Snapshot

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About

Snapshot is an undergraduate research journal written, reviewed, and edited by students taking *91078 Student Journal: Learn Academic English by creating an undergraduate journal*, a C2-level course at Humboldt University Language Centre in Berlin. We aim to publish the best work of university students in the humanities and social sciences, and the editors of this issue were Florian Maximilian Weber, Richard Palomar Vidal, and Victoria Charlott Uhlich.

As we are still emerging from the Covid-19 pandemic, we faced many problems preparing this issue for publication, but we got there in the end. If anyone has any questions about next year's Student Journal course they can email me at walshpau@hu-berlin.de

Other than that, I hope you enjoy the papers in this year's journal.

Paul Walsh (Chief editor/ Course leader)

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A note from the editors

Florian Maximilian Weber, Richard Palomar Vidal,
and Victoria Charlott Uhlich

Florian Maximilian Weber

Snapshot gives students the chance to dive deeper into a topic in the humanities. There are no assigned topics, no being afraid of grades, and no drawbacks. What you do get is the opportunity for your work to be read by a broad audience and to convey something close to the hearts of Humboldt University students.

Richard Palomar Vidal

We made it! We can finally show you what we've been working on this semester. Our aim was to continue with last year's idea and create a journal *by* HU students *for* HU students. The number of articles this year might be smaller than last year's issue, but even though we were fewer people doing the same amount of work (writing, reviewing, and editing), the quality remains high, and the effort we put in remains the same, if not greater! Also, if you enjoy writing academic texts and would like to improve your writing overall, then I would recommend signing up for the Student Journal course next year. And enjoy this year's issue of *Snapshot*!

Victoria Charlott Uhlich

Snapshot was first published in summer 2021 and lots of gratitude to the original student team for coming up with the name, layout, and general spirit of this journal that we have taken on board this year and tried to make our own. The journal gives students the chance to write about topics they are really interested in, and publish an academic paper that will be read by someone other than their professors. The journal is therefore a place for students to broaden their horizons regarding the academic publishing process and for readers to learn about interesting topics they haven't come across before. We want to thank the entire team for all their hard work and we hope that you enjoy the articles chosen for publication.

Wine metaphors in advertising: A linguistic corpus analysis

by Mariya Hristova

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1. Introduction

Gustatory sensations are subjective perceptions. In German, specific vocabulary for describing taste is highly limited to only a few basic adjectives. However, this does not restrict people to communicate less about it; in fact, the lack of specific taste vocabulary is balanced by the use of lexemes from other areas, such as crunchy or crispy, which actually refer to the food texture and not to taste itself (Bieler et al. 2011: 145). Apart from informal conversations, advertising is one of the domains where the expression of taste represents an interesting investigation problem.

The aim of this paper is to scrutinize how often wine metaphors occur in the advertising of wine and, furthermore, classify them according to word classes. In order to achieve this, a corpus of 30 wine advertising texts in German from 2019 has been compiled, using the online wine catalogue *Ebrosia*. The texts advertise wines from Germany, France and Portugal, each country being represented by ten texts. Furthermore, the corpus includes texts about red and white wine, as well as rosé.

2. Theory

2.1 Language and Taste

The human gustatory system, or sense of taste, is a multi-sensory phenomenon. According to Bieler et al. (2011: 150), taste perceptions encompass the entirety of different sensory sensations in the mouth and throat. Following Buckenhüskes et al. (2004: 80), taste results "from the entirety of all oral-pharyngeal[1] stimulations that arise during the intake and chewing of food, i.e. from real taste sensations, from olfactory[2] sensations, from mechanical stimuli, from thermal stimuli and from pain stimuli". Two sensory organs are mainly responsible for the emergence of taste: the tongue and the nose. In order for people to experience taste, however, one third

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[1] Related to the area of the mouth and the throat.

[2] Related to the sense of smell.

component is necessary: the brain. One further example of a sense that plays a role in the taste experience is the eye. There is a famous statement in this regard: "You eat with your eyes" (Hamilton/Sillem 2008: 13).

According to Majid and Levinson (2011: 9), language plays "a fundamental intermediary role between the subjective, individual character of sensation and the cultural world that constructs the perceptual field". Following Bieler and Runte (2010: 111), the actual taste vocabulary in German is highly limited and includes the four adjectives *sweet, sour, bitter* and *salty*. Buckenhüskes et al. (2004: 80) also consider *umami*, "which roughly describes the taste of protein", as a basic adjective with regard to taste quality. In general, umami is assumed to be the fifth category of taste corresponding to the flavour of glutamates. Such taste is a natural part of many food products such as fish, meat or vegetables.

Moreover, according to Bieler et al. (2011: 145), the vocabulary in the area of gustatory impressions is far less differentiated compared to other domains, such as that of vision. Nevertheless, the descriptions of taste in everyday life are not limited to the small number of basic adjectives mentioned above. In this regard, Bieler et al. (2011: 146) discuss linguistic strategies for describing gustatory impressions. They name paraphrases, comparisons and new words as well as cognitive mechanisms such as metaphors and metonymies that can compensate for the lack of direct taste expressions.

2.2 Metaphors

The term *metaphor* comes from Greek and means *transfer* or *carrying over*. (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel ²2011: 4, Kohl 2007: 21) According to Skirl and Schwarz-Friesel (²2011: 1), metaphors are "one of the most interesting and fascinating phenomena of human creativity, both as a linguistic and as a spiritual phenomenon." A typical form that metaphors have is *X is a Y*, whereby one abstract notion is specified by a more concrete one (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel 22013: 9). One example is "Love is gold", whereby the abstract concept of love is described by the concept gold, which is easier to grasp. Some of the most typical characteristics of gold is that it is a precious metal and has a high value. In this regard, we transfer the relevant qualities of gold to love, reaching the conclusion that love is valuable and has a high value.

There are different ways to classify metaphors. In their contribution, Skirl and Schwarz-Friesel offer, firstly, a classification regarding word classes and syntactic realization and, secondly, regarding novelty or conventionality. The three basic categories regarding word classes are noun, adjective and verb metaphors (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel [2]2013: 20, Kohl 2007: 46).

According to Skirl and Schwarz-Friesel, noun metaphors are "the most salient and the best analysed metaphor type" (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel [2]2013: 20). Most frequently, utterances in the form *X is a Y* are examined in linguistic studies. However, the other two types of metaphors, adjective and verb metaphors, can also be spotted often. Adjective metaphors are such expressions that ascribe properties to a subject or an object that semantically do not correspond to it (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel [2]2013: 25). Similarly, verb metaphors describe processes or states (Skirl et al.[2]2013: 26).

2.3 Advertising and the Persuasive Function of Metaphors

Janich ([6]2013: 18) believes that advertising involves the attempt to influence, although it is not the influencing itself. Advertising is regarded as a staged form of communication and the advertising language is characterized by certain traits and functions (Janich [6]2013: 45). Garbe and Nieroda-Kowal (2006: 81) discuss the persuasive function of metaphors: "It creates the emotional orientation of customers and achieves its goal when the consciousness of a customer is stimulated in a way, that he believes to become satisfied by buying the product" (Garbe/Nieroda-Kowal 2006: 81). Furthermore, Janich ([6]2013: 129) discusses the persuasive function of language in general, highlighting that, in order to achieve its persuasive effect, advertising language should generally be "strongly intentional, constructed and staged". Regarding metaphors as part of advertising language, Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel explain the function and the advantages of metaphors in an advertising text:

> Metaphors are used in advertising because they can create attention-grabbing effects that are intended to arouse potential buyers' interest in the product being advertised. The connections to other conceptual areas expressed via metaphors and visual representations are very important: the recipients should relate the advertised product to them - be it because the linked areas are domains generally

rated as positive it because of a funny surprise effect. (Skirl/Schwarz-Friesel [2]2013: 84)

In summary, metaphors play an important role for this partial function, taking into account that they can generate visual images for the recipient. Kohl explains this as follows:

> The interplay between word and visual image contains a communicative potential that can be used in every form of propaganda, whereby the 'pictorial' dimension of the word is often used. The cognitive effectiveness of the connection between visual images and 'pictorial' speech is evident not least from their strategic use in advertising. (Kohl 2007: 13)

If particular information evokes certain emotions in a person, regardless if positive or negative, it has a certain influence on that person. It is precisely this emotional factor, along with all other advertising functions such as conveying information or forming opinions, through which the advertiser tries to persuade the customer to buy the product (Garbe/Nieroda-Kowal 2016: 51, Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 213). In conclusion, despite the variety of metaphors used in advertisting, a positive presentation of the advertised product is always in the foreground.

To sum up, metaphors can compensate for the lack of specific vocabulary regarding emotions. Furthermore, they should also be used "as expressive variants of our language, with which we make the difficult-to-grasp, the difficult-to-describe in our world of emotions and experiences conceptually tangible and with which we can express complex abstract issues in a compressed and mental-pictorial way" (Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 201). In advertising, metaphors help to persuade potential customers to purchase the product by creating positive associations and evoking pleasant emotions.

3. Method

In this study, a corpus consisting of 30 advertising texts from 2019 from the online wine catalogue *Ebrosia* has been analysed. The texts present wines from three European countries: Germany, France and Portugal, with each country being represented by ten advertising texts. The corpus consists of advertisements about red and white wine as well as rosé. In order to outline metaphors in the corpus and also identify the ratio between them, the texts have been

analysed qualitatively. First, all metaphors in the corpus have been classified regarding word classes. The next step comprised the determination which metaphors ascribe human qualities to the product. The proportion of such metaphors as then been estimated. Finally, the metaphoric expressions have been classified according to the field from which they originate, such as body metaphors.

This paper has examined closely only those metaphors that contain properties of human beings and not of animals or plants. Furthermore, the focus lies on metaphors that are related only explicitly to wine, but not to its components. Synonyms such as *der Tropfen (the wine)* or metonymies such as *der erste Schluck (the first sip)* or *das helle Gelb (the light yellow)* have been, for instance, taken into account, since they are clearly related to the wine itself and it would make no difference it they are replaced by *the wine*. However, expressions such as *das Süße-Säure-Spiel (the play of sweet and sour)* or *köstliche Mokkaaromen (luscious mocha flavours)* have been included in the general quantitative analysis, but not in the further, more specific qualitative investigation.

Concerning adjective metaphors, in some cases forms of past participle occurred. The key question has been what exact function do these forms have in the particular sentence. In most of the cases, they have been counted to the adjective metaphors. Furthermore, in a case of an ellipsis such as "*Das Bouquet ist intensiv und zugleich blumig und fruchtig.*" ("*The bouquet is intense and at the same time floral and fruity.*") the single adjective metaphors have been counted separately.

4. Results

A total of 280 metaphors have been found in the created corpus. The qualitative analysis has revealed that 100 of them contain metaphors that ascribe human qualities to wine. That makes up 35,7 % of all metaphors found. Altogether, 78 of them are directly related to wine. Furthermore, this study has classified the metaphors regarding word classes. 39 verb metaphors, 29 noun metaphors and 8 adjective metaphors could be found (Figure 1). Additionally, there have been two adverb metaphors.

Among the verb metaphors, four main categories of conceptualizations could be identified (Figure 2). The biggest group build verbs that express an emotional involvement. Examples for such verbs are *enchant* or *seduce*:

> (1) Diese Cuvée Prestige <u>verführt</u> den Genießer mit seiner Frische, Fülle und fruchtigen Noten mit einem angenehmen, langen Finale. (This Cuvée Prestige <u>seduces</u> the connoisseur with its freshness, fullness and fruity notes with a pleasant, long finish.)

The second group of verb personifications contains neutral verbs, which are mostly related to the presentation of wine and what it offers to the customer, for instance *present, have/owes, show.*

> (2) Am Gaumen <u>besitzt</u> er einen runden, weichen und harmonischen Geschmack mit leichten Anklängen von Holz- und Vanillenoten. (On the palate it has/owes a round, soft and harmonious taste with light hints of wood and vanilla notes.)

The third group contains verbs of care such as *offer, bring, care, pamper,* which are associated with providing comfort:

> (3) Der Vinho Verde <u>verwöhnt</u> spritzig, frisch und leicht moussierend - und das bei nur 9% vol. Alkoholgehalt! (The Vinho Verde <u>spoils</u> fizzy, freshly and slightly sparkling - and that at only 9% vol. alcohol content!)

The fourth group includes verbs of success such as *convince, inspire, triumph.* These verbs illustrate the persuasive function of metaphors, since they present the wine as a winner, as a valuable product of quality and, therefore, imply that it is worth purchasing it*:*

> (4) Dieser Rotwein <u>triumphiert</u> mit einer intensiv rubinroten Farbe. (This red wine <u>triumphs</u> with an intense ruby red color.)

In some cases, there are assertions, where more than one metaphor could be identified. In the next example, there is one verb and one noun metaphor, however, the effect of the assertion is complete only if they are taken into account together. Moreover, *igniting a firework* evokes a particular picture in the head of the text recipient, which is connected to the emotionalizing function of metaphors. The notion of a firework evokes highly positive emotions in the reader, since it is usually connected to a special occasion and a celebration. The

metaphors in the next example may, furthermore, stimulate the reader to recall a particular event from their past, which brought them joy and, thus, subconsciously link it to the current context:

> (5) Bereits beim Eingießen <u>zündet der Südfranzose ein beeindruckendes Aromenfeuerwerk</u> aus reifen Brombeeren, Cassis und Kirschen. (As soon as it is poured<u>, the southern French ignites an impressive firework of aromas</u> from ripe blackberries, cassis and cherries.)

However, this example also illustrates the third conceptualization group among the noun personifications. This group includes metaphors that are connected to being a citizen of the country from which the wine originates. In (5) this is southern France. The second group with 24,1 % contains nouns that represent the wine either as a soloist, or as a companion. In the following example the wine is presented as the perfect companion for every garden party, as well as for particular dishes. Mentioning a garden party again has to do with the pictorial dimension discussed in (5). Having a party is in general associated with enjoyment and positive emotions. A garden party, on the other hand, is more specific and implies warm weather, which could be additionally associated with summer and also contributes to the final effect of the assertion:

> (6) Gut gekühlt ist dieser Rosé <u>der perfekte Begleiter für jede Gartenparty und leichte Sommergerichte wie Salat und Fisch.</u> (Well cooled, this rosé <u>is the perfect companion for every garden party and light summer dishes such as salad and fish.)</u>

Among noun metaphors five conceptualization groups have emerged (Figure 3). The biggest group is the one with a relation to the body. Most of the expressions refer to the body of the wine as it can be seen in the next example. Moreover, the assertions also contain verb metaphors:

> (7) <u>Der Körper zeigt sich</u> fruchtig und opulent. (<u>The body appears</u> fruity and opulent.)

The smallest group regarding word classes is the one of the adjectives. Here two main groups of conceptualizations have emerged: adjectives that arouse sympathy and adjectives related to age:

(8) <u>Dieser elegante Weißburgunder</u> brilliert in einem leuchtend, hellgelben <u>Farbenkleid</u>.

(9) <u>Geboren</u> aus der Liebe zum Riesling. (<u>Born</u> out of the love to Riesling.)

In (8) we have once more a combination of two metaphors, which intensifies their effect by evoking the picture of looking elegant by wearing a dress of colors. The pictorial dimension identified in (5) and (6) is also valid in this case.

5. Discussion

The evidence of this study suggests that metaphors that ascribe human qualities to wine are popular in the advertising of wine. Furthermore, these are primarily verb metaphors. Moreover, the corpus analysis could illustrate the emotionalizing function of metaphors by evoking particular pictures and scenarios in the head of the text recipient, such as enjoying a glass of wine at a garden party. Due to the complexity of taste sensations, creative solutions to describe the taste of wine were found such as *igniting an impressive aroma firework* from different components. Regarding the persuasive function of metaphors, wine is frequently presented as a winner – it triumphs or convinces with its taste.

The main research interest of this paper has been to examine how metaphors are used in the advertising of wine, in order to see how they compensate for the lack of taste expressions. It seems that the use of metaphors may balance for the paucity of vocabulary to describe taste in German by digressing from the main purpose of the advertisement, namely to inform the reader solely about the taste qualities of the wine. Instead of receiving information on the taste, the reader is incentivized to imagine various situations in which the wine can be consumed, very often connected with a special occasion or luxury. Moreover, taking into account that a picture says more than a thousand words, an essential advantage of metaphors is their ability to evoke images. Indeed is there a collective understanding of what, for instance, belongs to a summer party, however, the opportunity to connect a particular metaphor to a personal experience from the past strengthens its effect even more. Finally, language in general has an aesthetic value. In this regard, well-known notions presented in a new, creative way, for instance by using metaphors, may overall have a positive effect on the reader as well.

Since the current study has analyzed a limited number of texts, it is recommended that further work investigates a larger corpus. Moreover, working with corpora in other languages may be advantageous, since metaphors are influenced by the cultural factor. In this way, it could

be possible to identify different conceptualizations than the ones that emerged in this German corpus. In addition, future research may focus on other persuasive language structures in general and scrutinize the strategies of that these are part. Another interdisciplinary question that arises is whether advertising texts that contain metaphors indeed have a stronger influence on potential customers, and as a consequence, lead to them to buy the product in comparison to texts without such language structures. In order to investigate this question, an access to statistics of the purchases of the different wines is needed. In the case of an online wine shop, such as *Ebrosia*, its implementation should be relatively straightforward.

6. Conclusion

The present study has focused on the question of how often wine metaphors that ascribe human qualities to wine occur in advertising and what kind of metaphors regarding word classes are used. Furthermore, the paper has investigated and classified the different conceptualizations of wine. The results have shown that metaphors are extensively used in the advertising of wine. Overall, they fulfil a persuasive and an emotionalizing function by presenting wine as a valuable product that is worth purchasing. This is achieved by evoking positive emotions and creating associations with pleasant experiences for the reader.
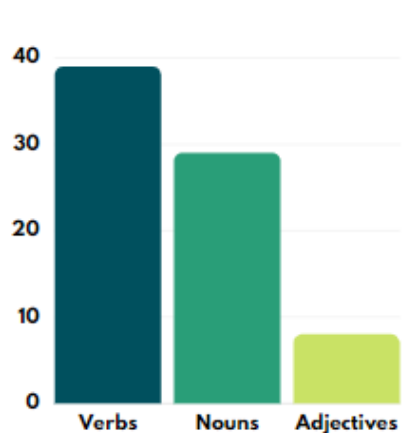
7. Acknowledgements

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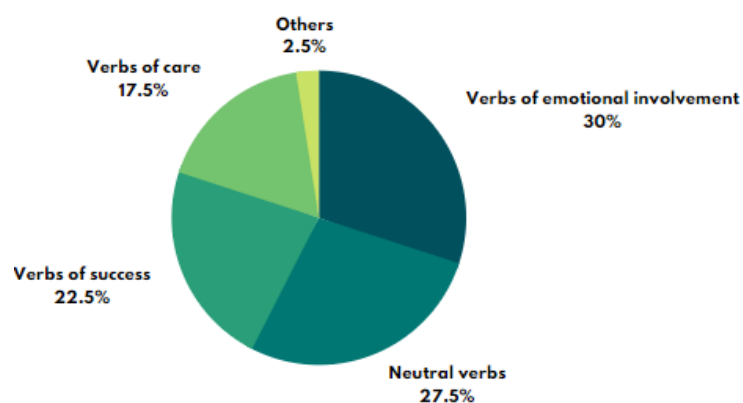
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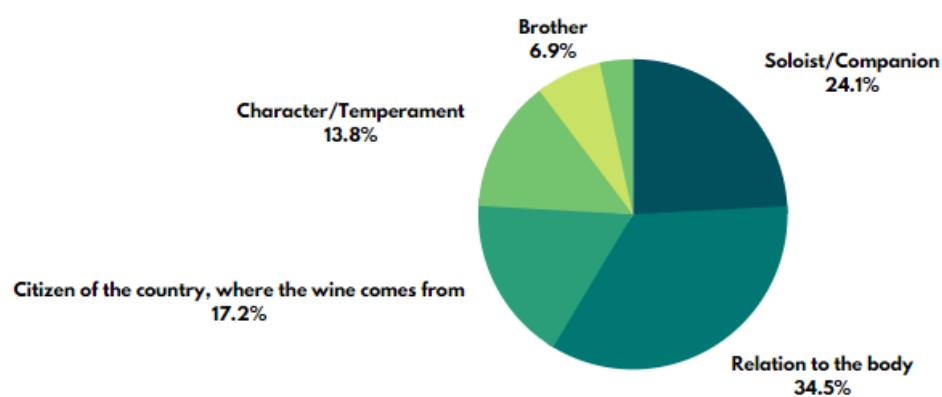## Appendix 1. Diagrams

Frequency regarding word classes

Figure 1

Conceptualizations in the verb personifications

Figure 2

Conceptualizations in the noun personifications

Figure 3

The negative effects of language disorders on the psyche

by Richard Palomar Vidal

What is a language disorder? What is DLD?

Language abilities develop very quickly during childhood, showing particular variability at preschool age, where children's language is subject to the effects of both genetic and environmental factors. Throughout infancy, childhood, and early adolescence, a child can experience various types of language disorders, such as speech sound disorders or reading disorders. However, there is one type of disorder that, despite affecting many children and having a lifelong impact, is rarely diagnosed correctly and in time: Developmental Language Disorder (DLD). This neurodevelopmental disorder stands out from the others because of a "persistent difficulty with expressive and/or receptive language" (Forrest et al. 2020: 1227) that cannot be associated with any other type of language disorder, and it is estimated to broadly affect 7% of the population (Bishop et al. 2017).
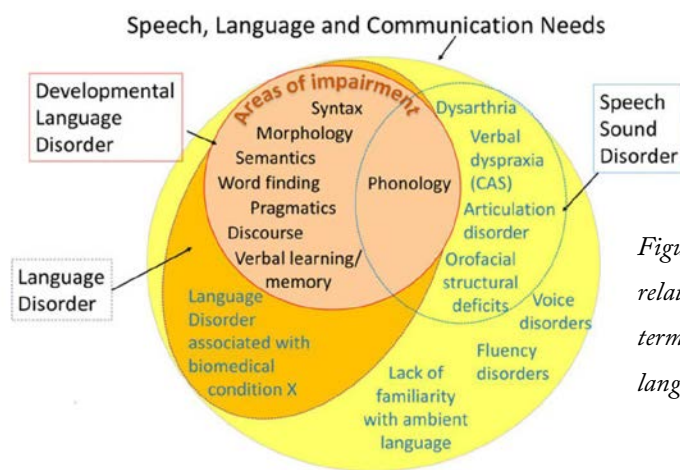

Figure 1. Diagram illustrating the relationship between different diagnostic terms. DLD is nested within the broader language disorders (Bishop et al. 2017: 1076)

The diagnosis all by itself can pose a problem, as the diagnostical term 'developmental language disorder' is an umbrella term for a heterogeneous category that encompasses a wide range of problems and is sometimes mistaken for other age-related troubles regarding language. If DLD is not detected in time, the problems caused by this disorder can be carried into adulthood with serious implications for interpersonal skills, establishing relationships and regulating emotions, something I will discuss later in this paper.

Despite having adequate language-learning opportunities (e.g. the children receive adequate language instruction by the school, parents and/or caretaker) DLD affects both language expression (e.g. talking and writing) as well as language comprehension (e.g. listening and reading comprehension). The branch of phonology is usually the most unreliable source for diagnosing DLD because while some phonetic problems can be linked to DLD (Bishop et al. 2017), other factors like age, and the other language(s) the child speaks can affect the motor skills of the parts involved in speech, which can be misdiagnosed for DLD.

Unveiling DLD

There are many types of questionnaires and tests to help determine if a child has DLD. These can be completed by the children, parents, or guardians; however, grammatical features are the most reliable clinical marker for a possible language disorder. Clinical markers "are elements of language consistently reported as problematic in children with DLD [...] specific to a language or a family of languages, and sometimes to the age of the child" (Garaffa et al. 2019: 4). These markers are reliable in capturing the difficulties experienced by children with DLD. For English-speaking children, the most reliable clinical marker is the formation of verb tenses, especially the irregular past tenses. A child with DLD might, therefore, say the following:

> *Mary cook it (the correct form would be 'Mary cook*s* it')
> *I seed it (the correct form would be 'I s*aw* it')

Another reliable way to diagnose DLD is via an NRT, a non-word repetition phonology task. During an NRT, participants are asked to repeat strings of pronounceable but meaningless sounds which mimic the phonotactic constraints of their native language. While measuring the ability to store and retrieve verbal information from short-term memory, the repetition of non-words is a difficult task for individuals who present various types of linguistic disorders. As a result, poor performance in the repetition of non-words has been reported in dyslexics and in children with DLD (Vender 2016).

Number of syllables	Target nonword orthography	Target nonword transcription
2	ballop	ˈbæ.ləp
	prindle	ˈprɪn.dəl
	rubid	ˈru.bɪd
	sladding	ˈslæ.ɾɪŋ
	tafflist	ˈtæ.fləst
3	bannifer	ˈbæ.nə.fɚ
	berrizen	ˈbɛ.ɾə.zən
	doppolate	ˈda.pə.ˌlet
	glistering	ˈglɪ.stɚ.ɾɪŋ
	skiticult	ˈskɪ.ɾə.ˌkʌlt
4	comisitate	kə.ˈmi.sə.ˌtet
	contramponist	kən.ˈtræm.pə.ˌnɪst
	emplifervent	ɛm.ˈplɪ.fɚ.ˌvɛnt
	fennerizer	ˌfɛ.nɚ.ˈɾaɪ.zɚ
	penneriful	pə.ˈnɛ.ɾə.fəl
5	altupatory	æl.ˈtu.pə.ˌtɔ.ri
	detratapillic	di.ˈtræ.ɾə.ˌpɪ.lək
	pristeractional	ˌprɪ.stɚ.ˈræk.ʃə.nəl
	versatrationist	ˈvɚ.sə.ˌtre.ʃə.nɪst
	voltularity	ˈval.t͡ʃə.ˌlɛ.ɾə.ti

Figure 2. Example of non-words used in a study to help determine DLD (Burkholder-Juhasz 2007: 477)

There are two main theories why children with DLD perform poorly in this task. The first is the 'maturational lag' hypothesis, which states that "an underlying cognitive process such as phonological short-term memory matures later than usual" (Bishop et al. 1996: 392) in children with a language disorder like DLD. The second theory, commonly called the 'compensatory strategy' theory, means that the child compensates for this cognitive deficit by applying already existing language patterns to the words they have to repeat. Due to this compensation, the underlying cognitive deficit does not resolve itself but is only substituted with existing language patterns. A child with DLD might therefore repeat 'ballop' as if it were the word 'gallop' or 'prindle' like 'pringle', as both words already exist in the English language.

Emotion regulation strategies

Linguists and psychologists agree that, in most cases, children experiencing DLD (or any similar language disorder) do not excel in their metalinguistic abilities, meaning they're not fully able to analyse the different aspects of language nor talk about their properties, which generally affects their ability to express themselves or how they feel and experience certain situations (Grosjean 2010).

Since we learn to regulate our emotions through social interaction with others, where communication plays a crucial role, many children suffering from DLD behave differently than their peers, especially when their emotion regulation strategies are examined in detail. Emotion regulation refers to the "cognitive and behavioural processes a person uses to monitor emotions, to modify the strength of the own emotional experience and the strength and timing of the expression of emotions in order to reach personal and social goals" (Bedem et al. 2018: 1111). Therefore, it is one of the most reliable indicators of how someone controls their own emotions, a quality heavily influenced by factors such as education and socialisation. These emotion regulation strategies can be split into two groups: adaptive strategies, such as approach and avoidance, and maladaptive, such as worry and externalizing strategies, the latter being the one that best shows the negative effects of DLD on a child's social behaviour (Conti-Ramsden 2019).

Bedem emphasises that it is not solely the speaker who plays a role in the emotion regulation strategies, but also the listener. Children and young adults learn from their social environment, "through interactions with friends and incidental exposure to others' interactions" (Bedem et al. 2018: 1112) and apply this knowledge –subconsciously or not– to their own actions and behaviour. On the one hand, the cognitive and behavioural processes that Bedem emphasises are deeply influenced by these actions with other youngsters. For children with DLD, nonetheless, the communication problems they exhibit limit the possible interaction with others, creating a gap between those who are able to communicate and those who are not. Since "children with DLD miss important information, need more processing time, and often lack the vocabulary to understand fully what is going on in social interactions" (Bedem et al. 2018: 1112) this process of socialisation, often called 'emotion socialisation', is almost always held back by DLD, and children experiencing this disorder end up being categorized as being unable to socialise, problematic or even autistic.[3]

On the other hand, in order to "monitor emotions, [and] to modify the strength of the own emotional experience and the strength and timing of the expression of emotions" (Bedem et al. 2018: 1111), children suffering from DLD are inclined to overuse maladaptive emotion regulation strategies, because these usually don't involve an active verbal action, but rather of

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[3] Even though nowadays DLD is not perceived as part of the autism spectrum disorders, for many years psychologists established a link between the different language impairment disorders and autism since both are a neurodevelopmental condition and children affected by both conditions are not fully able to display their communication skills for whatever reason (Bishop et al. 2017).

a passive internal one. Worrying, rumination, yelling, hitting, slamming doors etc. are the maladaptive emotion regulation strategies used by children experiencing DLD, which are considered to be a "strong predictor of depressive symptoms" (Bedem et al. 2018: 1113) as they increase the impact of the original negative trigger rather than solving it or decreasing the negative effects. Considering that these children have difficulties labelling their emotions, the only way for them to express an emotion they are not capable of categorizing yet is through physical and/or aggressive reactions (Forrest et al.: 2020). In his paper regarding depressive symptoms and emotion regulation strategies, Bedem et al. (2018) conclude that children with DLD have higher level of depressive symptoms than children without DLD due to this misuse of maladaptive strategies caused by their communication problems.

However, the noticeable and direct effects of DLD on socialisation, behaviour and mental health are heterogeneous. Studies conducted by Conti-Ramsden et al. (2019) and Bedem et al. (2019) that analysed the relationship between DLD and peer problems and depressive symptoms as a consequence of maladaptive emotion regulation strategies respectively concluded that, like the symptoms, the effects of a language disorder like DLD vary depending on many factors. Thus, it is difficult to formulate a rule that can be applied to all symptoms of DLD and its impact not only regarding their language disorder but also their social abilities, their emotion regulation strategies, and other key aspects of personal and social adjustment.

Case study on depressive symptoms and DLD

Bedem et al. (2018) examined the severity of depressive symptoms in 114 children with and 214 without DLD between the ages of 8 and 16 across 18 months. Set on analysing and observing what emotion regulation strategies children with DLD use (comparing it to children without DLD), they also wanted to determine if certain strategies can be a cause of depressive symptoms or depression. For children with DLD, communication problems limit interaction with others from an early age, making them miss important information, need more processing time, and often lack the vocabulary to understand fully what is going on in social interactions. Therefore, the process of emotional socialization is usually constrained.
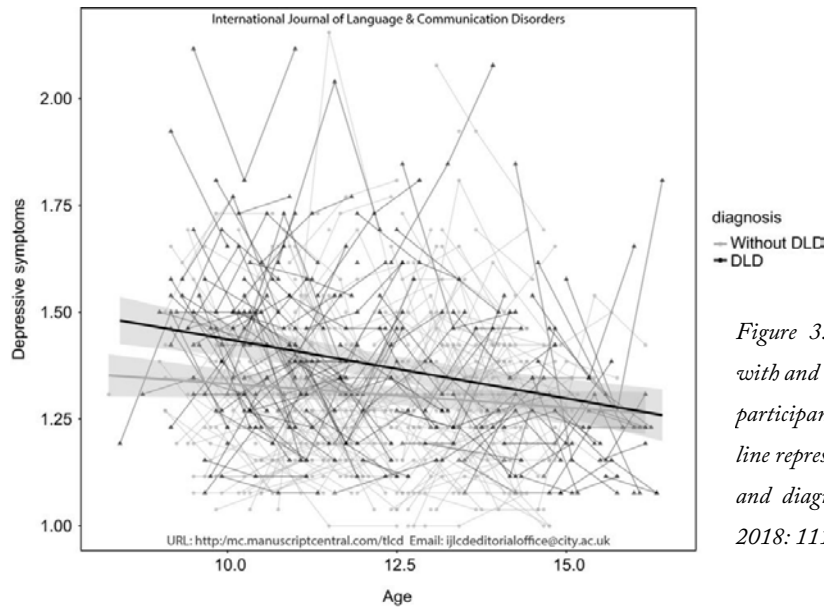
Figure 3. Depressive symptoms of participants with and without DLD. The measurements of one participant are connected by lines. The regression line represents the predicted value based on the age and diagnosis of the participant (Bedem et al. 2018: 1117)

The results of the study showed that children with DLD reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than children without DLD. In addition, the interaction between age and diagnosis showed a small decrease in depressive symptoms across time for children with DLD, whereas the change in depressive symptoms of children without DLD was not significant. Children in both groups reported less depressive symptoms when they reported higher mean levels of approach strategies, less worry, and fewer externalizing strategies (when they addressed the problem immediately instead of worrying or getting verbal and/or physical).

Depression is one of the most common mental health problems in late childhood and young adolescence, and for children with DLD, the risk for early depressive symptoms is even higher than for those without DLD, as it provides children with many stressors in communication, in social interactions and in educational contexts. The frequently reported social problems of children with DLD could affect their feelings of well-being, as children with DLD have more communication problems and are more inclined to use maladaptive strategies, such as worrying and externalizing strategies, which in turn are important risk factors for depressive symptoms. A high incidence of being bullied has also been shown to explain elevated levels of depressive symptoms in children with DLD. However, an important finding in the study by Bedem et al. (2018) was that independently of communication levels, the risk, and protective factors of using different ER strategies made similar contributions to predicting depressive symptoms, in children with and without DLD.

Overall, then, we can say that the effects of a language disorder like Developmental language disorder go beyond mere issues of conjugating verbs or repeating non-words. If a child grows up not being able to fully express themself through language, then this obstacle can lead to issues communicating with other people which can consequently have detrimental effects on their relationships with friends, family, and coworkers. At this juncture, it's also important to stress the fact that language disorders like DLD do not entail social or emotional problems per se, but it's rather the repercussions these disorders have on a child's ability to communicate that hamper their social and emotional abilities. However, through proper education and awareness, it would not only be possible to detect DLD earlier, but also to help schools, parents, and caregivers to integrate and assist children experiencing this disorder.

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What's in a parade? The function of parade in socialist countries

by Paul Walsh

May 1st Demonstration, Moscow 1960,
N. Maksimov, Wikipedia Commons

Introduction

Have you ever heard a parade in the distance? You might be reading a book, washing dishes, or just day-dreaming. You hear music and drums, the rumbling of footsteps, and the tumult of a crowd. You imagine the feet and the mass of bodies as the parade hits your ears; intrigued, you are drawn into its orbit, the fleeting lines of people, and its *force*. What explains these phenomena, and the behaviour of a crowd? Early studies centred on the pathology of crowds (Le Bon 1896; Freud 1921) while recent accounts favour more nuanced explanations of mass behaviour (McPhail 1991), yet the literature on parades is relatively undeveloped. Looking at examples from literature and film, I argue that the parade operates within a 'time out of time' (Falassi 1987) and that this helps to explain its unique power—the ability *to generate, or disrupt, patterns of feeling and thought*—and the parade's unique role in socialist societies: to legitimate one-party rule.

Parade in context

Consider the tense opening of Albanian writer Ismail Kadare's novel *Agamemnon's Daughter*, as the protagonist looks out over a May Day parade:

> From outside came sounds of holiday music, bustling crowds and shuffling feet —
> the special medley of a mass of people on their way to the start of a parade.

For perhaps the tenth time in a row, I cautiously pulled the curtain aside. (Kadare 2006: 3)

What does it mean that the protagonist has already looked through the curtains ten times? Why is he afraid of the 'placards, bouquets of flowers, and portraits of members of the Politburo just like the ones we saw last year'? And what explains how the parade affects people's perceptions? As Kadare's protagonist notes: 'Even the silence and the emptiness has a peculiar quality, as did everything else on a day of that kind' (Kadare 2006: 5).

We might contrast the above depiction of a parade, set during the height of Albanian political isolation (with leader Enver Hoxha breaking off ties with the USSR in the 50s, then China in the 70s) with Socrates' opening lines in Plato's *Republic*:

> I went down to the Piraeus yesterday with Ariston's son Glaucon to offer my prayers to the goddess and also because I wanted to watch the festival and see how they would perform it, seeing that this was the first time they were holding it. (Plato 2013: 3)

The festival was the Bendidia, involving two separate processions to the sanctuary of the goddess Bendis at Piraeus harbour. Here, phrases like 'went down' and 'wanted to watch' imply the kind of agency missing from *Agamemnon's Daughter*, with the protagonist crouched behind a curtain; the kind of agency and confidence that comes with being a citizen of a republic governed by principles of justice (at least the justice of those who are property-holders and not women, children, or slaves) and a framework of rights.

Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* contains more examples of a parade, as seen through the eyes of Sabina and Franz. Franz, a talented scholar, finds solace in the parades and demonstrations in Paris; he wants to 'protest against something; to be out in the open, to be with others' (Kundera 1984:50):

> Franz felt his book life to be unreal. He yearned for real life, for the touch of people walking side by side with him, for their shouts. It never occurred to him that what he considered unreal (the work he did in the solitude of the office or library) was in fact his real life, whereas the parades he imagined to be reality were nothing but theatre, dance, carnival—in other words, a dream. (Kundera 1984:50-51)

Conversely, Sabina, having emigrated to Paris, attends a protest over the invasion of her native Czechoslovakia by the Russians, but she cannot bring herself to shout the slogans and leaves after a few minutes. Her French friends are bemused by her behaviour ('You mean you don't want to fight the occupation of your country?') but she harbours a distrust towards parades that they, coming from a society where basic rights are guaranteed, might not fully understand.

> She would have liked to tell them that behind Communism, Fascism, behind all occupations and invasions lurks a more basic, pervasive evil and that the image of that evil was a parade of people marching by with raised fists and shouting identical syllables in unison. (Kundera 1984:51.)

Like the protagonist in *Agamemnon's Daughter*, Sabina cannot join the parade because that would mean losing her own individuality in the mass of the parade, something Kundera illustrates with a story from her youth:

> On May Day all the students had to report early in the morning for the parade. Student officials would comb the building to ensure that no one was missing. Sabina hid in the lavatory. Not until long after the building was empty would she go back to her room. It was quieter than anywhere she could remember. The only sound was the parade music echoing in the distance. It was as though she had found refuge inside a shell and the only sound she could hear was the sea of an inimical world. (ibid.)

Judging from the above examples, therefore, the ability of a parade to foster feelings of belonging in socialist societies was contested by at least some of its citizens, who refused the sham acquiescence demanded of them (sometimes sacrificing their well-being, or even their lives). Here we might also consider the short film 'Parade' by Yugoslav film director Dušan Makavejev (Makavejev 1962), one of the Black Wave group of film-makers working in the (then) more liberal Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR), and the original way it frames the socialist parade.

Makavejev's 'Parade' shows the small actions external to the parade, but which at the same time enable it to take place. The film opens with scaffolding being raised outside the parliament in Belgrade and then moves through the behind-the-scenes elements that comprise the May Day parade: signs being painted, giant symbols lifted onto floats, 20-foot Lenin, Engels, and

Marx portraits draped from high windows—even the bolting of a sign with the slogan *Bratsvo i Jedinstvo* (Brotherhood and Unity) across it. Yet the film's construction belies any ideological justification. People stand impassively, unsure how to react. Soldiers adjust uniforms and helmets. A man takes a newspaper from his back pocket as the parade passes; someone picks their teeth; and Marshall Tito, the Leader, only appears twice—once checking his watch, another seen through the legs of a camera tripod, a tiny figure waving to the people going past. Unsurprisingly, the film was initially banned because of its depiction of the May Day parade, and Makavejev later forced to leave Yugoslavia due to problems with the state.

Parade: definition and use

But what is a parade? Louis Marin (in Falassi 1987: 222) puts *parade* alongside the categories of *cortege* and *procession*; *cortege* being defined as 'the company kept by a Prince or an eminent person during a ceremony, including carriages, horses, or other items used to honour him' and *procession* as a 'long retinue of people moving in a line, one after the other' (in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, 1690). Marin also cites Littré who, in his *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1863) defines *parade* as 'the marching of a troop of soldiers in column formation, passing before a leader'. We might also place parade as an element within Falassi's (1987: 1-7) definition of *festival*—deriving from the Latin *festum* or 'public joy', and *feria*, 'abstinence from work in honour of the gods'—a 'ritual act' that happens 'within an exceptional time and space', something he calls a 'time out of time'.

A key aspect of parade, as earlier examples show, is its *movement* through space under the eyes of a leader; and in thinking of parades in socialist societies, we might recall the words of Hannah Arendt, who wrote: 'In the interpretation of totalitarianism, all laws have become laws of movement' (Arendt 1962: 463). For Arendt, a totalitarian society occurs 'where all action aims at the acceleration of the movement of nature or history, where every single act is the execution of a death sentence which Nature or History has already pronounced' (Arendt 1962: 467) and she develops this idea in her analysis of the shifting alliances between contesting groups as the Nazis gained power in Weimar Germany. For example, after the 1933 Reichstag fire the SA was all-powerful; but power then moved from the SA to the SS, and then to the Secret State Police or Gestapo (1962: 368-373); the slippery and precarious nature of power something Arendt thought was characteristic of all totalitarian regimes and leaders:

But not only was the will of the Leader so unstable that compared with it the whims of Oriental despots are a shining example of steadfastness; the consistent and ever-changing division between real secret authority and ostensible open representation made the actual seat of power a mystery by definition, and this to such an extent that the members of the ruling clique themselves could never be absolutely sure of their own position in the secret power hierarchy. (Arendt 1962: 400)

For Ismail Kadare, whose work we encountered earlier, the problem of the ruling clique who are never 'sure of their own position in the secret power hierarchy' is a major theme in novels such as *The Concert* (1988) and *The Successor* (2003); hence, the parade becomes one of the arenas where this tension is played out.

The function of parade in socialist societies: forced communitas

A parade, then, signifies the movement of authority in totalitarian regimes; but what is the *function* of parade in these societies? To answer this question, I will turn to the work of the British cultural anthropologist Victor Turner, who was influenced in this regard by Arnold van Gennep and his 1909 book *Les rites de passage* (Gennep 1909/1981).

In this book, van Gennep analyses 'rites of passage' and observes three clear stages: *separation*, *transition*, and *incorporation*. Turner became interested in the transition phase, which van Gennep called 'margin' or 'limen' (meaning threshold in Latin) and Turner began to see this between-state, or liminality in other situations, noting that those in a liminal state are 'neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony' (Turner 1969: 95). He developed the idea of *communitas* to capture how people encounter each other in this between-state or 'moment in and out of time' (Turner 1969: 96) without the normal constraining social ties, and he theorised three modes of *communitas*: i) *existential* or *spontaneous* communitas, which he describes as 'approximately what the hippies today would call a "happening"'; ii) *normative* communitas, where, due to the pressures of survival, existential communitas becomes organised into a system that enables the group to pursue its goals; and iii) *ideological* communitas, the attempt of utopian groups to turn raw existential or spontaneous communitas into an outward form, or practice (Turner 1969: 132).

We might also define *existential* or *spontaneous* communitas as the sense of oneness and wholeness that people feel in this liminal state, what has been called 'collective joy' (Turner 2012). Yet the flipside of this type of communitas is that it marks a subversion of reality, and perhaps a departure from it, Turner himself believing that this might explain the failure of the Utopian movements of the 60s: that is, the attempt to live in one extended communitas, a dreamworld or extended 'trip', brought people futher away from existing social reality and therefore from the possibility of actual change.

In terms of parades under socialism, then, what are the inherent dangers of communitas? The logic of the socialist parade is simple: people must be forced to take part, or the culture that upholds the regime risks being plunged into crisis. What is portrayed in the novels of Kadare and Kundera, and the Makajev film, are cases of *normative* or even *forced communitas*: individuals forced to participate in a ritual they have no, or little desire, to enact. And so, what is the lived result of this? Living through a long period of forced communitas can lead to *nostalgia*, which we can define as follows:

> Nostalgia appeals to the feeling that the past offered delights no longer obtainable. Nostalgic representations of the past evoke a time irretrievably lost and for that reason timeless and unchanging. Strictly speaking, nostalgia does not entail the exercise of memory at all, since the past it idealises stands outside time, frozen in unchanging perfection. (Lasch 1991: 82-83)

In many respects, the post-socialist world is certainly a nostalgic world (Todorova 2010), with many post-socialist citizens feeling that 'the past offered delights no longer attainable' combined with the sense that they are living a 'second-hand time' devoid of possibility, meaning and, indeed, security (Alexievich 2019). Here nostalgia, and nostalgic communication, works as a 'sanctuary of meaning' that 'provides individuals with a means of symbolically escaping cultural conditions that they find depressing and/or disorienting' (Aden 1995: 35). I also suggest that this process may open up possibilities for political leaders who are able and willing to harness this brand of nostalgia for their own ends.

Alternatives to forced communitas

If *forced communitas* provided much of the 'glue' in socialist societies—something we see acted out through the ritual of the parade—what, then, acted as a countervailing force to the

totalitarian state? The answer perhaps lies in comedy, and satire; exactly the genres disdained by the high seriousness of the regime parade, with its 'placards, bouquets of flowers, and portraits of members of the Politburo just like the ones we saw last year'. One example here that illustrates the danger that satire posed was the 1966 Sinyavsky-Daniel show trial in the Soviet Union, showing that the Soviet authorities considered satire to be capable of seriously undermining their regime. (Writer Andrei Sinyavsky and translator Yuly Daniel were sentenced to several years hard labour for the crime of slandering the Soviet system.) Another example is the Orange Alternative, or 'gnome revolution', organised in the early 1980s in the Polish city of Wrocław—which saw thousands of people parading the streets in orange hats demanding 'rights for gnomes' (Fydrych 2014).

But why? Satire undermines *forced communitas* as it makes people question the social antagonisms that are allowed to exist (eg *workers* versus *intellectuals*, the *bourgeoisie* versus the *proletariat*) and the forces that maintain them. And this is why the Sinyavsky trial marks the start of the Soviet dissident movement and the beginning of the end of communist party rule. As Henri Bergson once wrote:

> Laughter is, above all, a corrective. Being intended to humiliate, it must make a painful impression on the person against whom it is directed. By laughter, society avenges itself for the liberties taken with it. (Bergson 1911)

To conclude, my task in this essay was to argue for the unique power, and unique role, of parade in socialist societies; also, to put forward *forced communitas* as a key variable in the functioning of a parade. In short, the parade in socialist societies maintained, reinforced, and perpetrated the legitimacy of a regime by acting directly on memory, in a contested process where, as one scholar writes, 'memory creates markers in the struggle against the furies of disappearance and forgetting' (Assman 2006: 81). By extension, one response to the *forced communitas* of socialist rule was satire, which forced people to question the official reality handed down to them by ritual and diktat. Yet in post-socialist societies, it remains unclear what an effective response to the nostalgia caused by the loss of *communitas* might be.

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