocked out of the food chain – the whole pyramid would have no base plankton, and it would crumble, or crash with a thud. Maybe enough spores and larvae and eggs are constantly being borne down from slower upstream waters to repopulate... I don't know.

Some little children have discovered a snapping turtle as big as a tray. It's hard to believe that this creek could support a predator that size: its shell is a foot and a half across, and its head extends a good seven inches beyond the shell. When the children – in the company of a shrunken terrier – approach it on the bank, the snapper rears up on its thick front legs and hisses very impressively. I had read earlier that since turtles' shells are rigid, they don't have bellows lungs; they have to gulp for air. And, also since their shells

are rigid there is only room for so much inside, so when they are frightened and planning a retreat, they have to expel air from their lungs to make room for head and feet – hence the malevolent hiss.

The next time I look, I see that the children have somehow maneuvered the snapper into a washtub. They're waving a broom handle at it in hopes that it will snap the wood like a match-stick, but the creature will not deign to oblige. The kids are crushed; all their lives they have heard that this is the one thing you do with a snapping turtle – you shove a broom handle near it, and it “snap it like a matchstick.” It's nature's way; it's sure-fire. But the turtle is having none of it. It avoids the broom handle with an air of patiently repressed rage. They let it go, and it beelines down the bank, dives unhesitatingly into the swirling floodwater, and that is the last we see of it.

A cheer comes up from the crowd on the bridge. The truck is here with a pump for the Bowerys' basement, hooray! We roll away the metal drums, the truck makes it over the bridge, to my amazement – the crowd cheers again. State police cruise by; everything's fine here; downstream people are in trouble. The bridge over by the Bings' on Tinker Creek looks like it's about to go. There's a tree trunk wedged against its railing, and a section of concrete is out. The Bings are away, and a young couple is living there, “taking care of the house.” What can they do? The husband drove to work that morning as usual; a few hours later, his wife was evacuated from the front door in a motorboat.

I walk to the Bings'. Most of the people who are on our bridge eventually end up over there; it's just down the road. We straggle along in the rain, gathering a crowd. The men who work away from home are here, too; their wives have telephoned them at work this morning to say that the creek is rising fast, and they would better get home while the getting's good.

There's a big crowd already there; everybody knows that the Bings's is low. The creek is coming in the recreation-room windows; it's half-way up the garage door. Later that day people will haul out everything salvageable and try to dry it: books, rugs, furniture – the lower level was filled from floor to ceiling. Now on that bridge a road crew is trying to chop away the wedged tree trunk with a long-handled ax. The handle isn't so long that they don't have to stand on the bridge, in Tinker Creek. I walk along a low brick wall that was built to retain the creek away from the house at high water. The wall holds just fine, but now that the creek's receding, it's retaining water around the house. On the wall I can walk right out into the flood and stand in the middle of it. Now on the return trip I meet a young man who's going in the opposite direction. The wall is one brick wide; we can't pass. So we clasp hands and lean out backwards over the turbulent water; our feet interlace like teeth on a zipper, we pull together, stand, and continue on our ways. The kids have spotted a rattlesnake draping itself out of harm's way in a bush; now they all want to walk over the brick wall to the bush, to get bitten by the snake. The little Atkins kids are here, and they are hopping up and down. I wonder if I hopped up and down, would the bridge go? I could stand at the railings as at the railing of a steamboat, shouting deliriously, "Mark three! Quarter-less-three! Half twain! Quarter twain!... as the current bore the broken bridge out of sight around the bend before she sank. ...

Everyone else is standing around. Some of the women are carrying curious plastic umbrellas that look like diving bells – umbrellas they don't put up, but on; they don't get under, but in. They can see out dimly, like goldfish in bowls. Their voices from within sound distant, but with an underlying cheerfulness that plainly acknowledges, "Isn't this ridiculous?" Some of the men are wearing their fishing hats. Others duck their heads under folded newspapers held not very high in an effort to compromise between keeping their

heads dry and letting rain run up their sleeves. Following some form of courtesy, I guess, they lower these newspapers when they speak with you, and squint politely into the rain.

Women are bringing coffee in mugs to the road crew. They've barely made a dent in the tree trunk, and they're giving up. It's a job for power tools; the water's going down anyway, and the danger is past. Some kid starts doing tricks on a skateboard; I head home.

TWO VIEWS OF THE RIVER

Mark Twain

Mark Twain (the pen name of Samuel Clemens, 1835–1910) was born in Florida, Missouri, and grew up in the river town of Hannibal, Missouri, where he watched the comings and goings of the steamboats he would eventually pilot. Twain spent his young adult life working as a printer, a pilot on the Mississippi, and a frontier journalist. After the Civil War, he began a career as a humorist and storyteller, writing such classics as “The Adventures of Tom Sawyer” (1876), “Life on the Mississippi” (1883), “The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn” (1885), and “A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court” (1889). His place in American writing was best characterized by editor William Dean Howells, who called Twain the “Lincoln of our literature.” In “Two Views of the River,” taken from “Life on the Mississippi”, Twain compares the way he saw the river as an innocent apprentice to the way he saw it as an experienced pilot.

Now when I had mastered the language of this water, and had come to know every trifling feature that bordered the great river as familiarly as I knew the letters of the alphabet, I had made a valuable acquisition. But I had lost something, too. I had lost something which could never be restored to me while I lived. All the grace, the beauty, the poetry, had gone out of the majestic river! I still keep in mind a

certain wonderful sunset which I witnessed when steamboating was new to me. A broad expanse of the river was turned to blood; in the middle distance the red hue brightened into gold, through which a solitary log came floating black and conspicuous; in one place a long, slanting mark lay sparkling upon the water; in another the surface was broken by boiling, tumbling rings that were as many-tinted as an opal; where the ruddy flush was faintest, was a smooth spot that was covered with graceful circles and radiating lines, ever so delicately traced; the shore on our left was densely wooded, and the somber shadow that fell from this forest was broken in one place by a long, ruffled trail that shone like silver; and high above the forest wall a clean-stemmed dead tree waved a single leafy bough that glowed like a flame in the unobstructed splendor that was flowing from the sun. There were graceful curves, reflected images, woody heights, soft distances; and over the whole scene, far and near, the dissolving lights drifted steadily, enriching it every passing moment with new marvels of coloring.

I stood like one bewitched. I drank it in, in a speechless rapture. The world was new to me, and I had never seen anything like this at home. But as I have said, a day came when I began to cease from noting the glories and the charms which the moon and the sun and the twilight wrought upon the river's face; another day came when I ceased altogether to note them. Then, if that sunset scene had been repeated, I should have looked upon it without rapture, and should have commented upon it, inwardly, after this fashion: "This sun means that we are going to have wind to-morrow; that floating log means that the river is rising, small thanks to it; that slanting mark on the water refers to a bluff reef which is going to kill somebody's steamboat one of these nights, if it keeps on stretching out like that; those tumbling 'boils' show a dissolving bar and a changing channel there; the lines and circles in the slick water over yonder arc a warning that that troublesome place is

shoaling up dangerously; that silver streak in the shadow of the forest is the ‘break’ from a new snag, and he has located himself in the very best place he could have found to fish for steamboats; that tall dead tree, with a single living branch, is not going to last long, and then how is a body ever going to get through this blind place at night without the friendly old landmark?” No, the romance and beauty were all gone from the river. All the value any feature of it had for me now was the amount of usefulness it could furnish toward compassing the safe piloting of a steamboat. Since those days, I have pitied doctors from my heart. What does the lovely flush in a beauty’s cheek mean to a doctor but a “break” that ripples above some deadly disease? Are not all her visible charms sown thick with what are to him the signs and symbols of hidden decay? Does he ever see her beauty at all, or doesn’t he simply view her professionally, and comment upon her unwholesome condition all to himself? And doesn’t he sometimes wonder whether he has gained most or lost most by learning his trade?

THE RIVER AS METAPHOR

Peter Acroyd

Peter Ackroyd, CBE, FRSL (born 1949) is an English biographer, novelist and critic with a particular interest in the history and culture of London. For his novels about English history and culture and his biographies of, among others, William Blake, Charles Dickens, T. S. Eliot and Sir Thomas More, he won the Somerset Maugham Award and two Whitbread Awards. He is noted for the volume of work he has produced, the range of styles therein, his skill at assuming different voices and the depth of his research. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 1984 and appointed a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 2003.

The river runs through the language, and we speak of its influence in every conceivable context. It is employed to characterise

life and death, time and destiny; it is used as a metaphor for continuity and dissolution, for intimacy and transitoriness, for art and history, for poetry itself. In *The Principles of Psychology* (1890) William James first coined the phrase “stream of consciousness” in which “every definite image of the mind is steeped... in the free water that flows around it.” Thus “it flows” like the river itself. Yet the river is also a token of the unconscious, with its suggestion of depth and invisible life.

The river is a symbol of eternity, in its unending cycle of movement and change. It is one of the few such symbols that can readily be understood, or appreciated, and in the continuing stream the mind or soul can begin to contemplate its own possible immortality.

In the poetry of John Denham’s “Cooper’s Hill” (1642), the Thames is a metaphor for human life. How slight its beginning, how confident its continuing course, how ineluctable its destination within the great ocean:

Hasting to pay his tribute to the sea,
Like mortal life to meet eternity.

The poetry of the Thames has always emphasised its affiliations with human purpose and with human realities. So the personality of the river changes in the course of its journey from the purity of its origins to the broad reaches of the commercial world. The river in its infancy is undefiled, innocent and clear. By the time it is closely pent in by the city, it has become dank and foul, defiled by greed and speculation. In this regress it is the paradigm of human life and of human history. Yet the river has one great advantage over its metaphoric companions. It returns to its source, and its corruption can be reversed. That is why baptism was once instinctively associated with the river. The Thames has been an emblem of redemption and of renewal, of the hope of escaping from time itself.

When Wordsworth observed the river at low tide, with the vista of the “mighty heart” of London “lying still,” he used the imagery of human circulation. It is the image of the river as blood, pulsing through the veins and arteries of its terrain, without which the life of London would seize up. Sir Walter Raleigh, contemplating the Thames from the walk by his cell in the Tower, remarked that the “blood which disperseth itself by the branches or veins through all the body, may be resembled to these waters which are carried by brooks and rivers overall the earth.” He wrote his *History of the World* (1610) from his prison cell, and was deeply imbued with the current of the Thames as a model of human destiny. It has been used as the symbol for the unfolding of events in time, and carries the burden of past events upon its back. For Raleigh the freight of time grew ever more complex and wearisome as it proceeded from its source; human life had become darker and deeper, less pure and more susceptible to the tides of affairs. There was one difference Raleigh noticed in his history, when he declared that “for this tide of man’s life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again.”

The Thames has also been understood as a mirror of morality. The bending rushes and the yielding willows afford lessons in humility and forbearance; the humble weeds along its banks have been praised for their lowliness and absence of ostentation. And who has ventured upon the river without learning the value of patience, of endurance, and of vigilance? John Denham makes the Thames the subject of native discourse in a further sense:

Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage; without o’erflowing, full.

This suggests that the river represents an English measure, an aesthetic harmony to be sought or wished for, but in the same breath Denham seems to be adverting to some emblem of Englishness itself.

The Thames is a metaphor for the country through which it runs. It is modest and moderate, calm and resourceful; it is powerful without being fierce. It is not flamboyantly impressive. It is large without being too vast. It eschews extremes. It weaves its own course without artificial diversions or interventions. It is useful for all manner of purposes. It is a practical river.

When Robert Menzies, an erstwhile Australian prime minister, was taken to Runnymede he was moved to comment upon the “secret springs” of the “slow English character.” This identification of the land with the people, the characteristics of the earth and water with the temperament of their inhabitants, remains a poignant one. There is an inward and intimate association between the river and those who live beside it, even if that association cannot readily be understood.

In some sense, then, the Thames becomes the image of the nation, mollifying land and water in one capacious embrace, affording coherence and unity to disparate regions. It permits the growth and spread of a common culture. It creates harmony out of apparent discord, and in that capacity alone it has done more to establish the idea of Englishness than any other national feature.

The idealised images of English life, with their thatched cottages and village greens, their duckponds and hedged fields, derive from the landscape of the Thames. The river is the source of these day-dreams of Englishness. The traveller need only journey to Cookham, or to Pangbourne, or to Streatley, or to a hundred other villages and small towns along the Thames, to recognise the enduring importance of the river in the characterization of national life.

The Thames has been a highway, a frontier and an attack route; it has been a playground and a sewer, a source of water and a source of power. It has been what the Romans called a “public” river, but it has also been a scene of deep private contentment. It has a personal,

and an historical, force. John Keill, in *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth* (1699), remarked of rivers that “without them there could be no great Towns, nor any converse with far inland Countries, since without them it is almost impossible to supply a vast multitude of People with things necessary for life.” The Thames has created civilisation here. It fashioned London.

That is why it has been described as a museum of Englishness itself. It embodies the history of the nation, from Greenwich to Windsor, from Eton to Oxford, from the Tower to the Abbey, from the City to the Court, from the Port of London to Runnymede. It is in that sense a great unifier. It suggests the community of struggling human beings who have always lived beside it. It represents the idealised and harmonious landscape of the country, too, particularly in those territories that border the Upper Thames. It has inspired the poetry of the English. It is heterogeneous and various, thus perfectly satisfactory to the national taste:

The sundry varying soyles, the pleasures infinite
(Where heate kills not the cold, nor cold expells the heate . . .
The Summer not too short, the Winter not too long).

Thus Michael Drayton apostrophises the Thames in his *Polyolbion* (1612). Yet it remains relatively unspoiled. It has not greatly changed in the last two thousand years of human time.

For much of its course the river remains secluded and remote. It is still possible to walk along the path beside it, and see no one for many miles. In the upper areas near the source, and in the estuarial areas, there is the same isolation. It represents an escape from the world, “by the margin, willowveiled.” That is why it has a reputation for being placid, for being free from turmoil. Matthew Arnold said of the river at Staines that it “has yet a great charm from its entire loneliness.” Canvey Island, in the estuary, was once described as “the loneliest place in the Home Counties.”

THREE MEN IN A BOAT

Jerome K. Jerome

Jerome Klapka Jerome (1859–1927) was a renowned English writer and humorist. He is best known for his humorous and comic masterpiece “Three Men in a Boat”, apart from his other notable works of literature. He was born in Caldmore, Walsall, England, and was raised amidst poverty in London.

Jerome left school at the age of 14, working first as a railway clerk, then as a schoolteacher, an actor, and a journalist. His first book, “On the Stage – and Off”, was published in 1885, but it was with the publication of his next books, “The Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow” (1886) and “Three Men in a Boat” (1889), that he achieved great success; both books were widely translated. From 1892 to 1897 he was a coeditor of The Idler, a monthly magazine that he had helped found, which featured contributions by writers such as Eden Phillpotts, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte.

Jerome’s many other works include “Three Men on the Bummel” (1900) and “Paul Kever” (1902), an autobiographical novel. He also wrote a number of plays. A book of Jerome’s memoirs, “My Life and Times”, was published in 1926.

It was a glorious morning, late spring or early summer, as you care to take it, when the dainty sheen of grass and leaf is blushing to a deeper green; and the year seems like a fair young maid, trembling with strange, wakening pulses on the brink of womanhood.

The quaint back streets of Kingston, where they came down to the water’s edge, looked quite picturesque in the flashing sunlight, the glinting river with its drifting barges, the wooded towpath, the trim-kept villas on the other side, Harris, in a red and orange blazer, grunting away at the sculls, the distant glimpses of the grey old palace of the Tudors, all made a sunny picture, so bright but calm, so

full of life, and yet so peaceful, that, early in the day though it was, I felt myself being dreamily lulled off into a musing fit.

I mused on Kingston, or “Kynningestun,” as it was once called in the days when Saxon “kings” were crowned there. Great Caesar crossed the river there, and the Roman legions camped upon its sloping uplands. Caesar, like, in later years, Elizabeth, seems to have stopped everywhere: only he was more respectable than good Queen Bess; he didn’t put up at the public-houses.

<...>

How poor weak-minded King Edwy must have hated Kynningestun! The coronation feast had been too much for him. Maybe boar’s head stuffed with sugar-plums did not agree with him (it wouldn’t with me, I know), and he had had enough of sack and mead; so he slipped from the noisy revel to steal a quiet moonlight hour with his beloved Elgiva.

Perhaps, from the casement, standing hand-in-hand, they were watching the calm moonlight on the river, while from the distant halls the boisterous revelry floated in broken bursts of faint-heard din and tumult.

Then brutal Odo and St. Dunstan force their rude way into the quiet room, and hurl coarse insults at the sweet-faced Queen, and drag poor Edwy back to the loud clamour of the drunken brawl.

Years later, to the crash of battle-music, Saxon kings and Saxon revelry were buried side by side, and Kingston’s greatness passed away for a time, to rise once more when Hampton Court became the palace of the Tudors and the Stuarts, and the royal barges strained at their moorings on the river’s bank, and bright-cloaked gallants swaggered down the water-steps to cry: “What Ferry, ho! Gadzooks, gramercy.”

Many of the old houses, round about, speak very plainly of those days when Kingston was a royal borough, and nobles and

courtiers lived there, near their King, and the long road to the palace gates was gay all day with clanking steel and prancing palfreys, and rustling silks and velvets, and fair faces. The large and spacious houses, with their oriel, latticed windows, their huge fireplaces, and their gabled roofs, breathe of the days of hose and doublet, of pearl-embroidered stomachers, and complicated oaths. They were upraised in the days "when men knew how to build." The hard red bricks have only grown more firmly set with time, and their oak stairs do not creak and grunt when you try to go down them quietly.

Speaking of oak staircases reminds me that there is a magnificent carved oak staircase in one of the houses in Kingston. It is a shop now, in the market-place, but it was evidently once the mansion of some great personage. A friend of mine, who lives at Kingston, went in there to buy a hat one day, and, in a thoughtless moment, put his hand in his pocket and paid for it then and there.

The shopman (he knows my friend) was naturally a little staggered at first; but, quickly recovering himself, and feeling that something ought to be done to encourage this sort of thing, asked our hero if he would like to see some fine old carved oak. My friend said he would, and the shopman, thereupon, took him through the shop, and up the staircase of the house. The balusters were a superb piece of workmanship, and the wall all the way up was oak-panelled, with carving that would have done credit to a palace.

From the stairs, they went into the drawing-room, which was a large, bright room, decorated with a somewhat startling though cheerful paper of a blue ground. There was nothing, however, remarkable about the apartment, and my friend wondered why he had been brought there. The proprietor went up to the paper, and tapped it. It gave forth a wooden sound.

"Oak," he explained. "All carved oak, right up to the ceiling, just the same as you saw on the staircase."

“But, great Caesar! man,” expostulated my friend; “you don’t mean to say you have covered over carved oak with blue wall-paper?”

“Yes,” was the reply: “it was expensive work. Had to match-board it all over first, of course. But the room looks cheerful now. It was awful gloomy before.”

I can’t say I altogether blame the man (which is doubtless a great relief to his mind). From his point of view, which would be that of the average householder, desiring to take life as lightly as possible, and not that of the old-curiosity-shop maniac, there is reason on his side. Carved oak is very pleasant to look at, and to have a little of, but it is no doubt somewhat depressing to live in, for those whose fancy does not lie that way. It would be like living in a church.

No, what was sad in his case was that he, who didn’t care for carved oak, should have his drawing-room panelled with it, while people who do care for it have to pay enormous prices to get it. It seems to be the rule of this world. Each person has what he doesn’t want, and other people have what he does want.

To go back to the carved-oak question, they must have had very fair notions of the artistic and the beautiful, our great-great-grandfathers. Why, all our art treasures of to-day are only the dug-up commonplaces of three or four hundred years ago. I wonder if there is real intrinsic beauty in the old soup-plates, beer-mugs, and candle-snuffers that we prize so now, or if it is only the halo of age glowing around them that gives them their charms in our eyes. The “old blue” that we hang about our walls as ornaments were the common everyday household utensils of a few centuries ago; and the pink shepherds and the yellow shepherdesses that we hand round now for all our friends to gush over, and pretend they understand, were the unvalued mantel-ornaments that the mother of the eighteenth century would have given the baby to suck when he cried.

Will it be the same in the future? Will the prized treasures of to-day always be the cheap trifles of the day before? Will rows of our willow-pattern dinner-plates be ranged above the chimneypieces of the great in the years 2000 and odd? Will the white cups with the gold rim and the beautiful gold flower inside (species unknown), that our Sarah Janes now break in sheer light-heartedness of spirit, be carefully mended, and stood upon a bracket, and dusted only by the lady of the house?

That china dog that ornaments the bedroom of my furnished lodgings. It is a white dog. Its eyes blue. Its nose is a delicate red, with spots. Its head is painfully erect, its expression is amiability carried to verge of imbecility. I do not admire it myself. Considered as a work of art, I may say it irritates me. Thoughtless friends jeer at it, and even my landlady herself has no admiration for it, and excuses its presence by the circumstance that her aunt gave it to her.

But in 200 years' time it is more than probable that that dog will be dug up from somewhere or other, minus its legs, and with its tail broken, and will be sold for old china, and put in a glass cabinet. And people will pass it round, and admire it. They will be struck by the wonderful depth of the colour on the nose, and speculate as to how beautiful the bit of the tail that is lost no doubt was.

We, in this age, do not see the beauty of that dog. We are too familiar with it. It is like the sunset and the stars: we are not awed by their loveliness because they are common to our eyes. So it is with that china dog. In 2288 people will gush over it. The making of such dogs will have become a lost art. Our descendants will wonder how we did it, and say how clever we were. We shall be referred to lovingly as "those grand old artists that flourished in the nineteenth century, and produced those china dogs."

<...>

We are creatures of the sun, we men and women. We love light and life. That is why we crowd into the towns and cities, and the country grows more and more deserted every year. In the sunlight – in the daytime, when Nature is alive and busy all around us, we like the open hill-sides and the deep woods well enough: but in the night, when our Mother Earth has gone to sleep, and left us waking, oh! the world seems so lonesome, and we get frightened, like children in a silent house. Then we sit and sob, and long for the gas-lit streets, and the sound of human voices, and the answering throb of human life. We feel so helpless and so little in the great stillness, when the dark trees rustle in the night-wind. There are so many ghosts about, and their silent sighs make us feel so sad. Let us gather together in the great cities, and light huge bonfires of a million gas-jets, and shout and sing together, and feel brave.

**THE ROAD TO LITTLE DRIBBLING:
MORE NOTES FROM A SMALL ISLAND**

Bill Bryson

Bill Bryson (1951–) was born in the American Mid-West, and is now living back in the UK. A former Chancellor of Durham University, he was President of Campaign to Protect Rural England for five years, and is an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society.

Bill Bryson's bestselling travel books include "The Lost Continent", "Neither Here Nor There" and "Notes from a Small Island", which in a national poll was voted the book that best represents Britain. His acclaimed book on the history of science, "A Short History of Nearly Everything", won the Royal Society's Aventis Prize as well as the Descartes Prize, the European Union's highest literary award.

Bryson has written books on language, on Shakespeare, and on his own childhood in the hilarious memoir "The Life and Times of

the Thunderbolt Kid". His last critically lauded bestsellers were on history – *"At Home: a Short History of Private Life"*, and *"One Summer: America 1927"*.

Another travel book, *"A Walk in the Woods"*, has now become a major film starring Robert Redford, Nick Nolte and Emma Thompson. Bryson's new book, *"The Road to Little Dribbling: More Notes from a Small Island"* came out in autumn 2015.

Chawton is another sweet little village – this part of the world is full of them – tucked away down a side lane and not on the face of it a great deal changed from Jane Austen's day. Chawton Cottage, where Jane lived with her mother and sister, is built of mellow brick and sits close to the road. The interior is furnished simply, with a few good pieces of furniture but with a curious air of emptiness enhanced by the bare floors and empty grates. Knick-knacks and personal effects are conspicuously absent from tabletops and mantelpieces, presumably because anything left out would be filched. The result, as with so many homes of famous people, is that you get a good notion of the walls and windows but not so much of the life of the person who lived there. That's not a bitter complaint, just an observation. It's the way it has to be.

Jane Austen lived in the house for eight years, from 1809 till 1817, and during that time did most of her most lasting work: wrote *Emma*, *Persuasion* and *Mansfield Park*, and revised and prepared for publication *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Northanger Abbey*. The prize item of the house is Jane's small round writing table, where all her books were scratched out. A group of Japanese visitors were gathered around it now, discussing it in low, reverential whispers, which is something I find the Japanese do exceptionally well. Nobody gets more out of a few grunts and a couple of rounded vowel sounds stretched out and spoken as if in surprise or consternation. They can carry on the most complex conversations, covering the full range of

human emotions – surprise, enthusiasm, hearty endorsement, bitter disagreement – in a tone that sounds awfully like someone trying to have an orgasm quietly. I followed them from room to room, enthralled by their conversation, until realized that I was becoming part of it, and that they were casting glances at me with something like unease, so I bowed apologetically and left them to admire an old fireplace with low moans of expressive rapture.

When Jane Austen left the house, in the summer of 1817, it was to go to Winchester, sixteen miles to the west, to die. She was only forty-one, and the cause of her death is unknown. It may have been Addison's disease or Hodgkin's lymphoma or a form of typhus or possibly arsenic poisoning, which was surprisingly common in those days as arsenic was routinely used in making wallpapers and for colouring fabrics. It has been suggested that the general air of ennui and frailty that seemed so characteristic of the age may simply have been generations of women spending too much time indoors taking in gently toxic vapours. In any case, three days after St Swithun's Day 1817 she breathed her last.

<...>

I was headed for Norfolk, but the Natural History Museum in London had a special exhibition that I had been wanting to see for some time that was highly relevant to East Anglia, so I stopped there on the way. The Natural History Museum is a glorious, overwrought building with a massive central hall dominated by the skeleton of a *Diplodocus*, which seems to be poised to attack and devour anyone coming through the front entrance, which in fact wouldn't be a bad idea at all these days.

I remember the Natural History Museum as being packed with stuff and seeming almost infinite. The long downstairs corridors, softly lit and tranquil, were filled with tall glass cases of stuffed animals of every imaginable type. It was like being in a frozen zoo.

You could study the animals closely, observe their steady gaze and fur and musculature, get a sense of their strength or fleetness, marvel at life's diverse ingenuity. It was fascinating, even thrilling. Above all, I remember the Natural History Museum as being almost empty of other visitors and very quiet, like a library.

Now it is never calm or empty. It is permanently bright and noisy and horrible. Where a long gallery full of stuffed animals and glass cases used to beckon there is now a gift shop. It is not even a gift shop really. It's a toy store. Gone are the days when you could fob your children off with a pencil case and rubber. This was like Hamley's.

Just beyond this new upstairs café, was a lone glass case, and for a moment I thought I had come across an overlooked relic of the way the museum used to be when it was exciting and interesting, but it was a false alarm. It was essentially just an advertisement for Down House, Charles Darwin's home in Kent. There wasn't any information about Darwin's life and achievements, nothing about the Beagle voyage or evolution or anything that could be called mildly instructive, just a recommendation to go and see his house.

It didn't say anything at all about what the snack facilities were like, however, so I decided not to chance it.

<...>

A mile or so beyond Noar Hill is Selborne, a pretty village with two pubs and a good village store with a post office. In the middle of the high street is the house of Gilbert White, Selborne's most famous son. Gilbert White is a person that most people seem either to know a good deal about or know nothing at all about, though I suspect that many of those who place themselves in the first category would really be more at home in the second. He was a country parson, who was born in Selborne in 1720 and died there seventy-three years later and didn't do a great deal in between other than plant vegetables and watch the passing seasons. He lived quietly, never married, and was so unworldly that he

thought the Sussex Downs ‘a mighty range of mountains’. Through most of his life he kept notes and wrote letters, which became the basis for his extraordinarily enduring book, *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, which Richard Maybe has called ‘one of the most perfectly realized celebrations of nature in the English language’.

The book was nearly a lifetime in the making. It was published in 1788 when White was sixty-eight and just five years from the end of his earthly run. It takes the form of letters to other naturalists, often of a discursive nature, arranged in no particular order, but it has been amazingly influential. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Constable and Virginia Woolf were among its great admirers. Charles Darwin said it inspired him to become a naturalist. In 220 years, the book has never been out of print. By one calculation, it is the fourth most published book in English.

THE CITY AS BODY

Peter Ackroyd

The image of London as a human body is striking and singular; we may trace it from the pictorial emblems of the City of God, the mystical body in which Jesus Christ represents its head and the citizens its other members. London has also been envisaged in the form of a young man with his arms outstretched in a gesture of liberation; the figure is taken from a Roman bronze but it embodies the energy and exultation of a city continually expanding in great waves of progress and of confidence. Here might be found the “heart of London beating warm.”

The byways of the city resemble thin veins and its parks are like lungs. In the mist and rain of an urban autumn, the shining stones and cobbles of the older thoroughfares look as if they are bleeding. When William Harvey, practising as a surgeon in St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, walked through the streets he noticed

that the hoses of the fire engines spouted water like blood from a cut artery. Metaphorical images of the Cockney body have circulated for many hundreds of years: “gob” was first recorded in 1550, “paws” in 1590, “mug” in 1708 and “kisser” in the mid-eighteenth century.

Harvey’s seventeenth-century hospital was beside the shambles of Smithfield, and that conjunction may suggest another image of the city. It is fleshy and voracious, grown fat upon its appetite for people and for food, for goods and for drink; it consumes and it excretes, maintained within a continual state of greed and desire.

For Daniel Defoe, London was a great body which “circulates all, exports all, and at last pays for all.” That is why it has commonly been portrayed in monstrous form, a swollen and dropsical giant which kills more than it breeds. Its head is too large, out of proportion to the other members; its face and hands have also grown monstrous, irregular and “out of all Shape.” It is a “spleen” or a great “wen.” A body racked with fever, and choked by ashes, it proceeds from plague to fire.

Whether we consider London as a young man refreshed and risen from sleep, therefore, or whether we lament its condition as a deformed giant, we must regard it as a human shape with its own laws of life and growth.

Here, then, is its biography.

Some will object that such a biography can form no part of a true history. I admit the fault and plead in my defence that I have subdued the style of my enquiry to the nature of the subject. London is a labyrinth, half of stone and half of flesh. It cannot be conceived in its entirety but can be experienced only as a wilderness of alleys and passages, courts and thoroughfares, in which even the most experienced citizen may lose the way; it is curious, too, that this labyrinth is in a continual state of change and expansion.

The biography of London also defies chronology. Contemporary theorists have suggested that linear time is itself a

figment of the human imagination, but London has already anticipated their conclusions. There are many different forms of time in the city, and it would be foolish of me to change its character for the sake of creating a conventional narrative. That is why this book moves quixotically through time, itself forming a labyrinth. If the history of London poverty is beside a history of London madness, then the connections may provide more significant information than any orthodox historiographical survey.

Chapters of history resemble John Bunyan's little wicket-gates, while all around lie sloughs of despond and valleys of humiliation. So I will sometimes stray from the narrow path in search of those heights and depths of urban experience that know no history and are rarely susceptible to rational analysis. I understand a little, and I trust that it will prove enough. I am not a Virgil prepared to guide aspiring Dantes around a defined and circular kingdom. I am only one stumbling Londoner who wishes to lead others in the directions which I have pursued over a lifetime.

The readers of this book must wander and wonder. They may become lost upon the way; they may experience moments of uncertainty, and on occasions strange fantasies or theories may bewilder them. On certain streets various eccentric or vulnerable people will pause beside them, pleading for attention. There will be anomalies and contradictions – London is so large and so wild that it contains no less than everything – just as there will be irresolutions and ambiguities. But there will also be moments of revelation, when the city will be seen to harbour the secrets of the human world. Then it is wise to bow down before the immensity. So we set off in anticipation, with the milestone pointing ahead of us “To London.”

London

March 2000

From the Preface to *London: The Biography*

ENDEAVOUR
(By John Galsworthy)

Max Beerbohm

Max Beerbohm, considered by some to be the best essayist, parodist, and cartoonist of his age, was born Henry Maximilian Beerbohm in 1872, in London. His early education was at a preparatory school in Orme Square, and then at Charterhouse. He attended Merton College at Oxford, 1890–1894, but did not receive a degree.

In 1898 he succeeded George Bernard Shaw as drama critic of the Saturday Review, a position he held until 1910. During the years he wrote for the Saturday Review, he arranged four exhibitions of his drawings. Beerbohm published several collections of essays, parodies, and caricatures. In 1911, he published his only novel, “Zuleika Dobson”. His last volume of essays, “A Variety of Things”, was published in 1928. His later years were spent in retirement. He was knighted in 1939.

“A Christmas Garland”, woven by Max Beerbohm is a collection of seventeen parodies. It was first published in the United Kingdom in October 1912 by Heinemann. Beerbohm had a gift for parody, and “A Christmas Garland” is perhaps the best collection of parodies ever written in English. In his book Beerbohm parodied the style of popular writers of his day. These were Henry James, George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hardy, Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, G. K. Chesterton, and Arnold Bennett. Beerbohm’s parodies of their work are intermixed with a Christmas theme and the inventiveness of his own comic talents. When “Christmas Garland” first appeared reviewers agreed that Beerbohm had not only captured the styles or “externals” of his subjects but had “unbared their brains and hearts”.

The dawn of Christmas Day found London laid out in a shroud of snow. Like a body wasted by diseases that had triumphed over it at last, London lay stark and still now, beneath a sky that was as the closed leaden shell of a coffin. It was what is called an old-fashioned Christmas.

Nothing seemed to be moving except the Thames, whose embanked waters flowed on sullenly in their eternal act of escape to the sea. All along the wan stretch of Cheyne Walk the thin trees stood exanimate, with not a breath of wind to stir the snow that pied their soot blackened branches. Here and there on the muffled ground lay a sparrow that had been frozen in the night, its little claws sticking up heavenward. But here and there also those tinier adventurers of the London air, smuts, floated vaguely and came to rest on the snow-signs that in the seeming death of civilization some housemaids at least survived, and some fires had been lit.

One of these fires, crackling in the grate of one of those dining-rooms which look fondly out on the river and tolerantly across to Battersea, was being watched by the critical eye of an aged canary. The cage in which the bird sat was hung in the middle of the bow-window. It contained three perches, and also a pendent hoop. The tray that was its floor had just been cleaned and sanded. In the embrasure to the right was a fresh supply of hemp-seed; in the embrasure to the left the bath-tub had just been refilled with clear water. Stuck between the bars was a large sprig of groundsel. Yet, though all was thus in order, the bird did not eat nor drink, nor did he bathe. With his back to Battersea, and his head sunk deep between his little sloping shoulders, he watched the fire. The windows had for a while been opened, as usual, to air the room for him; and the fire had not yet mitigated the chill. It was not his custom to bathe at so inclement an hour; and his appetite for food and drink, less keen than it had once been, required to be whetted by example – he never broke

his fast before his master and mistress broke theirs. Time had been when, for sheer joy in life, he fluttered from perch to perch, though there were none to watch him, and even sang roulades, though there were none to hear. He would not do these things nowadays save at the fond instigation of Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Berridge. The housemaid who ministered to his cage, the parlour maid who laid the Berridges' breakfast table, sometimes tried to incite him to perform it for their own pleasure. But the sense of caste, strong in his protuberant little bosom, steeled him against these advances.

While the breakfast-table was being laid, he heard a faint tap against the window-pane. Turning round, he perceived on the sill a creature like to himself, but very different – a creature who, despite the pretensions of a red waistcoat in the worst possible taste, belonged evidently to the ranks of the outcast and the disinherited. In previous winters the sill had been strewn every morning with bread-crumbs. This winter, no bread-crumbs had been vouchsafed; and the canary, though he did not exactly understand why this was so, was glad that so it was. He had felt that his poor relations took advantage of the Berridges' kindness. Two or three of them, as pensioners, might not have been amiss. But they came in swarms, and they gobbled their food in a disgusting fashion, not trifling coquettishly with it as birds should. The reason for this, the canary knew, was that they were hungry; and of that he was sorry. He hated to think how much destitution there was in the world; and he could not help thinking about it when samples of it were thrust under his notice. That was the principal reason why he was glad that the windowsill was strewn no more and seldom visited.

He would much rather not have seen this solitary applicant. The two eyes fixed on his made him feel very uncomfortable. And yet, for fear of seeming to be outfaced, he did not like to look away.

The subdued clangour of the gong, sounded for breakfast, gave him an excuse for turning suddenly round and watching the door of the room.

A few moments later there came to him a faint odour of Harris tweed, followed immediately by the short, somewhat stout figure of his master – a man whose mild, fresh, pink, round face seemed to find salvation, as it were, at the last moment, in a neatly-pointed auburn beard.

Adrian Berridge paused on the threshold, as was his wont, with closed eyes and dilated nostrils, enjoying the aroma of complex freshness which the dining-room had at this hour. Pathetically a creature of habit, he liked to savour the various scents, sweet or acrid, that went to symbolize for him the time and the place. Here were the immediate scents of dry toast, of China tea of napery fresh from the wash, together with that vague, super-subtle scent which boiled eggs give out through their unbroken shells. And as a permanent base to these there was the scent of much-polished Chippendale, and of bees'-waxed parquet, and of Persian rugs. To-day, moreover, crowning the composition, there was the delicate pungency of the holly that topped the Queen Anne mirror and the Mantegna prints.

Coming forward into the room, Mr. Berridge greeted the canary. "Well, Amber, old fellow," he said, "a happy Christmas to you!" Affectionately he pushed the tip of a plump white finger between the bars.

"Tweet!" he added.

"Tweet!" answered the bird, hopping to and fro along his perch. "Quite an old-fashioned Christmas, Amber!" said Mr. Berridge, turning to scan the weather. At sight of the robin, a little spasm of pain contracted his face. A shine of tears came to his prominent pale eyes, and he turned quickly away.

HIGH RISE

James Ballard

James Graham Ballard (1930–2009) was an English novelist, short story writer, and prominent member of the New Wave movement in science fiction. His best-known books are “Crash” (1973), adapted into a film, and the semi-autobiographical “Empire of the Sun” (1984), made into a film by Steven Spielberg, based on Ballard’s boyhood in the Shanghai International Settlement and internment by the Japanese Imperial Army during the Second World War. The literary distinctiveness of his work has given rise to the adjective “Ballardian”, defined as “resembling or suggestive of the conditions described in J. G. Ballard’s novels and stories, especially dystopian modernity, bleak man-made landscapes and the psychological effects of technological, social or environmental developments.” In 2008, The Times included Ballard on its list of “The 50 greatest British writers since 1945”.

Later, as he sat on his balcony eating the dog, Dr Robert Laing reflected on the unusual events that had taken place within this huge apartment building during the previous three months. Now that everything had returned to normal, he was surprised that there had been no obvious beginning, no point beyond which their lives had moved into a clearly more sinister dimension. With its forty floors and thousand apartments, its supermarket and swimming-pools, bank and junior school – all in effect abandoned in the sky – the high-rise offered more than enough opportunities for violence and confrontation. Certainly his own studio apartment on the 25th floor was the last place Laing would have chosen as an early skirmish-ground. This over-priced cell, slotted almost at random into the cliff face of the apartment building, he had bought after his divorce specifically for its peace, quiet and anonymity. Curiously enough,

despite all Laing's efforts to detach himself from his two thousand neighbours and the regime of trivial disputes and irritations that provided their only corporate life, it was here if anywhere that the first significant event had taken place – on this balcony where he now squatted beside a fire of telephone directories, eating the roast hind-quarter of the alsatian before setting off to his lecture at the medical school.

While preparing breakfast soon after eleven o'clock one Saturday morning three months earlier, Dr Laing was startled by an explosion on the balcony outside his living-room. A bottle of sparkling wine had fallen from a floor fifty feet above, ricocheted off an awning as it hurtled downwards, and burst across the tiled balcony floor.

The living-room carpet was speckled with foam and broken glass. Laing stood in his bare feet among the sharp fragments, watching the agitated wine seethe across the cracked tiles. High above him, on the 31st floor, a party was in progress. He could hear the sounds of deliberately over-animated chatter, the aggressive blare of a record-player. Presumably the bottle had been knocked over the rail by a boisterous guest. Needless to say, no one at the party was in the least concerned about the ultimate destination of this missile – but as Laing had already discovered, people in high-rises tended not to care about tenants more than two floors below them.

Trying to identify the apartment, Laing stepped across the spreading pool of cold froth. Sitting there, he might easily have found himself with the longest hangover in the world. He leaned out over the rail and peered up at the face of the building, carefully counting the balconies. As usual, though, the dimensions of the forty-storey block made his head reel. Lowering his eyes to the tiled floor, he steadied himself against the door pillar. The immense volume of open space that separated the building from the neighbouring high-rise a quarter of a mile away unsettled his sense of balance. At times

he felt that he was living in the gondola of a ferris wheel permanently suspended three hundred feet above the ground.

Nonetheless, Laing was still exhilarated by the high-rise, one of five identical units in the development project and the first to be completed and occupied. Together they were set in a mile-square area of abandoned dockland and warehousing along the north bank of the river. The five high-rises stood on the eastern perimeter of the project, looking out across an ornamental lake – at present an empty concrete basin surrounded by parking-lots and construction equipment. On the opposite shore stood the recently completed concert-hall, with Laing's medical school and the new television studios on either side. The massive scale of the glass and concrete architecture, and its striking situation on a bend of the river, sharply separated the development project from the run-down areas around it, decaying nineteenth-century terraced houses and empty factories already zoned for reclamation.

For all the proximity of the City two miles away to the west along the river, the office buildings of central London belonged to a different world, in time as well as space. Their glass curtain-walling and telecommunication aerials were obscured by the traffic smog, blurring Laing's memories of the past. Six months earlier, when he had sold the lease of his Chelsea house and moved to the security of the high-rise, he had travelled forward fifty years in time, away from crowded streets, traffic hold-ups, rush-hour journeys on the Underground to student supervisions in a shared office in the old teaching hospital.

Here, on the other hand, the dimensions of his life were space, light and the pleasures of a subtle kind of anonymity. The drive to the physiology department of the medical school took him five minutes, and apart from this single excursion Laing's life in the high-rise was as self-contained as the building itself. In effect, the

apartment block was a small vertical city, its two thousand inhabitants boxed up into the sky. The tenants corporately owned the building, which they administered themselves through a resident manager and his staff.

For all its size, the high-rise contained an impressive range of services. The entire 10th floor was given over to a wide concourse, as large as an aircraft carrier's flight-deck, which contained a supermarket, bank and hairdressing salon, a swimming-pool and gymnasium, a well-stocked liquor store and a junior school for the few young children in the block. High above Laing, on the 35th floor, was a second, smaller swimming-pool, a sauna and a restaurant. Delighted by this glut of conveniences, Laing made less and less effort to leave the building. He unpacked his record collection and played himself into his new life, sitting on his balcony and gazing across the parking-lots and concrete plazas below him. Although the apartment was no higher than the 25th floor, he felt for the first time that he was looking down at the sky, rather than up at it. Each day the towers of central London seemed slightly more distant, the landscape of an abandoned planet receding slowly from his mind. By contrast with the calm and unencumbered geometry of the concert-hall and television studios below him, the ragged skyline of the city resembled the disturbed encephalograph of an unresolved mental crisis.

The apartment had been expensive, its studio living-room and single bedroom, kitchen and bathroom dovetailed into each other to minimize space and eliminate internal corridors. To his sister Alice Frobisher, who lived with her publisher husband in a larger apartment three floors below, Laing had remarked, "The architect must have spent his formative years in a space capsule – I'm surprised the walls don't curve..."

At first Laing found something alienating about the concrete landscape of the project – an architecture designed for war, on the unconscious level if no other. After all the tensions of his divorce, the last thing he wanted to look out on each morning was a row of concrete bunkers.

However, Alice soon convinced him of the intangible appeal of life in a luxury high-rise. Seven years older than Laing, she made a shrewd assessment of her brother's needs in the months after his divorce. She stressed the efficiency of the building's services, the total privacy. "You could be alone here, in an empty building-think of that, Robert." She added, illogically, "Besides, it's full of the kind of people you ought to meet."

Here she was making a point that had not escaped Laing during his inspection visits. The two thousand tenants formed a virtually homogeneous collection of well-to-do professional people – lawyers, doctors, tax consultants, senior academics and advertising executives, along with a smaller group of airline pilots, film-industry technicians and trios of air-hostesses sharing apartments. By the usual financial and educational yardsticks they were probably closer to each other than the members of any conceivable social mix, with the same tastes and attitudes, fads and styles – clearly reflected in the choice of automobiles in the parking-lots that surrounded the high-rise, in the elegant but somehow standardized way in which they furnished their apartments, in the selection of sophisticated foods in the supermarket delicatessen, in the tones of their self-confident voices. In short, they constituted the perfect background into which Laing could merge invisibly. His sister's excited vision of Laing alone in an empty building was closer to the truth than she realized. The high-rise was a huge machine designed to serve, not the collective body of tenants, but the individual resident in isolation. Its staff of air-conditioning conduits, elevators, garbage-disposal chutes and electrical switching systems provided a never-

failing supply of care and attention that a century earlier would have needed an army of tireless servants.

Besides all this, once Laing had been appointed senior lecturer in physiology at the new medical school, the purchase of an apartment nearby made sense. It helped him as well to postpone once again any decision to give up teaching and take up general practice. But as he told himself, he was still waiting for his real patients to appear – perhaps he would find them here in the high-rise? Rationalizing his doubts over the cost of the apartment, Laing signed a ninety-nine-year lease and moved into his one-thousandth share of the cliff face.

* * *

Superficially, life in the apartment building was normal enough – most of the residents left for their offices each day, the supermarket was still open, the bank and hair-dressing salon functioned as usual. Nonetheless, the real internal atmosphere was that of three uneasily coexisting armed camps. A complete hardening of positions had taken place, and there was now almost no contact between the upper, middle and lower groups. During the early part of the day it was possible to move freely around the building, but as the afternoon proceeded this became increasingly difficult. By dusk any movement was impossible. The bank and supermarket closed at three o'clock. The junior school had moved from its vandalized classrooms to two apartments on the 7th floor. Few children were ever seen above the 10th floor, let alone in the sculpture-garden on the roof which Royal had designed for them with so much care. The 10th-floor swimming-pool was a half-empty pit of yellowing water and floating debris. One of the squash courts had been locked, and the other three were filled with garbage and broken classroom furniture. Of the twenty elevators in the building, three were permanently out of order, and by

evening the remainder had become the private transit lines of the rival groups who could seize them. Five floors were without electricity. At night the dark bands stretched across the face of the high-rise like dead strata in a fading brain.

Fortunately for Royal and his neighbours, conditions in the upper section of the building had yet to decline so steeply. The restaurant had discontinued its evening service, but a limited luncheon was available each day during the few hours when the small staff could freely enter and leave. However, the two waiters had already gone, and Royal guessed that the chef and his wife would soon follow. The swimming-pool on the 35th floor was usable, but the level had fallen, and the water supply, like that to their own apartment, was dependent on the vagaries of the roof tanks and electric pumps.

From the drawing-room windows Royal looked down into the parking-lot. Many of the cars had not been moved for weeks – windscreens broken by falling bottles, cabins filled with garbage, they sat on flattening tyres, surrounded by a sea of rubbish that spread outwards around the building like an enlarging stain.

This visible index of the block's decline at the same time measured the extent to which its tenants accepted this process of erosion. At times Royal suspected that his neighbours unconsciously hoped that everything would decline even further. Royal had noticed that the manager's office was no longer besieged by indignant residents. Even his own top-floor neighbours, who in the early days had been only too quick to complain about everything, now never criticized the building. In the absence of the manager – still lying in a state of mental collapse in his ground-floor apartment – his dwindling staff of two (the wives of a dubbing-mixer on the 2nd floor and a first violinist on the 3rd) sat stoically at their desks in the entrance lobby, oblivious of the deterioration going on apace over their heads.

What interested Royal was the way in which the residents had become exaggeratedly crude in their response to the apartment building, deliberately abusing the elevators and air-conditioning systems, over-straining the power supply. This carelessness about their own convenience reflected a shuffling of mental priorities, and perhaps the emergence of the new social and psychological order for which Royal was waiting. He remembered the attack on Wilder, who had laughed happily as the group of paediatricians and academics had flailed away at him with their dumb-bells like a troupe of demented gymnasts. Royal had found the episode grotesque, but he guessed that in some obscure way Wilder had been glad to be flung half-conscious into an elevator.

Royal strolled around the shrouded furniture. He raised his stick and slashed at the stale air with the same stroke he had used against Wilder. At any moment a battalion of police would arrive and cart them all off to the nearest jail. Or would they? What played straight into the residents' hands was the remarkably self-contained nature of the high-rise, a self-administered enclave within the larger private domain of the development project. The manager and his staff, the personnel who manned the supermarket, bank and hairdressing salon, were all residents of the apartment building; the few outsiders had left or been sacked. The engineers who serviced the building did so on instructions from the manager, and clearly none had been issued. They might even have been told to stay away – no garbage-collection vehicle had called for several days, and a large number of the chutes were blocked.

Despite the growing chaos around them, the residents showed less interest in the external world. Bales of un-sorted mail lay about in the ground-floor lobbies. As for the debris scattered around the high-rise, the broken bottles and cans, these were barely noticeable from the ground. Even the damaged cars were to some extent

concealed by the piles of building materials, wooden forms and sand-pits that had yet to be cleared away. Besides, as part of that unconscious conspiracy to shut out the external world, no visitors came to the high-rise. He and Anne had invited none of their friends to the apartment for months.

From *Royallib.ru*

THE SMILE

Ray Bradbury

Ray Douglas Bradbury (1920–2012) was an American author of science-fiction short stories and novels, nostalgic tales, poetry, radio drama, and television and motion-picture screenplays. His highly imaginative science-fiction stories blended social criticism with an awareness of the hazards of runaway technology. Bradbury's important short-story collections include "The Martian Chronicles", "The Illustrated Man", "The Golden Apples of the Sun", "Fahrenheit 451", "The October Country", "A Medicine for Melancholy", "The Machineries of Joy", and "I Sing the Body Electric!". His novels include "Dandelion Wine" and "Something Wicked This Way Comes".

In the town square the queue had formed at five in the morning, while cocks were crowing far out in the rimed country and there were no fires. All about, among the ruined buildings, bits of mist had clung at first, but now with the new light of seven o'clock it was beginning to disperse. Down the road, in twos and threes, more people were gathering in for the day of marketing the day of festival.

The small bay stood immediately behind two men who had been talking loudly in the clear air, and all of the sounds they made seemed twice as loud because of the cold. The small boy stamped his feet and blew on his red, chapped hands, and looked up at the soiled

gunny-sack clothing of the men, and down the long line of men and women ahead.

‘Here, boy, what’re you doing out so early?’ said the man behind him.

‘Got my place in line, I have,’ said the boy.

‘Whyn’t you run off, give your place to someone who appreciates?’

‘Leave the boy alone,’ said the man ahead, suddenly turning.

‘I was joking.’ The man behind put his hand on the boy’s head. The boy shook it away coldly. ‘I just thought it strange, a boy out of bed so early.’

‘This boy’s an appreciator of arts, I’ll have you know,’ said the boy’s defender, a man named Grigsby, ‘What’s your name, lad?’

‘Tom.’

‘Tom here is going to spit clean and true, right, Tom?’

‘I sure am!’

Laughter passed down the line.

A man was selling cracked cups of hot coffee up ahead. Tom looked and saw the little hot fire and the brew bubbling in a rusty pan. It wasn’t really coffee. It was made from some berry that grew on the meadowlands beyond town, and it sold a penny a cup to warm their stomachs; but not many were buying, not many had the wealth.

Tom stared ahead to the place where the line ended, beyond a bombed-out stone wall.

‘They say she smiles,’ said the boy.

‘Aye, she does,’ said Grigsby.

‘They say she’s made of oil and canvas.’

‘True. And that’s what makes me think she’s not the original one. The original, now, I’ve heard, was painted on wood a long time ago.’

‘They say she’s four centuries old.’

‘Maybe more. No one knows what year this is, to be sure.’

‘It’s 2061’.

‘That’s what they say, boy, yes. Liars. Could be 3,000 or 5,000, for all we know. Things were in a fearful mess there for a while. All we got now is bits and pieces.’

They shuffled along the cold stones of the street.

‘How much longer before we see her?’ asked Tom, uneasily.

‘Just a few more minutes. They got her set up with four brass poles and a velvet rope to keep folks back. Now mind, no rocks, Tom; they don’t allow rocks thrown at her.’

‘Yes, sir.’

The sun rose higher in the heavens, bringing heat which made the men shed their grimy coats and greasy hats.

‘Why’re we all here in line?’ asked Tom, at last. ‘Why’re we all here to spit?’

Grigsby did not glance down at him, but judged the sun. ‘Well, Tom, there’s lots of reasons.’ He reached absently for a pocket that was long gone, for a cigarette that wasn’t there. Tom had seen the gesture a million times. ‘Tom, it has to do with hate. Hate for everything in the Past. I ask you, Tom, how did we get in such a state, cities all junk, roads like jigsaws from bombs and half the cornfields glowing with radio-activity at night? Ain’t that a lousy stew, I ask you?’

‘Yes, sir, I guess so.’

‘It’s this way, Tom. You hate whatever it was that got you all knocked down and ruined. That’s human nature. Unthinking, maybe, but human nature anyway.’

‘There’s hardly nobody or nothing we don’t hate,’ said Tom.

‘Right! The whole blooming caboodle of the people in Past who run the world. So here we are on a Thursday morning with our guts plastered to our spines, cold, live in caves and such, don’t

smoke, don't drink, don't nothing except have our festivals, Tom, our festivals.'

And Tom thought of the festivals in the past few years. The year they tore up all the books in the square and burned them and everyone was drunk and laughing. And the festival of science a month ago when they dragged in the last motor-car and picked lots and each lucky man who won was allowed one smash of a sledge-hammer at the car.

'Do I remember that, Tom? Do I remember? Why, I got smash the front window, you hear? My God, it made a lovely sound! Crash!'

Tom could hear the glass falling in glittering heaps.

'And Bill Henderson, he got to bash the engine. Oh, he did a smart job of it, with great efficiency. Wham!'

But the best of all, recalled Grigsby, there was the time they smashed a factory that was still trying to turn out aeroplanes.

'Lord, did we feel good blowing it up!' said Grigsby. 'And then we found that newspaper plant and the munitions depot and exploded them together. Do you understand, Tom?'

Tom puzzled over it. 'I guess.'

It was high noon. Now the odors of the ruined city stank on the hot air and things crawled among the tumbled buildings.

'Won't it ever come back, mister?'

'What, civilization? Nobody wants it. Not me!' 'I could stand a bit of it,' said the man behind another man. 'There were a few spots of beauty in it.'

'Don't worry your heads,' shouted Grigsby. 'There's no room for that, either.'

'Ah,' said the man behind the man. 'Someone'll come along some day with imagination and patch it up. Mark my words. Someone with a heart.'

‘No,’ said Grigsby.

‘I say yes. Someone with a soul for pretty things. Might give us back a kind of limited sort of civilization, the kind we could live in in peace.’

‘First thing you know there’s war!’

‘But maybe next time it’d be different,’

At last they stood in the main square. A man on horseback was riding from the distance into the town. He had a piece of paper in his hand. In the centre of the square was the roped-off area. Tom, Grigsby, and the others were collecting their spittle and moving forward moving forward prepared and ready, eyes wide. Tom felt his heart beating very strongly and excitedly, and the earth was hot under his bare feet.

‘Here we go, Tom, let fly!’

Four policemen stood at the corners of the roped area, four men with bits of yellow twine on their wrists to show their authority over other men. They were there to prevent rocks being hurled.

‘This way,’ said Grigsby at the last moment, ‘everyone feels he’s had his chance at her, you see, Tom? Go on, now!’

Tom stood before the painting and looked at it for a long time.

‘Tom, spit!’

His mouth was dry.

‘Get on, Tom! Move!’

‘But,’ said Tom, slowly, ‘she’s beautiful.’

‘Here, I’ll spit for you!’ Grigsby spat and the missile flew in the sunlight. The woman in the portrait smiled serenely, secretly, at Tom, and he looked back at her, his heart beating, a kind of music in his ears. ‘She’s beautiful,’ he said.

The line fell silent. One moment they were berating Tom for not moving forward, now they were turning to the man on horseback.

‘What do they call it, sir?’ asked Tom, quietly.

‘The picture? ‘Mona Lisa’, Tom, I think. Yes, the ‘Mona Lisa’.

‘I have an announcement,’ said the man on horseback. ‘The authorities have decreed that as of high noon today tin portrait in the square is to be given over into the hands of the populace there, so they may participate in the destruction of –’

Tom hadn’t even time to scream before the crowd bore him, shouting and pummelling about, stampeding toward the portrait. There was a sharp ripping sound. The police ran to escape. The crowd was in full cry, their hands like so many hungry birds pecking away at the portrait. Tom felt himself thrust almost through the broken thing. Reaching out in blind imitation of the others, he snatched a scrap of oily canvas, yanked, felt the canvas give, then fell, was kicked, sent rolling to the outer rim of the mob. Bloody, his clothing torn, watched old women chew pieces of canvas, men break the frame, kick the ragged cloth, and rip it into confetti.

Only Tom stood apart, silent in the moving square. He looked down at his hand. It clutched the piece of canvas close his chest, hidden.

‘Hey there, Tom!’ cried Grigsby.

Without a word, sobbing, Tom ran. He ran out and down the bomb-pitted road, into a field, across a shallow stream, not looking back, his hand clenched tightly, tucked under his coat.

At sunset he reached the small village and passed on through. By nine o’clock he came to the ruined farm dwelling. Around back, in the part that still remained upright, he heard the sounds of sleeping, the family – his mother, father, and brother. He slipped quickly, silently, through the small door and lay down, panting.

‘Tom?’ called his mother in the dark.

‘Yes.’

‘Where’ve you been?’ snapped his father. ‘I’ll beat you the morning.’

Someone kicked him. His brother, who had been left behind to work their little patch of ground.

‘Go to sleep,’ cried his mother, faintly.

Another kick.

Tom lay getting his breath. All was quiet. His hand was pushed to his chest, tight, tight. He lay for half an hour this way, eyes closed.

Then he felt something, and it was a cold white light. The moon rose very high and the little square of light crept slowly over Tom’s body. Then, and only then, did his hand relax. Slowly, carefully, listening to those who slept about him, Tom drew his hand forth. He hesitated, sucked in his breath, and then, waiting, opened his hand and uncrumpled the fragment of painted canvas.

All the world was asleep in the moonlight.

And there on his hand was the Smile.

He looked at it in the white illumination from the midnight sky. And he thought, over to himself, quietly, the Smile, the lovely Smile.

An hour later he could still see it, even after he had folded it carefully and hidden it. He shut his eyes and the Smile was there in the darkness. And it was still there, warm and gentle, when he went to sleep and the world was silent and the moon sailed up and then down the cold sky towards morning.

CHAPTER NINE IN WHICH PIGLET IS ENTIRELY SURROUNDED BY WATER

Alan A. Milne

English writer A. A. Milne is best known for his children’s stories about the adventures of Winnie-the-Pooh. He was born in London, England, on January 18, 1882. After attending the University of Cambridge’s Trinity College and writing for the literary magazines Granta and Punch, Milne began a successful career as a novelist, poet and playwright in the 1920s. His best

known works are his two collections of children's poetry, "When We Were Young" and "Now We Are Six", and his two books of stories about the lovable bear Winnie-the-Pooh and his animal friends. Milne died on January 31, 1956.

It rained and it rained and it rained. Piglet told himself that never in all his life, and *he* was goodness knows *how* old – three, was it, or four? – never had he seen so much rain. Days and days and days.

‘If only,’ he thought, as he looked out of the window, ‘I had been in Pooh’s house, or Christopher Robin’s house, or Rabbit’s house when it began to rain, then I should have had Company all this time, instead of being here all alone, with nothing to do except wonder when it will stop.’ And he imagined himself with Pooh, saying, ‘Did you ever see such rain, Pooh?’ and Pooh saying, ‘Isn’t it *awful*, Piglet?’ and Piglet saying, ‘I wonder how it is over Christopher Robin’s way,’ and Pooh saying, ‘I should think poor old Rabbit is about flooded out by this time.’ It would have been jolly to talk like this, and really, it wasn’t much good having anything exciting like floods, if you couldn’t share them with somebody.

For it was rather exciting. The little dry ditches in which Piglet had nosed about so often had become streams, the little streams across which he had splashed were rivers, and the river, between whose steep banks they had played so happily, had sprawled out of its own bed and was taking up so much room everywhere, that Piglet was beginning to wonder whether it would be coming into *his* bed soon.

‘It’s a little Anxious,’ he said to himself, ‘to be a Very Small Animal Entirely Surrounded by Water. Christopher Robin and Pooh could escape by Climbing Trees, and Kanga could escape by Jumping, and Rabbit could escape by Burrowing, and Owl could escape by Flying, and Eeyore could escape by – by Making a Loud Noise Until Rescued, and here am I, surrounded by water and I can’t do *anything*.’

It went on raining, and every day the water got a little higher, until now it was nearly up to Piglet's window ... and still he hadn't done anything.

'There's Pooh,' he thought to himself. 'Pooh hasn't much Brain, but he never comes to any harm. He does silly things and they turn out right. There's Owl. Owl hasn't exactly got Brain, but he Knows Things. He would know the Right Thing to Do when Surrounded by Water. There's Rabbit. He hasn't Learnt in Books, but he can always Think of a Clever Plan. There's Kanga. She isn't Clever, Kanga isn't, but she would be so anxious about Roo that she would do a Good Thing to Do without thinking about it. And then there's Eeyore. And Eeyore is so miserable anyhow that he wouldn't mind about this. But I wonder what Christopher Robin would do?'

Then suddenly he remembered a story which Christopher Robin had told him about a man on a desert island who had written something in a bottle and thrown it into the sea; and Piglet thought that if he wrote something in a bottle and threw it in the water, perhaps somebody would come and rescue *him*!

He left the window and began to search his house, all of it that wasn't under water, and at last he found a pencil and a small piece of dry paper, and a bottle with a cork to it. And he wrote on one side of the paper:

HELP!

PIGLIT (ME)

and on the other side:

IT'S ME PIGLIT, HELP HELP!

Then he put the paper in the bottle, and he corked the bottle up as tightly as he could, and he leant out of his window as far as he could lean without falling in, and he threw the bottle as far as he could throw – *splash!* – and in a little while it bobbed up again on the water; and he

watched it floating slowly away in the distance, until his eyes ached with looking, and sometimes he thought it was the bottle, and sometimes he thought it was just a ripple on the water which he was following, and then suddenly he knew that he would never see it again and that he had done all that he could do to save himself.

‘So now,’ he thought, ‘somebody else will have to do something, and I hope they will do it soon, because if they don’t I shall have to swim, which I can’t, so I hope they do it soon.’ And then he gave a very long sigh and said, ‘I wish Pooh were here. It’s so much more friendly with two.’

When the rain began Pooh was asleep. It rained, and it rained, and it rained, and he slept and he slept and he slept. He had had a tiring day. You remember how he discovered the North Pole; well, he was so proud of this that he asked Christopher Robin if there were any other Poles such as a Bear of Little Brain might discover.

‘There’s a South Pole,’ said Christopher Robin, ‘and I expect there’s an East Pole and a West Pole, though people don’t like talking about them.’

Pooh was very excited when he heard this, and suggested that they should have an Expotition to discover the East Pole, but Christopher Robin had thought of something else to do with Kanga; so Pooh went out to discover the East Pole by himself. Whether he discovered it or not, I forget; but he was so tired when he got home that, in the very middle of his supper, after he had been eating for little more than half-an-hour, he fell fast asleep in his chair, and slept and slept and slept.

Then suddenly he was dreaming. He was at the East Pole, and it was a very cold pole with the coldest sort of snow and ice all over it. He had found a beehive to sleep in, but there wasn’t room for his legs, so he had left them outside. And Wild Woozles, such as inhabit

the East Pole, came and nibbled all the fur off his legs to make Nests for their Young. And the more they nibbled, the colder his legs got, until suddenly he woke up with an *Ow* ! – and there he was, sitting in his chair with his feet in the water, and water all round him!

He splashed to his door and looked out. ...

‘This is Serious,’ said Pooh. ‘I must have an Escape.’

So he took his largest pot of honey and escaped with it to a broad branch of his tree, well above the water, and then he climbed down again and escaped with another pot <...> and when the whole Escape was finished, there was Pooh sitting on his branch, dangling his legs, and there, beside him, were ten pots of honey. <...>

Two days later, there was Pooh, sitting on his branch, dangling his legs, and there, beside him, were four pots of honey. <...>

P O E T R Y

The Lake Poets were a group of English poets who all lived in the Lake District of England, United Kingdom, at the turn of the nineteenth century. As a group, they followed no single “school” of thought or literary practice then known. They were named, only to be uniformly disparaged, by the Edinburgh Review. They are considered part of the Romantic Movement.

The three main figures of what has become known as the Lakes School were William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey. They were associated with several other poets and writers, including Dorothy Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Charles Lloyd, Hartley Coleridge, John Wilson, and Thomas De Quincey.

“A Guide through the District of the Lakes”, William Wordsworth’s travellers’ guidebook to England’s Lake District, has been studied by scholars both for its relationship to his Romantic poetry and as an early influence on 19th-century geography. Originally written

because Wordsworth needed money, the first version was published in 1810 as anonymous text in a collection of engravings. According to Wordsworth biographer Stephen Gill: The Guide is multi-faceted. It is a guide, but it is also a prose-poem about light, shapes, and textures, about movement and stillness ... It is a paean to a way of life, but also a lament for the inevitability of its passing ... What holds this diversity together is the voice of complete authority, compounded from experience, intense observation, thought, and love.

TRAVELLERS' GUIDEBOOK TO ENGLAND'S LAKE DISTRICT

William Wordsworth

Description of the scenery of the Lakes

Section first. View of the country as formed by nature

At Lucerne, in Switzerland, is shewn a Model of the Alpine country which encompasses the Lake of the four Cantons. The Spectator ascends a little platform, and sees mountains, lakes, glaciers, rivers, woods, waterfalls, and vallies, with their cottages, and every other object contained in them, lying at his feet; all things being represented in their appropriate colours. It may be easily conceived that this exhibition affords an exquisite delight to the imagination, tempting it to wander at will from valley to valley, from mountain to mountain, through the deepest recesses of the Alps. But it supplies also a more substantial pleasure: for the sublime and beautiful region, with all its hidden treasures, and their bearings and relations to each other, is thereby comprehended and understood at once.

Something of this kind, without touching upon minute details and individualities which would only confuse and embarrass, will here be attempted, in respect to the Lakes in the north of England, and the vales and mountains enclosing and surrounding them. The delineation, if tolerably executed, will, in some instances, communicate to the traveller, who has already seen the objects, new

information; and will assist in giving to his recollections a more orderly arrangement than his own opportunities of observing may have permitted him to make; while it will be still more useful to the future traveller, by directing his attention at once to distinctions in things which, without such previous aid, a length of time only could enable him to discover. It is hoped, also, that this Essay may become generally serviceable, by leading to habits of more exact and considerate observation than, as far as the writer knows, have hitherto been applied to local scenery.

To begin, then, with the main outlines of the country; – I know not how to give the reader a distinct image of these more readily, than by requesting him to place himself with me, in imagination, upon some given point; let it be the top of either of the mountains, Great Gavel, or Scawfell; or, rather, let us suppose our station to be a cloud hanging midway between those two mountains, at not more than half a mile's distance from the summit of each, and not many yards above their highest elevation; we shall then see stretched at our feet a number of vallies, not fewer than eight, diverging from the point, on which we are supposed to stand, like spokes from the nave of a wheel. First, we note, lying to the south-east, the vale of Langdale, which will conduct the eye to the long lake of Winandermere, stretched nearly to the sea; or rather to the sands of the vast bay of Morcamb, serving here for the rim of this imaginary wheel; – let us trace it in a direction from the south-east towards the south, and we shall next fix our eyes upon the vale of Coniston, running up likewise from the sea, but not (as all the other vallies do) to the nave of the wheel, and therefore it may be not inaptly represented as a broken spoke sticking in the rim. Looking forth again, with an inclination towards the west, we see immediately at our feet the vale of Duddon, in which is no lake, but a copious stream, winding among fields, rocks, and mountains, and terminating

its course in the sands of Duddon. The fourth vale, next to be observed, viz. that of the Esk, is of the same general character as the last, yet beautifully discriminated from it by peculiar features. Its stream passes under the woody steep upon which stands Muncaster Castle, the ancient seat of the Penningtons, and after forming a short and narrow estuary enters the sea below the small town of Ravenglass. Next, almost due west, look down into, and along the deep valley of Wastdale, with its little chapel and half a dozen neat dwellings scattered upon a plain of meadow and corn-ground intersected with stone walls apparently innumerable, like a large piece of lawless patch-work, or an array of mathematical figures, such as in the ancient schools of geometry might have been sportively and fantastically traced out upon sand. Beyond this little fertile plain lies, within a bed of steep mountains, the long, narrow, stern, and desolate lake of Wastdale; and, beyond this, a dusky tract of level ground conducts the eye to the Irish Sea. The stream that issues from Wast-water is named the Irt, and falls into the estuary of the river Esk. Next comes in view Ennerdale, with its lake of bold and somewhat savage shores. Its stream, the Ehen or Enna, flowing through a soft and fertile country, passes the town of Egremont, and the ruins of the castle, – then, seeming, like the other rivers, to break through the barrier of sand thrown up by the winds on this tempestuous coast, enters the Irish Sea. The vale of Buttermere, with the lake and village of that name, and Crummock-water, beyond, next present themselves. We will follow the main stream, the Coker, through the fertile and beautiful vale of Lorton, till it is lost in the Derwent, below the noble ruins of Cockermouth Castle. Lastly, Borrowdale, of which the vale of Keswick is only a continuation, stretching due north, brings us to a point nearly opposite to the vale of Winandermere with which we began. From this it will appear, that the image of a wheel, thus far exact, is little more than one half

complete; but the deficiency on the eastern side may be supplied by the vales of Wytheburn, Ulswater, Hawswater, and the vale of Grasmere and Rydal; none of these, however, run up to the central point between Great Gavel and Scawfell. From this, hitherto our central point, take a flight of not more than four or five miles eastward to the ridge of Helvellyn, and you will look down upon Wytheburn and St. John's Vale, which are a branch of the vale of Keswick; upon Ulswater, stretching due east: – and not far beyond to the south-east (though from this point not visible) lie the vale and lake of Hawswater; and lastly, the vale of Grasmere, Rydal, and Ambleside, brings you back to Winandermere, thus completing, though on the eastern side in a somewhat irregular manner, the representative figure of the wheel.

Anciently spelt Langden, and so called by the old inhabitants to this day – *dean*, from which the latter part of the word is derived, being in many parts of England a name for a valley.

Such, concisely given, is the general topographical view of the country of the Lakes in the north of England; and it may be observed, that, from the circumference to the centre, that is, from the sea or plain country to the mountain stations specified, there is – in the several ridges that enclose these vales, and divide them from each other, I mean in the forms and surfaces, first of the swelling grounds, next of the hills and rocks, and lastly of the mountains – an ascent of almost regular gradation, from elegance and richness, to their highest point of grandeur and sublimity. It follows therefore from this, first, that these rocks, hills, and mountains, must present themselves to view in stages rising above each other, the mountains clustering together towards the central point; and next, that an observer familiar with the several vales, must, from their various position in relation to the sun, have had before his eyes every possible embellishment of beauty, dignity, and splendour, which light and shadow can bestow upon objects so diversified. For example,

in the vale of Winandermere, if the spectator looks for gentle and lovely scenes, his eye is turned towards the south; if for the grand, towards the north: in the vale of Keswick, which (as hath been said) lies almost due north of this, it is directly the reverse. Hence, when the sun is setting in summer far to the north-west, it is seen, by the spectator from the shores or breast of Winandermere, resting among the summits of the loftiest mountains, some of which will perhaps be half or wholly hidden by clouds, or by the blaze of light which the orb diffuses around it; and the surface of the lake will reflect before the eye correspondent colours through every variety of beauty, and through all degrees of splendour. In the vale of Keswick, at the same period, the sun sets over the humbler regions of the landscape, and showers down upon them the radiance which at once veils and glorifies, – sending forth, meanwhile, broad streams of rosy, crimson, purple, or golden light, towards the grand mountains in the south and south-east, which, thus illuminated, with all their projections and cavities, and with an intermixture of solemn shadows, are seen distinctly through a cool and clear atmosphere. Of course, there is as marked a difference between the noontide appearance of these two opposite vales. The bedimmed haze that overspreads the south, and the clear atmosphere and determined shadows of the clouds in the north, at the same time of the day, are each seen in these several vales, with a contrast as striking. The reader will easily conceive in what degree the intermediate vales partake of a kindred variety.

I do not indeed know any tract of country in which, within so narrow a compass, may be found an equal variety in the influences of light and shadow upon the sublime or beautiful features of landscape; and it is owing to the combined circumstances to which the reader's attention has been directed. From a point between Great Gavel and Scawfell, a shepherd would not require more than an hour to descend into any one of eight of the principal vales by which he would be surrounded; and all the others lie (with the exception of Hawswater)

at but a small distance. Yet, though clustered together, every valley has its distinct and separate character: in some instances, as if they had been formed in studied contrast to each other, and in others with the united pleasing differences and resemblances of a sisterly rivalry. This concentration of interest gives to the country a decided superiority over the most attractive districts of Scotland and Wales, especially for the pedestrian traveller. In Scotland and Wales are found, undoubtedly, individual scenes, which, in their several kinds, cannot be excelled. But, in Scotland, particularly, what long tracts of desolate country intervene! so that the traveller, when he reaches a spot deservedly of great celebrity, would find it difficult to determine how much of his pleasure is owing to excellence inherent in the landscape itself; and how much to an instantaneous recovery from an oppression left upon his spirits by the barrenness and desolation through which he has passed.

But to proceed with our survey; – and, first, of the MOUNTAINS. Their forms are endlessly diversified, sweeping easily or boldly in simple majesty, abrupt and precipitous, or soft and elegant. In magnitude and grandeur they are individually inferior to the most celebrated of those in some other parts of this island; but, in the combinations which they make, towering above each other, or lifting themselves in ridges like the waves of a tumultuous sea, and in the beauty and variety of their surfaces and colours, they are surpassed by none.

The general *surface* of the mountains is turf, rendered rich and green by the moisture of the climate. Sometimes the turf, as in the neighbourhood of Newlands, is little broken, the whole covering being soft and downy pasturage. In other places rocks predominate; the soil is laid bare by torrents and burstings of water from the sides of the mountains in heavy rains; and not unfrequently their perpendicular sides are seamed by ravines (formed also by rains and

torrents) which, meeting in angular points, entrench and scar the surface with numerous figures like the letters W and Y.

In the ridge that divides Eskdale from Wasdale, granite is found; but the MOUNTAINS are for the most part composed of the stone by mineralogists termed schist, which, as you approach the plain country, gives place to limestone and freestone; but schist being the substance of the mountains, the predominant *colour* of their *rocky* parts is bluish, or hoary grey – the general tint of the lichens with which the bare stone is encrusted. With this blue or grey colour is frequently intermixed a red tinge, proceeding from the iron that intervenes the stone, and impregnates the soil. The iron is the principle of decomposition in these rocks; and hence, when they become pulverized, the elementary particles crumbling down, overspread in many places the steep and almost precipitous sides of the mountains with an intermixture of colours, like the compound hues of a dove's neck. When in the heat of advancing summer, the fresh green tint of the herbage has somewhat faded, it is again revived by the appearance of the fern profusely spread over the same ground: and, upon this plant, more than upon anything else, do the changes which the seasons make in the colouring of the mountains depend. About the first week in October, the rich green, which prevailed through the whole summer, is usually passed away. The brilliant and various colours of the fern are then in harmony with the autumnal woods; bright yellow or lemon colour, at the base of the mountains, melting gradually, through orange, to a dark russet brown towards the summits, where the plant, being more exposed to the weather, is in a more advanced state of decay. Neither heath nor furze are *generally* found upon the *sides* of these mountains, though in many places they are adorned by those plants, so beautiful when in flower. We may add, that the mountains are of height sufficient to have the surface towards the summit softened by distance, and to imbibe the finest aerial hues. In common also with other mountains, their apparent forms and

colours are perpetually changed by the clouds and vapours which float round them: the effect indeed of mist or haze, in a country of this character, is like that of magic. I have seen six or seven ridges rising above each other, all created in a moment by the vapours upon the side of a mountain, which, in its ordinary appearance, shewed not a projecting point to furnish even a hint for such an operation.

I will take this opportunity of observing, that they who have studied the appearances of Nature feel that the superiority, in point of visual interest, of mountainous over other countries – is more strikingly displayed in winter than in summer. This, as must be obvious, is partly owing to the *forms* of the mountains, which, of course, are not affected by the seasons; but also, in no small degree, to the greater variety that exists in their winter than their summer *colouring*. This variety is such, and so harmoniously preserved, that it leaves little cause of regret when the splendour of autumn is passed away. The oak-coppices, upon the sides of the mountains, retain russet leaves; the birch stands conspicuous with its silver stem and puce-coloured twigs; the hollies, with green leaves and scarlet berries, have come forth to view from among the deciduous trees, whose summer foliage had concealed them; the ivy is now plentifully apparent upon the stems and boughs of the trees, and upon the steep rocks. In place of the deep summer-green of the herbage and fern, many rich colours play into each other over the surface of the mountains; turf (the tints of which are interchangeably tawny-green, olive, and brown), beds of withered fern, and grey rocks, being harmoniously blended together. The mosses and lichens are never so fresh and flourishing as in winter, if it be not a season of frost; and their minute beauties prodigally adorn the foreground. Wherever we turn, we find these productions of Nature, to which winter is rather favourable than unkindly, scattered over the walls, banks of earth, rocks, and stones, and upon the trunks of trees, with the intermixture

of several species of small fern, now green and fresh; and, to the observing passenger, their forms and colours are a source of inexhaustable admiration. Add to this the hoar-frost and snow, with all the varieties they create, and which volumes would not be sufficient to describe. I will content myself with one instance of the colouring produced by snow, which may not be uninteresting to painters. It is extracted from the memorandum-book of a friend; and for its accuracy I can speak, having been an eye-witness of the appearance. ‘I observed,’ says he, ‘the beautiful effect of the drifted snow upon the mountains, and the perfect *tone* of colour. From the top of the mountains downwards a rich olive was produced by the powdery snow and the grass, which olive was warmed with a little brown, and in this way harmoniously combined, by insensible gradations, with the white. The drifting took away the monotony of snow; and the whole vale of Grasmere, seen from the terrace walk in Easedale, was as varied, perhaps more so, than even in the pomp of autumn. In the distance was Loughrigg-Fell, the basin-wall of the lake: this, from the summit downward, was a rich orange-olive; then the lake of a bright olive-green, nearly the same tint as the snow-powdered mountain tops and high slopes in Easedale; and lastly, the church, with its firs, forming the centre of the view. Next to the church came nine distinguishable hills, six of them with woody sides turned towards us, all of them oak-copses with their bright red leaves and snow-powdered twigs; these hills – so variously situated in relation to each other, and to the view in general, so variously powdered, some only enough to give the herbage a rich brown tint, one intensely white and lighting up all the others – were yet so placed, as in the most inobtrusive manner to harmonise by contrast with a perfect naked, snowless bleak summit in the far distance.’

Having spoken of the forms, surface, and colour of the mountains, let us descend into the VALES. Though these have been represented

under the general image of the spokes of a wheel, they are, for the most part, winding; the windings of many being abrupt and intricate. And, it may be observed, that, in one circumstance, the general shape of them all has been determined by that primitive conformation through which so many became receptacles of lakes. For they are not formed, as are most of the celebrated Welsh vallies, by an approximation of the sloping bases of the opposite mountains towards each other, leaving little more between than a channel for the passage of a hasty river; but the bottom of these vallies is mostly a spacious and gently declining area, apparently level as the floor of a temple, or the surface of a lake, and broken in many cases, by rocks and hills, which rise up like islands from the plain. In such of the vallies as make many windings, these level areas open upon the traveller in succession, divided from each other sometimes by a mutual approximation of the hills, leaving only passage for a river, sometimes by correspondent windings, without such approximation; and sometimes by a bold advance of one mountain towards that which is opposite it. It may here be observed with propriety that the several rocks and hills, which have been described as rising up like islands from the level area of the vale, have regulated the choice of the inhabitants in the situation of their dwellings. Where none of these are found, and the inclination of the ground is not sufficiently rapid easily to carry off the waters, (as in the higher part of Langdale, for instance,) the houses are not sprinkled over the middle of the vales, but confined to their sides, being placed merely so far up the mountain as to be protected from the floods. But where these rocks and hills have been scattered over the plain of the vale, (as in Grasmere, Donnerdale, Eskdale, etc.) the beauty which they give to the scene is much heightened by a single cottage, or cluster of cottages, that will be almost always found under them, or upon their sides; dryness and shelter having tempted the Dalesmen to fix their habitations there.

I shall now speak of the LAKES of this country. The form of the lake is most perfect when, like Derwent-water, and some of the smaller lakes, it least resembles that of a river; – I mean, when being looked at from any given point where the whole may be seen at once, the width of it bears such proportion to the length, that, however the outline may be diversified by far-receding bays, it never assumes the shape of a river, and is contemplated with that placid and quiet feeling which belongs peculiarly to the lake – as a body of still water under the influence of no current; reflecting therefore the clouds, the light, and all the imagery of the sky and surrounding hills; expressing also and making visible the changes of the atmosphere, and motions of the lightest breeze, and subject to agitation only from the winds –

– The visible scene

Would enter unawares into his mind

With all its solemn imagery, its rocks,

Its woods, and that uncertain heaven received

Into the bosom of the steady lake!

It must be noticed, as a favourable characteristic of the lakes of this country, that, though several of the largest, such as Winandermere, Ulswater, Hawswater, do, when the whole length of them is commanded from an elevated point, lose somewhat of the peculiar form of the lake, and assume the resemblance of a magnificent river; yet, as their shape is winding, (particularly that of Ulswater and Hawswater) when the view of the whole is obstructed by those barriers which determine the windings, and the spectator is confined to one reach, the appropriate feeling is revived; and one lake may thus in succession present to the eye the essential characteristic of many. But, though the forms of the large lakes have this advantage, it is nevertheless favourable to the beauty of the country that the largest of them are comparatively small; and that the same vale generally furnishes a succession of lakes, instead of being

filled with one. The vales in North Wales, as hath been observed, are not formed for the reception of lakes; those of Switzerland, Scotland, and this part of the North of England, are so formed; but, in Switzerland and Scotland, the proportion of diffused water is often too great, as at the lake of Geneva for instance, and in most of the Scotch lakes. No doubt it sounds magnificent and flatters the imagination, to hear at a distance of expanses of water so many leagues in length and miles in width; and such ample room may be delightful to the fresh-water sailor, scudding with a lively breeze amid the rapidly-shifting scenery. But, who ever travelled along the banks of Loch-Lomond, variegated as the lower part is by islands, without feeling that a speedier termination of the long vista of blank water would be acceptable; and without wishing for an interposition of green meadows, trees, and cottages, and a sparkling stream to run by his side? In fact, a notion, of grandeur, as connected with magnitude, has seduced persons of taste into a general mistake upon this subject. It is much more desirable, for the purposes of pleasure, that lakes should be numerous, and small or middle-sized, than large, not only for communication by walks and rides, but for variety, and for recurrence of similar appearances. To illustrate this by one instance: — how pleasing is it to have a ready and frequent opportunity of watching, at the outlet of a lake, the stream pushing its way among the rocks in lively contrast with the stillness from which it has escaped; and how amusing to compare its noisy and turbulent motions with the gentle playfulness of the breezes, that may be starting up or wandering here and there over the faintly-rippled surface of the broad water! I may add, as a general remark, that, in lakes of great width, the shores cannot be distinctly seen at the same time, and therefore contribute little to mutual illustration and ornament; and, if the opposite shores are out of sight of each other, like those of the American and Asiatic lakes, then unfortunately the

traveller is reminded of a nobler object; he has the blankness of a sea-prospect without the grandeur and accompanying sense of power.

As the comparatively small size of the lakes in the North of England is favourable to the production of variegated landscape, their boundary line also is for the most part gracefully or boldly indented. That uniformity which prevails in the primitive frame of the lower grounds among all chains or clusters of mountains where large bodies of still water are bedded, is broken by the secondary agents of Nature, ever at work to supply the deficiencies of the mould in which things were originally cast. Using the word deficiencies, I do not speak with reference to those stronger emotions which a region of mountains is peculiarly fitted to excite. The bases of those huge barriers may run for a long space in straight lines, and these parallel to each other; the opposite sides of a profound vale may ascend as exact counterparts, or in mutual reflection, like the billows of a troubled sea; and the impression be, from its very simplicity, more awful and sublime. Sublimity is the result of Nature's first great dealings with the superficies of the Earth; but the general tendency of her subsequent operations is towards the production of beauty; by a multiplicity of symmetrical parts uniting in a consistent whole. This is everywhere exemplified along the margins of these lakes. Masses of rock, that have been precipitated from the heights into the area of waters, lie in some places like stranded ships; or have acquired the compact structure of jutting piers; or project in little peninsulas crested with native wood. The smallest rivulet – one whose silent influx is scarcely noticeable in a season of dry weather – so faint is the dimple made by it on the surface of the smooth lake – will be found to have been not useless in shaping, by its deposits of gravel and soil in time of flood, a curve that would not otherwise have existed. But the more powerful brooks, encroaching upon the level of the lake, have, in course of time, given birth to ample promontories of sweeping outline that contrast boldly with the longitudinal base of the steeps on the opposite

shore; while their flat or gently-sloping-surfaces never fail to introduce, into the midst of desolation and barrenness, the elements of fertility, even where the habitations of men may not have been raised. These alluvial promontories, however, threaten, in some places, to bisect the waters which they have long adorned; and, in course of ages, they will cause some of the lakes to dwindle into numerous and insignificant pools; which, in their turn, will finally be filled up. But, checking these intrusive calculations, let us rather be content with appearances as they are, and pursue in imagination the meandering shores, whether rugged steeps, admitting of no cultivation, descend into the water; or gently-sloping lawns and woods, or flat and fertile meadows, stretch between the margin of the lake and the mountains. Among minuter recommendations will be noticed, especially along bays exposed to the setting-in of strong winds, the curved rim of fine blue gravel, thrown up in course of time by the waves, half of it perhaps gleaming from under the water, and the corresponding half of a lighter hue; and in other parts bordering the lake, groves, if I may so call them, of reeds and bulrushes; or plots of water-lilies lifting up their large target-shaped leaves to the breeze, while the white flower is heaving upon the wave.

To these may naturally be added the birds that enliven the waters. Wild-ducks in spring-time hatch their young in the islands, and upon reedy shores; the sand-piper, flitting along the stony margins, by its restless note attracts the eye to motions as restless: upon some jutting rock, or at the edge of a smooth meadow, the stately heron may be descried with folded wings, that might seem to have caught their delicate hue from the blue waters, by the side of which she watches for her sustenance. In winter, the lakes are sometimes resorted to by wild swans; and in that season habitually by widgeons, goldings, and other aquatic fowl of the smaller species....

THE DAFFODILS

William Wordsworth

William Wordsworth (1770–1850), English poet whose Lyrical Ballads (1798), written with Samuel Taylor Coleridge, helped launch the English Romantic movement. Wordsworth became friends with a fellow poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. They formed a partnership that would change both poets' lives and alter the course of English poetry. This partnership, rooted in one marvelous year (1797–98) in which they “together wantoned in wild Poesy,” had two consequences for Wordsworth. Stimulated by Coleridge and under the healing influences of nature and his sister, Wordsworth began in 1797–98 to compose the short lyrical and dramatic poems for which he is best remembered by many readers. Some of these were affectionate tributes to Dorothy, some were tributes to daffodils, birds, and other elements of “Nature’s holy plan,” and some were portraits of simple rural people intended to illustrate basic truths of human nature.

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o’er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the Milky Way,
They stretched in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.

The waves beside them danced, but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A Poet could not but be gay,
In such a jocund company:
I gazed – and gazed – but little thought
What wealth the show to me had brought:

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.

TO NATURE

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

It may indeed be fantasy when I
Essay to draw from all created things
Deep, heartfelt, inward joy that closely clings;
And trace in leaves and flowers that round me lie
Lessons of love and earnest piety.
So let it be; and if the wide world rings
In mock of this belief, it brings
Nor fear, nor grief, nor vain perplexity.
So will I build my altar in the fields,
And the blue sky my fretted dome shall be,
And the sweet fragrance that the wild flower yields
Shall be the incense I will yield to Thee,
Thee only God! and thou shalt not despise
Even me, the priest of this poor sacrifice.

TO THE NIGHTINGALE

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Sister of love-lorn Poets, Philomel!
How many Bards in city garret pent,
While at their window they with downward eye
Mark the faint lamp-beam on the kennell'd mud,
And listen to the drowsy cry of Watchmen
(Those hoarse unfeather'd Nightingales of Time!),
How many wretched Bards address thy name,
And hers, the full-orb'd Queen that shines above.
But I do hear thee, and the high bough mark,
Within whose mild moon-mellow'd foliage hid
Thou warblest sad thy pity-pleading strains.
O! I have listen'd, till my working soul,
Waked by those strains to thousand phantasies,
Absorb'd hath ceas'd to listen! Therefore oft,
I hymn thy name: and with a proud delight
Oft will I tell thee, Minstrel of the Moon!
'Most musical, most melancholy' Bird!
That all thy soft diversities of tone,
Tho' sweeter far than the delicious airs
That vibrate from a white-arm'd Lady's harp,
What time the languishment of lonely love
Melts in her eye, and heaves her breast of snow,
Are not so sweet as is the voice of her,
My Sara – best beloved of human kind!
When breathing the pure soul of tenderness,
She thrills me with the Husband's promis'd name!

THE CATARACT OF LODORE

Robert Southey

“How does the Water
Come down at Lodore?”
My little boy ask’d me
Thus, once on a time;
And moreover he task’d me
To tell him in rhyme.
Anon at the word
There came first one daughter
And then came another,
To second and third
The request of their brother
And to hear how the water
Comes down at Lodore
With its rush and its roar,
As many a time
They had seen it before.
So I told them in rhyme,
For of rhymes I had store:
And ‘twas in my vocation
For their recreation
That so should I sing
Because I was Laureate
To them and the King.
From its sources which well
In the Tarn on the fell;
From its fountains
In the mountains,
Its rills and its gills;
Through moss and through brake,

It runs and it creeps
For awhile till it sleeps
In its own little Lake.
And thence at departing,
Awakening and starting,
It runs through the reeds
And away it proceeds,
Through meadow and glade,
In sun and in shade,
And through the wood-shelter,
Among crags in its flurry,
Helter-skelter,
Hurry-scurry.
Here it comes sparkling,
And there it lies darkling;
Now smoking and frothing
Its tumult and wrath in,
Till in this rapid race
On which it is bent,
It reaches the place
Of its steep descent.
The Cataract strong
Then plunges along,
Striking and raging
As if a war waging
Its caverns and rocks among:
Rising and leaping,
Sinking and creeping,
Swelling and sweeping,
Showering and springing,
Flying and flinging,

Writhing and ringing,
Eddying and whisking,
Spouting and frisking,
Turning and twisting,
Around and around
With endless rebound!
Smiting and fighting,
A sight to delight in;
Confounding, astounding,
Dizzying and deafening the ear with its sound.
Collecting, projecting,
Receding and speeding,
And shocking and rocking,
And darting and parting,
And threading and spreading,
And whizzing and hissing,
And dripping and skipping,
And hitting and splitting,
And shining and twining,
And rattling and battling,
And shaking and quaking,
And pouring and roaring,
And waving and raving,
And tossing and crossing,
And flowing and going,
And running and stunning,
And foaming and roaming,
And dinning and spinning,
And dropping and hopping,
And working and jerking,
And guggling and struggling,

And heaving and cleaving,
And moaning and groaning;
And glittering and frittering,
And gathering and feathering,
And whitening and brightening,
And quivering and shivering,
And hurrying and scurrying,
And thundering and floundering,
Dividing and gliding and sliding,
And falling and brawling and sprawling,
And diving and riving and striving,
And sprinkling and twinkling and wrinkling,
And sounding and bounding and rounding,
And bubbling and troubling and doubling,
And grumbling and rumbling and tumbling,
And clattering and battering and shattering;
Retreating and beating and meeting and sheeting,
Delaying and straying and playing and spraying,
Advancing and prancing and glancing and dancing,
Recoiling, turmoiling and toiling and boiling,
And gleaming and streaming and steaming and beaming,
And rushing and flushing and brushing and gushing,
And flapping and rapping and clapping and slapping,
And curling and whirling and purling and twirling,
And thumping and plumping and bumping and jumping,
And dashing and flashing and splashing and clashing;
And so never ending, but always descending,
Sounds and motions for ever and ever are blending,
All at once and all o'er, with a mighty uproar,
And this way the water comes down at Lodore

THE BROOK

Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892)

Grumbling, stumbling,
Fumbling all the day;
Fluttering, stuttering,
Muttering away;
Rustling, hustling
Bustling as it flows,
That is how the brook talks,
Bubbling as it goes.

GIFTS

James Thomson (1700–1748)

Give a man a horse he can ride,
Give a man a boat he can sail;
And his rank and wealth, his strength and health,
On sea nor shore shall fail.

Give a man a pipe he can smoke,
Give a man a book he can read:
And his home is bright with a calm delight,
Though the room be poor indeed.

Give a man a girl he can love,
As I, O my love, love thee;
And his heart is great with the pulse of Fate
At home, at land and sea.

MY HEART'S IN THE HIGHLANDS

Robert Burns

Robert Burns (1759–1796), also known as Rabbie Burns, the Bard of Ayrshire, Ploughman Poet and various other names and epithets, was a Scottish poet and lyricist. He is widely regarded as the national poet of Scotland and is celebrated worldwide. He is the best known of the poets who have written in the Scots language, although much of his writing is also in English and a light Scots dialect, accessible to an audience beyond Scotland. He also wrote in standard English, and in these writings his political or civil commentary is often at its bluntest.

He is regarded as a pioneer of the Romantic movement, and after his death he became a great source of inspiration to the founders of both liberalism and socialism, and a cultural icon in Scotland and among the Scottish diaspora around the world.

As well as making original compositions, Burns also collected folk songs from across Scotland, often revising or adapting them. His poem (and song) “Auld Lang Syne” is often sung at Hogmanay, and “Scots Wha Hae” served for a long time as an unofficial national anthem of the country.

My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here;
My heart's in the Highlands, a-chasing the deer;
A-chasing the wild deer, and following the roe,
My heart's in the Highlands wherever I go.

Farewell to the Highlands, farewell to the North,
The birth-place of valour, the country of worth;
Wherever I wander, wherever I rove,
The hills of the Highlands for ever I love.

Farewell to the mountains high cover'd with snow;
Farewell to the straths and green valleys below;
Farewell to the forests and wild-hanging woods;
Farewell to the torrents and loud-pouring floods:

My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here;
My heart's in the Highlands, a-chasing the deer;
A-chasing the wild deer, and following the roe,
My heart's in the Highlands wherever I go.

ODE TO A NIGHTINGALE

John Keats

My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,
Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains
One minute past, and Lethe-wards had sunk:
'Tis not through envy of thy happy lot,
But being too happy in thy happiness, –
That thou, light-winged Dryad of the trees,
In some melodious plot
Of beechen green, and shadows numberless,
Singest of summer in full-throated ease.

O for a draught of vintage, that hath been
Cooled a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green,
Dance, and Provencal song, and sun-burnt mirth!
O for a beaker full of the warm South,
Full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene,
With beaded bubbles winking at the brim,
And purple-stained mouth;
That I might drink, and leave the world unseen,
And with thee fade away into the forest dim:

Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget
What thou among the leaves hast never known,
The weariness, the fever, and the fret
Here, where men sit and hear each other groan;
Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies;
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despairs;
Where beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new love pine at them beyond tomorrow.

Away! away! for I will fly to thee,
Not charioted by Bacchus and his pards,
But on the viewless wings of Poesy,
Though the dull brain perplexes and retards:
Already with thee! tender is the night,
And haply the Queen-Moon is on her throne,
Clustered around by all her starry fays;
But here there is no light,
Save what from heaven is with the breezes blown
Through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways.

I cannot see what flowers are at my feet,
Nor what soft incense hangs upon the boughs,
But, in embalmed darkness, guess each sweet
Wherewith the seasonable month endows
The grass, the thicket, and the fruit-tree wild;
White hawthorn, and the pastoral eglantine;
Fast-fading violets covered up in leaves;
And mid-May's eldest child,
The coming musk-rose, full of dewy wine,
The murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves.

Darkling I listen; and for many a time
I have been half in love with easeful Death,
Called him soft names in many a mused rhyme,
To take into the air my quiet breath;
Now more than ever seems it rich to die,
To cease upon the midnight with no pain,
While thou art pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy!
Still wouldst thou sing, and I have ears in vain –
To thy high requiem become a sod.

Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!
No hungry generations tread thee down;
The voice I hear this passing night was heard
In ancient days by emperor and clown:
Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
The same that oft-times hath
Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

Forlorn! the very word is like a bell
To toll me back from thee to my sole self!
Adieu! the fancy cannot cheat so well
As she is fabled to do, deceiving elf.
Adieu! adieu! thy plaintive anthem fades
Past the near meadows, over the still stream,
Up the hill-side; and now 'tis buried deep
In the next valley-glades:
Was it a vision, or a waking dream?
Fled is that music: do I wake or sleep?

LEISURE

William H. Davies

William Henry Davies (1871–1940) was a Welsh poet and writer. Davies spent a significant part of his life as a tramp or hobo, in the United Kingdom and United States, but became one of the most popular poets of his time. The principal themes in his work are observations about life's hardships, the ways in which the human condition is reflected in nature, his own tramping adventures and the various characters he met. Davies is usually considered one of the Georgian Poets, although much of his work is not typical of the group, in either style or theme.

What is this life if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare!

No time to stand beneath the boughs,
And stare as long as sheep and cows.

No time to see, when woods we pass,
Where squirrels hide their nuts in grass.

No time to see, in broad daylight,
Streams full of stars, like skies at night.

No time to turn at Beauty's glance,
And watch her feet, how they can dance.

No time to wait till her mouth can
Enrich that smile her eyes began.

A poor life this is if, full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare.

CATS

Eleanor Farjeon (1881–1965)

Cats sleep
Anywhere,
Any table,
Any chair,
Top of piano,
Window-ledge,
In the middle,
On the edge,
Open drawer,
Empty shoe,
Anybody's Lap will do,
Fitted in a
Cardboard box,
In the cupboard
With your frocks
Anywhere!
They don't care!
Cats sleep
Anywhere.

WHERE DO BUGS GO?

Goldie Christenson

Can you tell me where bugs go
when it's cold and starts snow?
Are they all beneath the ground
sleeping snugly, safe and sound?
Are they borrowed in a tree
hiding where no one can see?

Did they leave this chilly land
settling where the climate's great?
Can you tell me where bugs go
or I must be a bug to know?

WHO'S IN?

Elizabeth Fleming

"The door is shut fast
And everyone's out".
But people don't know
What they're talking about!
Says the fly on the wall,
And the flame on the coals,
And the dog on his rug,
And the mice in their holes,
And the kitten curled up,
And the spiders that spin –
"What, everyone's out?
Why, everyone's in!"

American poetry arose first as efforts by colonists to add their voices to English poetry in the 17th century, well before the constitutional unification of the thirteen colonies. Unsurprisingly, most of the early colonists' work relied on contemporary British models of poetic form, diction, and theme. However, in the 19th century, a distinctive American idiom began to emerge. By the later part of that century, when Walt Whitman was winning an enthusiastic audience abroad, poets from the United States had begun to take their place at the forefront of the English-language avant-garde.

POEMS OF JOYS

Walt Whitman (1819–1892)

O to attract by more than attraction!

How it is I know not – yet behold! the something which obeys
none of the rest,

It is offensive, never defensive – yet how magnetic it draws.

O to struggle against great odds, to meet enemies undaunted!

To be entirely alone with them, to find how much one can
stand!

To look strife, torture, prison, popular odium, face to face!

To mount the scaffold, to advance to the muzzles of guns with
perfect nonchalance!

To be indeed a God!

O to sail to sea in a ship!

To leave this steady unendurable land,

To leave the tiresome sameness of the streets, the sidewalks
and the houses,

To leave you O you solid motionless land, and entering a ship,

To sail and sail and sail!

O to have life henceforth a poem of new joys!

To dance, clap hands, exult, shout, skip, leap, roll on, float on!

To be a sailor of the world bound for all ports,

A ship itself, (see indeed these sails I spread to the sun and air,)

A swift and swelling ship full of rich words, full of joys.

A SUMMER MORNING

Rachel Field (1894–1942)

I saw dawn creep across the sky,
And all the gulls go flying by.
I saw the sea put on its dress
Of blue mid-summer loveliness,
And heard the trees begin to stir
Green arms of pine and juniper.
I heard the wind call out and say:
“Get up, my dear, it is to-day!”

I felt the roses smile,
I watched the beetles fly,
I dreamt of a cherry pie
And all on a summer morning.

THE FALLING STAR

Sara Teasdale (1884–1933)

I saw a star slide down the sky,
Blinding the North as it went by,
Too burning and too quick to hold,
Too lovely to be bought or sold,
Good only to make wishes on
And then forever to be gone.

A BIRD CAME DOWN THE WALK

Emily Dickinson (1830–1886)

A Bird came down the Walk –
He did not know I saw –
He bit an Angleworm in halves
And ate the fellow, raw,

And then he drank a Dew
From a convenient Grass,
And then hopped sidewise to the Wall
To let a Beetle pass –

He glanced with rapid eyes
That hurried all around –
They looked like frightened Beads, I thought –
He stirred his Velvet Head

Like one in danger, Cautious,
I offered him a Crumb,
And he unrolled his feathers
And rowed him softer home –

Than Oars divide the Ocean,
Too silver for a seam –
Or Butterflies, off Banks of Noon,
Leap, plashless as they swim.

* * *

“Nature” is what we see –
The Hill – the Afternoon –
Squirrel – Eclipse – the Bumble bee –
Nay – Nature is Heaven –

Nature is what we hear –
The Bobolink – the Sea –
Thunder – the Cricket –
Nay – Nature is Harmony –
Nature is what we know –
Yet have no art to say –
So impotent Our Wisdom is
To her Simplicity.

THE GRASS SO LITTLE HAS TO DO

Emily Dickinson

The Grass so little has to do –
A Sphere of simple Green –
With only Butterflies to brood
And Bees to entertain –
And stir all day to pretty Tunes
The Breezes fetch along –
And hold the Sunshine in its lap
And bow to everything –
And thread the Dews, all night, like Pearls –
And make itself so fine
A Duchess were too common
For such a noticing –
And even when it dies – to pass
In Odors so divine –
Like Lowly spices, lain to sleep –
Or Spikenards, perishing –
And then, in Sovereign Barns to dwell –
And dream the Days away,
The Grass so little has to do
I wish I were a Hay –

IT'S NEVER FAIR WEATHER

Ogden Nash (1902–1971)

I do not like the winter wind
That whistles from the North
My upper teeth and those beneath
They jitter back and forth.
Oh, some are hanged, and some are skinned,
And others face the winter wind.

I do not like the summer sun
That scorches the horizon.
Though some delight in Fahrenheit,
To me it's deadly pizen.
I think that life would be more fun
Without the simmering summer sun.

I do not like the signs of spring,
The fever and the chills,
The icy mud, the puny bud,
The frozen daffodils.
Let other poets gayly sing;
I do not like the signs of spring.

I do not like the foggy fall
That strips the maples bare;
The radiator's mating call,
The dank, rheumatic air.
I fear that taken all in all,
I do not like the foggy fall.

The winter sun is always kind,
And summer wind's a savior,
And I'll merrily sing of fall and spring
When they're on their good behavior.
But otherwise I see no reason
To speak in praise of any season.

PRETTY HALCYON DAYS

Ogden Nash

How pleasant to sit on the beach,
On the beach, on the sand, in the sun,
With ocean galore within reach,
And nothing at all to be done!
No letters to answer,
No bills to be burned,
No work to be shirked,
No cash to be earned,
It is pleasant to sit on the beach
With nothing at all to be done!

How pleasant to look at the ocean,
Democratic and damp; indiscriminate;
It fills me with noble emotion
To think I am able to swim in it.
To lave in the wave,
Majestic and chilly,
Tomorrow I crave;
But today it is silly.
It is pleasant to look at the ocean;
Tomorrow, perhaps, I shall swim in it.

How pleasant to gaze at the sailors
As their sailboats they manfully sail
With the vigor of vikings and whalers
In the days of the vikings and whale.
They sport on the brink
Of the shad and the shark;
If it's windy, they sink;
If it isn't, they park.
It is pleasant to gaze at the sailors,
To gaze without having to sail.

How pleasant the salt anesthetic
Of the air and the sand and the sun;
Leave the earth to the strong and athletic,
And the sea to adventure upon.
But the sun and the sand
No contractor can copy;
We lie in the land
Of the lotus and poppy;
We vegetate, calm and aesthetic,
On the beach, on the sand, in the sun.

HOME ON THE RANGE

Brewster M. Higley

Oh, give me a home where the buffalo roam,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Home, Home on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

How often at night where the heavens are bright
With the light from the glittering stars,
Have I stood there amazed and asked I gazed
If their glory exceeds that of ours.

Oh, give me a land where the bright diamond sand
Flows leisurely down the stream.
Where the graceful white swan goes gliding along
Like a maid in a heavenly dream.

UNDER OUR TREE

Solveig Paulson Russel

Under our tree in the summertime
It's good to lie in the grass,
And see the sky held up by the tree,
And feel the small wind pass
Over the tips of the tallest weeds;
And watch ants scurry and go
Through forests of moss on business
That only the insects know.
It's good to lie still where no one can see
The world of the grass,
And the ants,
And me.

SKYSCRAPERS

Rachel Field (1894–1942)

Do skyscrapers ever grow tired
Of holding themselves up high?
Do they ever shiver on frosty nights
With their tops against the sky?
Do they feel lonely sometimes
Because they have grown so tall?
Do they ever wish they could lie right down
And never get up at all?

QUESTIONS AT NIGHT

Louis Untermayer (1885–1977)

Why
Is the sky?
What starts the thunder overhead?
Who makes the crushing noise?
Are the angels falling out of bed?
Are they breaking their toys?

Why does the sun go down so soon?
Why do the night clouds crawl
Hunggrily up to the new-laid moon
And swallow it, shell and all?

If there's a Bear among stars
As all the people say,
Won't he jump over Pasture-bars
And drink up the milky way?

Does every star that happens to fall
Turn into a fire-fly?
Can't it ever get back to Heaven at all
And why
Is the sky?

IF I WERE A BIRD

Edith Segal (1902–1997)

If I were a bird,
I wouldn't like to be
In a little cage
Where I couldn't be free.

I'd want to spread
My wings and fly
Over the tree-tops
And into the sky.

I'd visit my friends
Who live very far,
Than I'd fly up high
And sit on a star.

QUESTIONS ON COMPREHENSION AND FOR DISCUSSION

1. What made the author feel they had come home? How does he describe the villa? What enables the writer to reveal a tranquility and a timelessness of each day? Why did these discoveries fill the writer with a tremendous delight? (The Strawberry-Pink Villa).

2. What did the writers find so amazing and attractive in the world of wild animals?

3. Why are English spring flowers so appealing to R. Aldington?

4. What does the apple tree symbolize in J. Galsworthy's story?

5. What are stylistic features used by David S. Mackenzie in the description of the language of water?

6. What is the role of nature / weather description? What linguistic and stylistic means contribute most to it?

7. What is so symbolic about plants (trees, flowers), water, nature? What makes them so attractive to the writers?

8. What does M. Twain think he has gained and lost by learning the river? What does he accomplish by dividing the two views of the river rather than alternating them beneath several headings? Which attitude – poetic or pragmatic – does Twain anticipate his readers have toward the river? What attitudes or stages of life do the two views of the river represent?

9. What makes the presentation of the housing problem in *High Rise* by Ballard convincing? What opportunities did the High-rise offer to its residents? How are dwelling conditions described? How did they affect the residents' behavior, feelings, attitudes?

10. Speak about the representation of the concepts 'nature', 'garden', 'river', 'rain', 'weather', 'beauty', 'home', 'countryside' in the extracts. Why are they given so much attention to?

11. Summarize the writers' technique of portraying animals / depicting nature. Define and describe the peculiarity of the choice of words, the use of certain syntactical structures, imagery and stylistic devices.

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ENVIRONMENT: ECOCULTURE, ECOLINGUISTICS ACTIVATOR

1. The environment

Biodiversity n – the variety of plants and animals in a place: *the biodiversity of the rainforest.*

Biosphere n – the surface and atmosphere of the Earth where animals and plants can live: *We are causing irreparable damage to the Earth's biosphere.*

Eco – prefix relating to the environment: *eco-education (=education about ecological issues) fosters within young people the knowledge and skills necessary to inspire ecologically sound decisions and actions.*

Ecological adj – connected with the way plants, animals and people are related to each other and to their environment: *an ecological disaster such as an oil spill.*

Ecologically adj – *the ecologically fragile mountain forests.*

Ecologist n – *ecologists have been studying the wetlands for years.*

Ecology n – the scientific study of the way in which the plants, animals, and natural features of the place affect and depend on each other: *a course on ecology.*

Ecosystem n – the animals, plants etc. that exist in a place, and are dependent on each other to live: *the rainforest has its own ecosystem.*

Environment n – the air, water and land on Earth, which can be harmed by man's activities: *the effect of acid rain on the environment.*

Environmental adj – concerning or affecting the air, water, or land on Earth: *environmental issue affect us all.*

Environmentally adv – *environmentally acceptable technologies.*

Food chain n – all animals and plants considered as a group in which a plant is eaten by an insect or animal, which is then eaten by another animal and so on: *we do not want diseased animals entering the food chain.*

Habitat n – the natural home of a plant or animal: *the gorilla's natural habitat in Africa.*

2. Signs of damage to the environment

Climate change n – changes in the weather around the world, which result in much higher or lower temperatures, violent storms, floods, or droughts: *an international conference on climate change.*

Desertification n – the process by which useful land, especially farmland, changes into desert because of climate change or overgrazing: *Farming is leading to the desertification of large areas of the planet.*

Endangered species n – a type of animal that is likely to stop existing completely, for example because of hunting, pollution, or humans damaging its habitat: *the panda is classed as an endangered species.*

Extinction n – a situation in which all of a type of animal die and there are no more left: *The white rhino is close to extinction.*

Global warming n – a general increase in the temperature of the world, caused by pollution from cars, factories etc.: *We are already starting to see the effects of global warming.*

Greenhouse effect n – the natural process in which gases build up in the atmosphere and prevent heat from escaping, causing the Earth to get warmer. Pollution from cars, factories etc. is causing this process to go out of control: *There is no doubt that the greenhouse effect is here to stay.*

Hole in the ozone layer n – a hole in the layer of natural gases that surround the Earth. These gases protect the Earth from the harmful effects of the Sun's rays. The hole is caused by pollution, and means that the Earth is losing some of its protection: *Effective actions need to be taken on environment issues such as the hole in the ozone layer.*

Soil erosion n – the process by which soil is gradually destroyed by wind or rain: *use of the land in such a way as to cause excessive soil erosion.*

3. Things that harm the environment

Acid rain n – rain that contains pollution from factories, power stations etc., which cause damage to forests.

Carbon emissions n – carbon dioxide gas which is sent into the air when fossil fuels are burnt: *Carbon emissions from burning rainforest were said to be the third largest contributor to the greenhouse effect.*

Deforestation n – a situation, in which most of the trees in an area are cut down or destroyed, resulting in great damage to the environment.

E-waste n – waste consisting of old electronics products such as computers, batteries, and mobile phones which people no longer want and which often contain poisonous substances: *E-waste presents difficulties for recycling due to the complexity of each item.*

Food miles n – a unit for measuring the distance which food is transported from the place where it is grown to the place where it is sold or eaten: *The more food miles that attach to a given food, the less sustainable and the less environmentally desirable that food is.*

Fossil fuels n – fuels such as coal or oil. Burning these fuels causes a lot of carbon gases to be released into the atmosphere: *our reliance on diminishing supplies of fossil fuels.*

Fumes n – harmful gas or smoke, for example from cars, factories etc., which can damage people's health: *air pollution from the fumes discharged by factories / Exhaust fumes can be made cleaner by the installation of catalytic converters.*

Greenhouse gases n – gases that form a layer around the Earth and keep the heat in, causing global warming: *Cars are the major source of greenhouse gases.*

Hazardous waste n – dangerous waste materials, for example produced by industries, hospitals etc: *Over 90% of hazardous waste is disposed of by the manufacturers who generate it.*

Intensive farming n – farming which produces a lot of food from a small area of land by using modern industrial methods including the use of pesticides and growth hormones. Intensive farming is sometimes criticized for damaging the environment and treating animals badly, for example by keeping them in overcrowded conditions.

Invasive species n – a group of animals or plants which are introduced by humans to a place where they did not exist naturally before and which can have a damaging effect on the animals and plants already there: *Invasive species can have a major impact on Australia's environment, threatening individual species and reducing overall species abundance and diversity.*

Overfishing n – the process of taking too many fish from the sea, a river etc., so that the number of fish in it becomes too low.

Overgrazing n – the process of letting animals feed on plants for too long so that the land is damaged by soil erosion or desertification: *Overgrazing by livestock has caused serious degeneration of grassland.*

Overpopulation n – a situation in which too many people live in a particular place: *A consequence of the overpopulation has been the high incidence of malnutrition and communicable diseases.*

Pesticides n – chemicals used for killing insects and animals that attack crops. They can be harmful when they are absorbed into crops or the soil: *Farmers are being asked to reduce their use of pesticides.*

Pollutant n – a substance that make air, water, soil etc. dangerously dirty, and is caused by cars, factories etc.: *Companies face heavy fines for discharging pollutants into water supplies.*

Pollute v – to make air, water, soil etc. dangerously dirty and not suitable for people to use: *chemicals that pollute the environment.*

Polluted adj – the city's heavily polluted air.

Pollution n – harmful chemicals, gases, or waste materials from factories, cars, etc. that have gone into the air, land, or water: *pollution from cars / dangerously high pollution levels.*

Toxic waste n – very dangerous waste materials, for example from nuclear power stations or chemical factories: *laws governing toxic waste.*

4. Things that are good for the environment

Biodegradable adj – biodegradable materials and products can be broken into small parts and absorbed naturally into the environment: *Most plastic products are not biodegradable.*

Biofuel n – fuel that is made from plants and animals or from something that they produce such as cow manure. It is a renewable source of energy: *research into methods of converting biofuels into electricity.*

Bottle bank n BrE – a container in the street that you put empty bottles in, so that the glass can be used again: *We go to the bottle bank once a week.*

Conservation n – the protection of natural things such as animals, plants, forests etc., to prevent them being spoiled or destroyed and preventing something from being lost or wasted: *a wildlife conservation project.*

Environmentally friendly / eco-friendly adj – environmentally-friendly products or methods do not cause harm to the environment: *a campaign to encourage people to use environmentally-friendly forms of transport.*

Green adj – used to talk about anything that is good for the environment, or about ideas and issues relating to protecting the environment: *green sources of energy / information about green products.*

Local food n – food from a particular area you live in. Local food is good for the environment because it does not have to be transported over a long distance by lorries etc. which cause pollution: *Local food is usually more ‘green’ than organic food, according to a report published in the journal Food Policy.*

Organic adj – organic foods are produced naturally, without the use of harmful chemicals: *The higher cost of organic farming means tight financial pressures on those who practise it.*

Organically adv – *the organically grown vegetables.*

Recyclable adj – used materials or substances that are recyclable can be recycled: *recyclable bottles.*

Recycle v – to use materials that have already been used, in order to make new products: *New techniques for recycling plastics are being introduced.*

Recycled adj – *recycled paper.*

Recycling point BrE, **recycling center** AmE n – a place where people can leave bottles, newspapers, old clothes etc. which are taken away for recycling: *There are many recycling points across the city where you can take your old newspapers and magazines.*

Renewable adj – renewable sources of energy use fuels that can be replaced naturally, and so they are never completely used up: *the switch from fossil fuels to renewable sources of energy such as solar power.*

Solar power / wind power / wave power n – energy from the sun, the wind, or the movement of the sea, used to make electricity: *Solar power is a renewable resource.*

Sustainability n – *More governments are beginning to recognize the principle of environmental sustainability.*

Sustainable adj – sustainable methods of farming, fishing etc. do not use up more land, natural resources etc. than can be replaced naturally, and therefore do not cause harm to the environment: *sustainable use of rainforest resources.*

Wind farm n – a group of tall structures called wind turbines, which have blades that turn with the wind, used to produce electricity: *Wind farms produce energy without harmful emissions.*

5. People who want to protect the environment

Eco-warrior n – someone who takes direct action to stop companies and governments destroying the environment.

Environmental activist n – someone who tries to protect the environment, especially by influencing their government and large companies.

Environmental group n – a group of people that tries to protect the environment, especially by influencing their government and large companies.

Environmentalist n – someone who is concerned about protecting the environment: *Environmentalists are agreed that more roads encourage more cars.*

The greens n – members of the Green party, a political party concerned with protecting the environment: *The greens aim to bring in environmental policies to protect the future of the planet.*

6. Science and the environment

Biotechnology n – the use of living things such as cells, bacteria etc. to make drugs, destroy waste matter etc.: *advances in biotechnology.*

Environmental science n – the scientific study of the relationship between humans and the environment: *the interdisciplinary nature of the environmental science.*

Genetic engineering n – the science of changing the genetic structure of an animal, plant, or human, usually to make them stronger or healthier: *developments in genetic engineering.*

GM (also genetically modified) adj – genetically modified foods or plants have had their genetic structure changed so that they are not affected by particular diseases or harmful insects: *trials of GM crops in Europe / Many consumers do not want to eat genetically modified food.*

Учебное издание

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**Мир, в котором мы живём: окружающая среда, экология
языка, экология культуры**

Учебное пособие

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