New Europe College Yearbook 1995–1996

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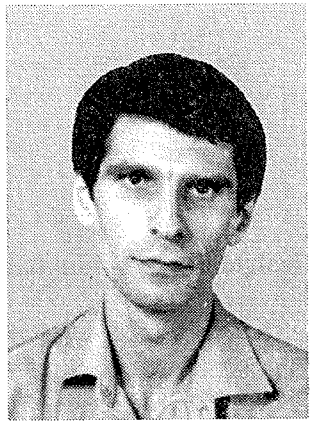

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The Empirical Study of Literature

1. Theoretical and Methodological Aspects

1.1. The 'battle of methods'

The empirical study of literature is a quite recent research field in the humanities. It began to be shaped during the seventies, within the framework of a larger methodological shift which occurred in literary scholarship at that time. The scope, perspectives and the status of this new approach are, nevertheless, still a subject for debate.

What is 'empirical', the labeling mark of the new discipline, supposed to mean? In a narrow sense, it refers to certain investigation procedures such as tests, questionnaires or experiments similar to research instruments commonly used in sociology or psychology. The employment of such instruments represents, to be sure, the 'core' of the discipline and its striking — and embarrassing — novelty. A relative novelty though, at least in the United States, where the investigation of 'literary response' was quite popular even before World War II, mostly in connection with working out teaching and evaluation strategies (KLEMENZ-BELGARDT, 1982). Nevertheless, many scholars in humanities consider this way of dealing with literature altogether inappropriate. The 'empiricist' is perceived as a fanatic of figures and measurements, prone to torture his 'subjects' with EEGs and perspiration tests and lacking the very sense of literary, aesthetic values. An idea which might be exaggerate, but not always out of place.

The disputes caused by various approaches to literature clearly indicate that there is much more at stake than merely methodological options. In scientific research, particularly in the humanities, 'methods' cease to be just convenient means of achieving one's goal. They bring about their own theoretical presuppositions and promote specific research tasks. The already mentioned methodological shift which occurred by the end of the sixties, was triggered by the need to 'rethink literature' as such. The whole range of new or renewed approaches of the time seems thus to reveal a common denominator, 'the movement away

from the formalist and New Critical emphasis on the autonomy of 'the text itself' toward a recognition (or a re-recognition) of the relevance of context, whether the latter be defined in terms of historical, cultural, ideological or psychoanalytical categories' (Susan R. SULEIMAN, in SULEIMAN and Crosman 1980: 5).

Be it a 'change of paradigm' (*Paradigmawechsel*) as Hans Robert Jauss had already argued in 1969 (in ZMEGAC 1972: 274–290), or just one of 'emphasis', the shift in focus from 'text' to 'context' was a turning point in the academic manner of constructing 'literature'. Even French structuralists, perhaps the keen-est supporters of scientific rigor in the humanities during the sixties, eventually adjusted their fundamental theoretical standpoints. The science they had promoted, the 'poetics', which combined the tradition of the rationalist, deductive approach of Aristotle with borrowings from up-to-date linguistics, was meant to specify the *langue* of literature, in relation to which particular texts were perceived as *parole* occurrences. Theorists who had viewed literature as an abstract system and believed in the capacity of poetics to thoroughly investigate the 'possible realities of discourse' beyond and above existing texts (GENETTE 1978: 275), also came to admit, in the following decades, the 'conditional' nature of literature, depending on time and place, on the people involved in it. The central question of the sixties, 'What is literature?' could thus be rephrased, as Nelson Goodman suggested, to become 'When is literature?' (GENETTE 1994: 92).

For most of the people, the meaning of 'literature' evokes the idea of a list of texts, mostly written but occasionally also oral, irrespective of when, how or by whom these texts were brought together. It is some sort of ideal library, the librarian of which remains unknown — or, as Malraux has put it, an 'imaginary museum'. For the formalists and structuralists, 'literature' consists in a set of invariants, such as devices, forms, functions, rules or principles, that allow particular combinations. For the empiricist, it is primarily a matter of human action and interaction. 'Our main theoretical contention is that literature is a form of action with texts', assert Dick H. SCHRAM and Gerard J. STEEN (1992: 239). However categorical this statement may appear, it is nonetheless ambiguous. It may refer, on the one hand, to the actual experience real people have when they are making, reading, working up or mediating various kinds of texts. On the other hand, it may concern inter-subjectively shared beliefs, attitudes, habits or abilities which determine and enable people to act in a specific, 'literary' way under certain circumstances.

The empirical study of literature, in a broader sense, has proved to be able to offer good support for large-scale research programs, which would encompass, correlate and systematize all the relevant aspects of the 'social field of action literature'. The work of Siegfried J. SCHMIDT, *Grundriß der Empirischen Literaturwissenschaft* (I 1980, II 1982) is highly significant from this point of view: it represents, so to say, a theory of the empirical approach, which attempts to

reconsider and reintegrate in a systemic view poetics as well as aesthetics, literary sociology and psychology, theory of communication, documental positivistic research. As for the notion of 'literature' itself, Schmidt endorses a conventionalist perspective. His assumption, which has been widely commented upon, is that literature is characterized by the functioning of two basic conventions, the 'aesthetic' and the 'polyvalence' (I 1980: 92–110). A parallel applied investigation has brought some evidence about the way these two conventions influence the German readers' evaluations of texts as being literary or not (HINZENBERG, SCHMIDT and ZOBEL 1980).

In spite of the bold, promising projects, the empirical study of literature has attained, more often than not, limited results. Obvious priority has been given to the investigation of literary reception or 'response'. There are several reasons for this. First of all, it is much easier to collect data about the reading process than about the creative one. The work of the writer is highly idiosyncratic and could be expected to lead to observations that are very difficult to correlate. The psychology of art or literature, be it speculative or experimental, seems much more suitable for reaching generalizations in this research field. Besides, other activities related to literature (such as the work of the literary critic, the actor, the stage or film director, and so on) have been frequently interpreted, more or less arbitrarily, as forms of 'reading'. The focus on literary response was also stimulated by teaching interests. The 'reign of the reader', which began about the end of the sixties, encouraged by several different approaches (the 'aesthetics of reception' initiated at the University of Constance, Gadamer's hermeneutics, literary pragmatics, semiotics, even structuralism), doubtless influenced the orientation of the empirical studies, too. The foregrounding of the reader role was in its turn caused by various interweaving factors, pertaining both to social history (politics, social and cultural changes) and to the dynamics of the humanities. Reader and reception have been used as a means to overcome the 'crisis' of literary history, to accommodate the theoretical paradigm to a more comprehensive understanding of the way literature comes into being and works upon people, to rehabilitate the popular genres of *Trivialliteratur* or to grant academic 'canon' new legitimacy. Socio-political circumstances also reinforced the orientation toward reader and reception. 'Traditionelle bürgerliche Werthaltungen wie autoritäre Leistungsorientierung, Hochschätzung materieller Belohnungen, Aufstiegs — und Karrierementalität sind im Rückgang; ebenso die Betonung von Ruhe und Ordnung etc. Stattdessen hat sich ein im Lebensstil verwurzeltes Gleichheitsdenken, ein Bedürfnis nach individueller Autonomie, eine Hochschätzung von Sensibilität und Selbsterfahrung ausgebreitet'. The description of the German social environment in the late sixties (REESE 1980: 28) could be obviously applied to larger areas in Western Europe and the United States. The academia itself

was put under severe pressure, such as the 1968 student movements, which most of the later analysts, Walter REESE included (1980: 27), link to 'the rise of the reader' (see also HOLUB 1984: 6–12). The methodological renewal had its own ideological tint, advocating, more or less explicitly, the emancipating function of literature and art. The West-East German polemics on the theory of reception during the seventies is highly illuminating. 'Gerade die Probleme der Rezeption-sästhetik zeigen in aller Evidenz den ideologischen Charakter literaturtheoretischer Debatten' (MANDELKOW 1974: 387). East German theorists oppose the *Wirkungsforschung* to the Western *Rezeptionsästhetik*, while they analogize Marxist economics to literature, considering that the 'production' (i.e. creative writing and its result, literary texts) determines the 'consumption' (i.e. literary reception). The coinage *Rezeptionsvorgabe* is supposed to emphasize this primacy. According to East German polemicists, the Western theory of reception grants the reader unlimited and therefore arbitrary liberty in coping with the text. 'Consumptiveness' and 'manipulation' are key notions underlining the debate (see also HOLUB 1984: 121–133; REESE 1980: 43–53; GRIMM 1975: 42–50).

The 'role of the reader' has also changed in relation to the position which the author, the other main agent of literary communication, has acquired in the literary criticism of the last decades. In this respect, ever since the Russian formalists and the New Critics, the general trend has been to disregard or to minimize the importance of documentation about the author, about his or her biography and personality, about the epoch in which he or she lived and created (the 'original context') or about presumptive authorial intentions. The obliteration of the author, the self-effacement of the individual ego in which literary creations are supposed to originate, is one of the distinctive features of modernism. If we were to believe the confessions of Edgar Allan Pöe in *The Philosophy of Composition*, *The Raven* must have been the result of an entirely rationalistic, carefully calculated design, one which strikingly anticipates contemporary computer procedures. Paul Valery dreamt of a literary history as a history of 'the spirit who produces and consumes literature', so that 'no name of a writer would appear in it' (in MAVRODIN 1982: 62). Mallarmé thought of a *Magnum Opus*, the book of endless possible combinations, and defined the poet as a *grand syntaxier*, while Borges imagined the universe as a timeless labyrinth library in which already written texts fill in just a trifling part in the repertoire of the still-to-be-written ones. Such literary utopias, which recall the medieval metaphor of the 'book of the universe', illustrate a lowering in the very high status the writer had acquired during the first half of the nineteenth century, with Romanticism. The modern writer somehow 'assists' the birth of the text, or is turned into a kind of specialized 'reader' of the latencies of language. Leaving the writer out of consideration or even completely eliminating the authorial *persona* meant a strong bias of literary criticism toward 'modernist' aesthetics on the one hand,

an argument in favor of unrestricted hermeneutics of fiction or poetry on the other. 'Authorial' has often been taken to mean 'authoritative', i. e. prescribing a preferential context and strategy of interpretation.

The banishment of the author has been enacted in order to clear the way for what René Wellek called the intrinsic approach to literature, the *Textimmanenz* of German scholars such as Wolfgang Kayser. 'Within Russian Formalism and the New Criticism, anti-authorialism appeared as a reaction to biographical positivism. In order to establish a coherent field of critical study, it was necessary to extricate the literary object from the mass of biographical and psychological speculation within which it had been submerged in the homespun eclecticism of nineteenth-century criticism' (BURKE 1992: 15). 'The text in itself' is defended against biographism and psychologism by the famous denunciations of the 'intentional fallacy' (1946) and the 'affective fallacy' by WIMSATT and BEARDSLEY (1958), in terms such as 'the question of the author — along with that of the extratextual referent in general (history, society, the world) — was sidelined or bracketed as the preliminary step toward evolving a formal, internal and rhetorical approach to the text. The exclusion of the author functioned quite simply as a methodological gambit within a system which did not pose the questions of the origins and determinants of the text. The *death* or *disappearance* of the author was not at issue but rather the incompatibility of authorial categories with immanent analyses' (BURKE 1992: 16). The much more spectacular 'funerals' initiated by the French structuralists, starting with Roland Barthes' essay *La mort de l'auteur*, first published in 1968 (BARTHES 1977), were meant to wipe off the existence of the phenomenological 'subject', so that the 'death of man' could soon be proclaimed. For the literary critic, this hecatomb would facilitate the liberation of the semiotic fabric of language from any determinants whatsoever. Becoming the 'producer' of the texts read and commented-upon, the critic would paradoxically turn into an epiphany of the dead author, revived from the ashes. Eventually, 'author' and 'reader' have become banners waved by conflicting camps. Robert Crosman, for example, argues against the hermeneutics of E. D. Hirsch, Jr., which focused on the retrieval of the author's intentions, considering reader-oriented criticism the true expression of a 'democratic' standpoint. While meaning results from contextualization, it is only the reader, explains Crosman (in SULEIMAN and CROSMAN 1980: 149–164), who is authorized to provide the appropriate interpretive context.

The empirical study of literary reception may thus be situated within a larger frame of various approaches which emphasize the role of the reader. 'Ce que la science de la littérature aujourd'hui recouvre sous le terme de 'réception' est loin de correspondre à un seul et même fondement épistémologique ou à une

même éthique scientifique. La phénoménologie, l'herméneutique, la sociologie de l'esthétique ou l'étude empirique du lecteur, qui ont toutes contribué au dévelopement de la théorie de la réception dans l'espace germanophone — et qui continuent de le faire —,sont trop incompatibles, sur certains points, pour qu'on puisse les voir réunis en une seule école. Toutefois, s'il n'est pas exclu de découvrir un quelconque élément de convergence qui nous autorise à parler quand même de 'science de la réception' au sujet de toutes ces démarches différentes, je propose d'admettre provisoirement que toutes les démarches qui se réclament de la théorie de la réception ouvrent un champ dont l'objet concerne à la fois les textes (littéraires) et le lecteur des textes' (Elrud IBSCH, in ANGENNOT et al 1989: 249). During the seventies the empirical approach came to define its position, especially in Germany, in contrast with the phenomenological perspective taken up by promoters of the Constance *Rezeptionsästhetik* (Jauss, Iser, Warning, Gumbrecht) and with other related standpoints, advocated by narratologists (Wayne C. Booth, Seymour Chatman), structuralists (Jonathan Culler) or semioticians (Umberto Eco). There appeared to exist two diverging ways of conceiving the reader: one as an 'implied reader', which is a theoretical construct, a 'heuristic fiction' (CORNEA 1988: 66) to be used in text analysis, the other as a 'real reader', the flesh-and-blood person who deals or has dealt with some literary texts. The second type of reader seems much less problematic, even if his or her 'identity card' is far from being strictly accurate. It is very seldom the individual *X* or *Z* who stands for the 'real reader', much more often some group whose reading behavior is constructed by working up collected data. Readers differ a lot one from another, depending on educational level, profession, reading experience, personality etc. Even the same text read by the same person at different moments may be strikingly divergent, according to the circumstances in which it occurred. How one selects the target group to play the part of the 'real reader' in an empirical investigation, be it historical or contemporary, based on already existing data or producing them by experimental means, largely depends on the theoretical relevance which is being pursued (CORNEA 1988: 68–72).

Occasional inconsistencies in defining the 'real reader' are not in the least the only weak point of the empirical study of literature. After all, 'real' stands for something that lies beyond the compass of research. It would be utterly naive to hope that any kind of investigation might appropriate reality. The best it can do is to help us understand it. The empirical study is confronted with quite the same epistemological problems as the 'theoretical' one. Being aware of this fact, empiricists have avoided the fallacy of rejecting theory. 'The notion of 'empirical' should neither be taken as a synonym for 'observational', 'sensory' or 'sensory based' nor as a paraphrase for 'non-conceptual' or 'non-theoretical' (as the Logical Empiricists and the proponents of semantic conceptions of theo-

ries suggested). Furthermore, 'empirical' should not be mistaken for a predicate intentionally indicating something like 'brute factuality' or 'objective factuality', 'realness' or 'observer-independence'. It also seems less promising to take 'empirical' for the opposite of 'metaphysical' (as the results of the works of the Wiener Kreis demonstrate). Instead, 'empirical' should be interpreted as 'experiential' in a more complex sense of the word' (Gebhard Rusch in RUSCH 1995: 103). A similar position is advocated by Siegfried J.Schmidt (in RUSCH 1995: 112): 'The touch-stone for empirical knowledge is not ontological objectivity but reproducibility under *ceteris paribus* conditions.' The main advantage of empirical investigation techniques lies in the fact that they are able to provide 'testable knowledge'. This seems to suit better modern epistemological prerequisites, like the ones formulated by Karl Popper for example. From the point of view of the empiricist, 'theoretical' approaches to literature lack the possibility of being 'falsified'. Only empirical evidence may be used to this purpose. This is why empirical research is often directed towards testing current theories in literary scholarship. This is also one of the main reasons why many scholars mistrust or reject such investigations. 'On the one hand, many literary historians and critics formulate their claims in such a way that they can be tested in principle; moreover, literary scholars often argue with such enthusiasm about those claims that the presumption of a principle of testability is vividly dramatized. But on the other hand, when it comes to acknowledging this principle as a guideline for conducting research, then most literary scholars retreat to less well-defined positions' (STEEN 1991: 560). Therefore, if the assumption that testable knowledge is preferable to other kinds of knowledge 'is generally held in all scientific research, it [the assumption] has a funny position in literary studies' (*idem*). The controversy recalls the well-known distinction made by Dilthey between 'explanation' and 'interpretation', between *Naturwissenschaften* on the one hand and *Geisteswissenschaften* on the other.

The objections most frequently raised with regard to the empirical research of literature have been already listed by HINTZENBERG, SCHMIDT and ZOBEL (1981: 3–9). One has reproached empirical research the fact that it only confirms things already known (*Trivialitätsverdacht*) or that it needs too much effort in relation to the results it may reach (*Unangemessenheitsverdacht*). It has been asserted that it encourages the misuse of knowledge about social mechanisms (*Mißbrauchsverdacht*) or that it determines only what the subjects say and not what they may think (*Fallacy-Verdacht*). Last but not least, its projects have been criticized for their lengthiness (*Langwierigkeitsverdacht*). One can hardly deny the relevance of these objections, in spite of the counterclaims the authors I have quoted and others bring forward in defense of empirical research. It is not at all capable of 'spectacular' findings to the same degree as the speculative discourse on literature. It is very often awfully laborious, requiring team work.

It sometimes happens to yield unacceptable interpretations, mostly directed against the 'professional' standards for dealing with literature. It shows, here and there, too much self confidence in emphasizing the 'reliability' of its results and it seems far too optimistic when displaying long-term projects. In my opinion, any attempt to demonstrate the superiority of either empirical or non-empirical study of literature ends in unavoidable misunderstandings. Empirical research will never replace speculative thinking on literary topics, as literature is not only something to be investigated, but also to be 'created'. Literary criticism, history and theory play an important part in this continuous 'creation' of their own research subject. The empirical study is needed especially when hypothetical and actual values fall apart, when people, specialists or not, begin to mistrust not only current theories, but also presuppositions and implications fostered by them. It can be very useful for taking practical decisions in culture or education.

1.2. Why here? Why now?

In Romania, the empirical study of literature is almost unknown, although related attempts have not been missing completely since the late seventies. For example, a group of specialists from the Institute of Psychological and Pedagogic Research (GÎRBOVEANU et al 1980) has published a stimulating study about creativity in school, based on several tests and experiments. The authors have succeeded in proving that creativity falls down quite sharply following the beginning of each of the elementary school stages, i. e. during the 1st and the 6th form respectively (*idem*: 55–68). They have tried to develop and test various creativity training methods in order to counterbalance the presumable influence of other general teaching demands (among others: working with metaphors, with similes or with fictional narratives). As far as I know, very little has been done for the integration of such experimental devices in standard teaching methodologies. In 1980 I had the opportunity to attend a training lesson with pupils in the 2nd form and I was very surprised by the inventiveness of the 7–8 years-old children in 'playing with metaphors'.

At that time, during my studies at the Faculty of Letters in Bucharest, I was part of a research team working on experimental poetics. The team elaborated several tests and questionnaires, both in written and oral form, to be applied mainly on pupils aged 11–15, in order to investigate several general, specific (related to age and educational levels), and individual parameters of literary response. The end of the studies interrupted the processing of the data obtained, the greatest part of the research archives having got lost. I have resumed this type of research in 1990, this time from a teaching perspective, within the same faculty. I still feel attracted toward the empirical study of literature, for several

circumstantial reasons. This paper advocates the necessity for intensifying, correlating and judging more comprehensively investigations of this type, which are rather scarce, occasional and go almost unnoticed in Romania for the time being.

To support my claim I would like to dwell on two main aspects. First, experimental research can draw attention on the 'role of the reader', a topic common to several different approaches. Second, investigations could provide rich and relevant information for hot present-day discussions (e. g. the status of literature in Romanian contemporary society) and reforming the teaching system.

The 'change of paradigm' detected and anticipated by Jauss at the end of the sixties was felt very little in Romania. Researches on literary reception, be it historical or contemporary, had little echo in our country. The 'intrinsic' approach prevailed until late in the eighties with only few exceptions. Silvian IOSIFESCU (1973; 1981) and Ion VLAD (1972; 1977) discussed the act of reading and its importance for the knowledge of literature in an essayistic manner. Carmen VLAD (1982) analyzed the critical reading from a semiotic point of view. Nicolae CONSTANTINESCU (1985) investigated particular aspects of the reception of folk literature. Pavel CÂMPEANU published sociological researches on radio, TV and theater audiences (1972; 1973). Amza SĂCEANU investigated the theater audience in Bucharest (1977; 1979). A treatise on literary sociology was published by Traian HERSENI (1973). Constantin CRIȘAN (1977; 1978; 1989) and Ion Vasile ȘERBAN (1983; 1985) contributed several studies in the same research field. However, most studies in literary sociology showed no particular interest in reception, used but poor information (Lukacs, Escarpit, and Goldman were often the only reference sources), were almost exclusively theoretical, commenting upon data usually collected in France. The main concern of Romanian scholars seemed to be 'sociological criticism', a speculative form of critical discourse. One cannot avoid the impression of amateurishness and 'political correctness' when reading many of these studies, which failed to gain the deserved reputation for literary sociology in our country. Writings by L. GOLDMAN (1972) and Robert ESCARPIT (et al 1974; 1980) were translated into Romanian. Other 'classics' such as Fügen, Schücking, Lowenthal or Leenhardt have not been translated. On the whole, literary sociology was unfortunately mistaken for a reminder of the former 'sociologism' that had impoverished and distorted a great deal literary criticism during the fifties and the sixties or for a discipline that could not avoid Marxist influences. Unlike their East-German colleagues, intellectuals in Romania soon lost their confidence in Marxist philosophy — if they ever had had any. Quotations from Marx, Engels or Lenin were used more and more sparingly, in a 'ritualistic' fashion. Apparently, political authorities willingly tolerated this detachment from the ideological forefathers of communism, which could be used to the profit of a personal dictatorship.

Romanian academics and critics took but poor notice of the German *Rezeptionsästhetik*. Only the writings of Jauss appealed to a larger audience. His *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft* first appeared in Romanian as a series of fragments in the students' review *Alma mater* (Iași, 1975) eight years after its original publication, to be afterwards fully translated for the supplement *Caiete critice* of the review *Viața românească* (1980). Jauss's comprehensive volume *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik* was translated by Andrei Corbea (1983).

The *Literaturpsychologie* of Norbert GROEBEN, first published in 1972, also reached the Romanian public in the translation of Gabriel Liiceanu and Suzana Mihalescu (1978). Groeben's book could have stimulated experimental researches of literary response, had it not been too 'technical' and too concerned with 'scientific objectivity' for the taste of the Romanian scholars in the humanities of the time.

Historical studies on literary reception occasionally appeared in academic reviews (see CORNEA 1980: 58, 276). Specialists mainly focused on the analysis of critical reception. The traditional so-called 'criticism of criticism' accompanied academic editions of Romanian outstanding writers and very numerous studies in literary history. Approaches of this type were, more often than not, either documental or heuristic, the latter used mainly in order to highlight the 'novelty' of the perspective taken by the commentator. They usually proved no theoretical or methodological concerns. There were even fewer exceptions, even though noteworthy ones. Ecaterina MIHĂILĂ published a monograph on the reception of poetry (1980). *Regula jocului* by Paul CORNEA (1980) gathered several very well-informed, illuminating studies in the sociology of reading and other fields of literary reception (theory of success, theory of literary influence, theater audience etc.), regarding nineteenth century Romanian literature. Florin MANOLESCU (1983) analyzed with remarkable insight the communication strategies in the work of I. L. Caragiale, a well-known Romanian playwright and prose writer of the late nineteenth century. One issue of the review *Cahiers roumains d'études littéraires* (3/1986) dealt exclusively with literary reception. A highly perceptive systematic treatise on the theory of reading, written by Paul CORNEA (1988), marked an important starting point in Romanian literary studies of this kind.

It seems that reception studies did not fit very well into the Romanian social and cultural circumstances of the last decades. The ideological 'thaw', introduced in the late fifties, put an end to the 'proletcult' period in which literature had been almost completely subordinated to political commitments. Writers began to enjoy a relative freedom — excepting, of course, 'taboo' topics, such as attacks on the existing social and political order. The dogmatic appraisal of the Romanian literature from before communist dictatorship gradually lost

ground. Critics and writers began to emphasize the aesthetic value of literature, opposing it, most often tacitly, to its ideological manipulation. The 'aesthetic autonomy' of art and literature meant not only a rehabilitation of the 'true nature' of aesthetic experience, but also a defensive weapon against official pressures and threats. It appeared to be an effective means to safeguard free creation and interpretation. The 'intrinsic' approaches suited much better the specialists' and artists' hopes and wishes with regard to a restoration of the dignity of literature. Neither communist cultural supervisors nor intellectuals striving for an independent status were really interested in the reading audience, either past or present. Endeavors to recover the 'literary heritage', severely censored and misjudged during the fifties, had very little to do with the reconstruction of the 'original context'. With the exception of a few scholars, usually high-school teachers of literary history, most of the exegetes looked for the 'perennial' value and significance of earlier texts or, even more often, for their contemporary relevance. A collection of monographs, typical for this tendency, appeared during the seventies, reinterpreting classics of Romanian literature as 'our contemporaries'.

The cultural dirigisme that continued throughout the communist period allowed only little room for the consideration of the real wishes and expectations of the present-day reading public. The political regime that built up huge and carefully supervised propaganda networks came to pay little heed to the effectiveness of the messages it broadcasted. Propaganda agents eventually gave up their attempts at convincing their audience, being increasingly more sensitive to what their superiors would think of their work. *Mutatis mutandis*, this holds true also for writers and critics. The controlled publishing market made an accurate feed-back from the reading public quite impossible. Literary discourse aimed upwards. The response of the informal intellectual leaders weighed a great deal more than the one of the readers that the books and large circulation reviews seemed to address. The elitist pattern, which represented, in spite of its shortcomings, a sound position as far as 'cultural survival' was concerned, also encouraged a contemptuous view of popular writing. No wonder that after the fall of communism many writers and critics were puzzled by the fact that, with the unrestricted freedom of speech came the loss of much of the esteem in which writings of aesthetic value had been held, and many readers turned away from literature for a while. Some intellectuals blamed the outpouring of trivial and trashy publications on the book free market, showing now and then bits of nostalgia for a 'cultural' censorship. Voices have been heard that deplored the 'betrayal of the reading public'. It is hard to believe that the readership completely changed in the course of a few weeks or months. It would be fairer to admit that the image writers and critics had of it was a rather deceptive one. It is my conviction that no serious discussion of the role and status of literature in present-day Romania could be carried on without an equally serious analysis of the reading public.

Paying attention to readers and reception would certainly refresh the academic manner of dealing with literature. The adoption of the contextualist view, mentioned in the beginning of this essay, is not just a matter of keeping up with the general trend, even if the advantages of speaking the same language with theorists and critics abroad are not to be underestimated. The contextualist view is required by internal factors that resemble more or less the initial circumstances of its coming to the fore elsewhere. Whether we like it or not, the democratization of reading already works upon cultural and educational institutions: publishing houses, bookshops, reviews, magazines, newspapers, schools and universities. The literary canon has become more uncertain and less compelling than ever. A central problem is the revision of the hierarchies established during the last five decades. Some critics hold this revision for an urgent task, others firmly deny its usefulness. The necessity of reevaluating Romanian literature goes back beyond the communist period. There is much more at stake than simply rehabilitating censored genres — e.g. religious literature —, authors, or writings banished because of political convictions and statements. The critical interrogation of the canon implies rethinking some basic questions: how should we regard literature *per se*? How should we deal with the history of Romanian literature? The understanding and the appraisal of the works of the past cannot be isolated from the present-day turmoil in studies of Romanian socio-political and cultural history. It is probably true that general history has been manipulated by the ideological dogmas of nationalist communism to a much higher degree than the literary one. The preference for text-immanent approaches must have played its part in keeping earlier literature safe from ideological distortions as much as possible. An activist position, such as many literary critics and historians require nowadays, especially in the United States, used to be equated with an opportunistic, collaborationist stance. Romanian specialists in literature did not ignore the crisis of literary history largely discussed in Western countries during the sixties. They took notice of René Wellek's famous aporia that epitomized the dilemmas of the discipline: 'Most of the great histories of literature are either histories of civilization, or collections of critical essays. The former are not histories *of art*; the latter are not *histories* of art '(WELLEK and WARREN 1967: 334). But the only way out of the aporia acknowledged in the Romanian humanities seemed to be a historical standpoint akin to the theory of the relatively autonomous cultural series elaborated by the Russian formalists. It is high time that literature recovered its place within history. Besides 'creation', literature has been always 'communication', too, participating in a larger confrontation of values.

Empirical investigations into literary response may have particular relevance for teaching activities. They may provide useful guidelines for the reform of the teaching system in progress in Romania. Curricula and school books for Romanian language and literature have been extensively discussed during the

past few years. Debates have been stirred by the pressing necessity of waving propaganda texts and discredited authors from former school books and curricula. Further reflections on this very delicate subject of school canonization did not go far beyond the first impulse. Controversies focused almost exclusively on priorities regarding writers and texts: what or whom should be included or omitted from curricula and school books. The criteria to be used for making such choices remained unclear up to the present, except for the frequently mentioned 'aesthetic value'.

The authors of one of the most difficult new school books of Romanian language and literature, that for the 12th form which comprises the period after World War II, explicitly refer to the attempt of building a 'school canon' (GRIGOR et al 1993: 3) and to the unavoidable relativity of their enterprise, one which overlaps the natural lack of critical consensus. It is obvious that the authors have tried to conceive a history of Romanian literature as balanced as possible in its selections and commentaries. But a school book is not the same with a literary history. Should a school book mainly enable pupils to follow and to understand the evolution of Romanian literature, or should it rather mainly stimulate literary taste and specific reading abilities, using Romanian (possibly also foreign) works as a means to this end? What is the main objective: to provide pupils with the instruments that will enable them to enjoy and read various kinds of literary works in an appropriate manner, irrespective of their origin, during their study years as well as later on, or teach them how to judge and appreciate the values of Romanian literature? Certainly, the two aspects do not exclude one another. They are not contradictory. A clear idea about the priorities to be followed would be, in my opinion, nevertheless, a very helpful guideline for the teaching reform. I also consider too strong an emphasis on 'national values' to be counter-productive, deviating from more important educational purposes. It strikes me, for example, that even new curricula for elementary school justify their project mainly in terms of national values, although they do not follow the principle of historical presentation, include additional foreign texts, pay more attention to adequacy criteria with respect to age and educational level and are more strictly oriented toward formative goals. 'Romanian language and literature, a major component of pre-university teaching, shapes the personality of the pupils by offering them a cultural model: that of Romanian spirituality', and other similar remarks, equally vague and emphatic, can be read in the preface to the curriculum for the elementary school (from the 5th to the 8th form), entitled 'Romanian language — a fundamental mode of expression of the national culture' (GOT et al 1994: 4).

In my view, the educational canon for literature cannot be restricted to the corpus of authors and works to be taught in school. Besides the corpus, it includes three other important components: the reading abilities, the critical abilities and

the aesthetic, literary and educational presuppositions preponderantly selected, induced, or recommended when teaching Romanian language and literature.

It is not my intention to discuss at length the 'canonical problem'. To mention that such a discussion never took place in Romania until a few years ago will do for the purpose. There are but few intellectuals in Romania nowadays to doubt the legitimacy of a 'sound' canon that would corroborate the examinations of the most authorized critics, even if an agreement among experts looks highly improbable. In teaching, the canonical question has different implications. The main problem is to evaluate the effectiveness of canonical choices with respect to intended purposes. In other words: how can we optimize pupils' reading behavior? It is highly significant, in my opinion, that the ongoing reform of the teaching system has, so far, ignored almost completely those towards whom it is directed: the pupils themselves. We may cherish our thoughts about the ideal graduate, but how much do we know about the real students? An informed empirical study of present canonical teaching strategies and their influence on pupils' reading behavior would be highly rewarding. Another very useful research would investigate the relations between school readings and private readings. Do they overlap or do they split? What would pupils like to read during the classes? How could we help them make the right choices? A lot of questions mark out a very large research field.

The present paper focuses on an experiment of a narrower scope. I hope that some of my readers will find it stimulating. One of the main problems of any research is that it needs a scientific community of specialists who share similar study interests, speak a common language, and are able to link the new information to that already existing and thus evaluate the relevance of the results. Such a community of scholars practicing empirical approaches is by no means influential in Romania. It is one of the reasons which prompted me to make the presentation of the experiment less technical and to add here and there explanatory excursuses.

2. 'Literariness' Criteria Experiment

Most people seem to believe they have a clear-cut notion of 'literature' in the modern sense of the word, namely as an aesthetic form of linguistic communication. However, such conviction is, more or less, the product of a permanent contextual orientation by means of school books, genre specifications on the cover or the first page of books, oral or written reading recommendations, magazine headings, prior knowledge about an author, about a book collection or even a publishing house, and so on. The situation in which people begin to read some text in order to guess what kind of text they are reading is highly

improbable in everyday life. In practice, discriminating between the literary and the non-literary is much like finding one's way when driving on the highway: the most important thing is to follow the traffic signs. When confronted with unfamiliar types of texts, accompanied by no signals whatsoever with regard to their destination, most people probably begin to hesitate. In spite of the signalization system, there has never been total agreement on what is literary and what is not.

Moreover, 'literariness' seems to be rather a scalar notion: texts are judged as being 'more' or 'less' or 'not at all' literary. Theorists have repeatedly tried to identify the salient features of texts — be these features aesthetic, linguistic, pragmatic etc. — which would enable us to define literature. Are these intentional definitions clear enough to stand the test of the extension consensus? Do people adhere, even if intuitively, to similar definitions?

Such questions may look tedious. To speak about 'definition', 'intention', or 'extension' with regard to literature seems to partake of an obsolete essentialist way of thinking. How we define literature might be irrelevant, indeed. What matters is how we understand it and, above all, how we experience it. This is exactly the point. My assumption is that people do have an intuitive notion of what literature should be like, and that this notion is closely related to their reading expectations, options, strategies and estimations.

2.1. Design of the experiment

The experiment was devised during the first term of the 1990–1991 academic year in a seminar about reception theories for the third study year at the Faculty of Letters in Bucharest. It was intended as a means of investigation as well as a teaching instrument. The students grew familiar with basic problems of empirical research, learned how to handle them, became aware of the profits and shortcomings of this type of study. The experiment was carried on, from the very beginning up to the end, as a team work with the seminar group of students and my colleague, Rodica Zafiu, from the Department of Romanian Language. It aimed at revealing: a) what kind of texts first-grade students of the Faculty of Letters judge as literary or non-literary, and b) on what grounds. The experiment was performed in spring 1991. The results were published in 'Analele Universității București' (CONSTANTINESCU et al 1991: 57–68).

In the spring of 1996, I repeated the experiment, with minor modifications, on a similar group of subjects, trying to find out whether any significant differences had appeared in the meantime. Five years is undoubtedly too short a time for basic changes to occur in what people believe literature should be like. Still, since Romania has underwent deep changes in political and social life

during these past few years, it was to be expected that aesthetic behavior and literary reading in particular have also been modified.

I am most grateful to some of my former students, Romanița Constantinescu, Andreea Deciu, and Mihai Giurgea, who collaborated in the first phase of the experiment, and to Andreea Ciotec and Bogdan Ciubuc, who helped me a lot in carrying out the second phase.

2.2. The experiment

Subjects were given a small collection of short texts of various types and were asked to decide whether they held each text to be literary or non-literary and to briefly justify their options.

2.2.1. Stimuli

Stimulus texts were chosen quite freely. It was decided to present subjects with a wide variety of texts rather than with samples selected according to a strict schema of contrasting features (e.g. fictional vs. non-fictional, figurative vs. non-figurative and so on). We agreed not to start from a preconceived set of criteria to be tested, in order to allow the experiment a higher degree of complexity. The final selection, which was used for the experiment, comprised 10 short texts or text fragments, some of them with strongly marked features (e.g. T1: metaphors, condensation; T6: syntactic deviance, semantic opacity; T9: pseudo-language; T4: scientific discourse; T3: advertising), others representing typological overlaps, peripheral or equivocal kinds of discourse (e.g. T5: light verse about gastronomy; T10: apparently an encoded telegram) in order to stimulate confrontation or refinement of criteria. A literal translation and a brief description of each text is given in Appendix 1. The relevance of the experiment may be best judged in relation to the stimulus texts.

To ensure that the entire collection of texts could be read within a brief time, only short and very short texts have been selected. With the exception of T2 1991, especially written by one of the students, all other texts have been chosen from different sources. To us, the use of ready-made texts rather than the creation of new ones was no clue whatsoever as regards their 'literariness'. The radical displacement and modification of the text samples (elimination of the title; fragmentary excerpts; disappearance of the original context; re-contextualization alongside with the other texts) and the reading situation created by the experiment allowed the interpretation of responses independently of the stimuli sources. We also tried to select texts which (or the sources of which) could not be easily

recognized. Several texts in the collection were obviously fragmentary. Subjects were thus invited to ground their options concerning 'literariness' in the attempt of figuring out what kind of larger texts these fragments could be a part of. To a certain extent, *every* text sample may be considered fragmentary, even if it lacks only the title or a genuine communication context. We found no alternative for avoiding this dilemma, caused by the 'artificial' character of the experiment itself. In the second phase, I tried to enlarge the tasks, in order to attenuate this shortcoming (see below, 2.2.3.).

In 1996 T2 was replaced with a very short narrative by Dino Buzzati, which I found to be quite challenging.

2.2.2. Subjects

We tested first-year students of the Faculty of Letters in Bucharest, during their second term, in spring 1991 (37 students), and 1996 respectively (46 students).

This target group was chosen for several reasons. First of all, we found it worth knowing what kind of expectations students had about literature at the beginning of their philological studies. This could also be relevant for the prevailing mental constructs with respect to literature which they had acquired during and owing to their high-school education or by means of their preparation for the admission examination (universities in Romania have *numerus clausus* and candidates to matriculation must stand a sometimes very demanding competitive examination). Such data seemed to be very useful for the orientation of the teaching. Besides, it was a promising prospect to find out whether young people who had decided to become 'specialists' in literature shared some up-to-date beliefs with contemporary writers and critics or whether they tended to prefer older aesthetic standpoints. This seemed all the more interesting as a wide confrontation of aesthetic options started in Romania during the 80s, in which 'modernist' older generations were challenged by the 'post-modernist' younger ones. We also expected the experiment to indicate the extent to which young specialists, just joining the field, were contemporary to this evolution.

It would nevertheless be arbitrary, in my opinion, to hold the investigated students as representative for some other, larger groups of population. The experiment can only provide some clues in this respect, to be tested by future research.

2.2.3. Tasks

Subjects were asked to read carefully each text in the collection they were presented, to indicate if they considered the text to be literary or not, and to briefly justify each answer. A multiple choice form with four answers, **YES, PROBABLY**

YES, PROBABLY NOT, NO was provided for the first task (which I shall further on call LITERARINESS OPTIONS) for each text. The JUSTIFICATIONS were freely phrased by the subjects.

In addition to this, subjects in 1996 had to specify in the case of each text sample whether they considered it to be a text or a text fragment (TEXTUALITY OPTIONS). The same multiple choice form as for the LITERARINESS OPTIONS was used. Finally, they were asked on what terms a text or a text fragment can be considered, in their opinion, literary (EXPLANATIONS).

In both phases of the experiment subjects were invited to use pseudonyms. They were given one hour and a half to finish their tasks.

Excursus

One can distinguish in the empirical research of literary reception two main types of experiments. On the one hand, there are the text-oriented experiments, based on the assumption that the texts one has to deal with represent the main stimulus that determines the response. On the other hand, there are also situation-oriented investigations, that attempt to prove that the texts play but a secondary role, if any. Crucial to the behavior of the subjects is the situational context which is built in the experiment. Both types of research must, of course, take into account the existence of additional individual variables, that one would try to neutralize when interested in results of sociological kind (group characteristics) or to isolate and to highlight when interested in data of psychological nature such as reader typology or aspects of the reading process. Researches in the second category became much more popular after the famous experiment of Stanley Fish, who presented his students with a list of names of literary and religious scholars pretending it were a poem they had to interpret and comment upon, which the students did with considerable success. This led FISH (1980 : 326) to the conclusion that 'It is not that the presence of poetic qualities compels a certain kind of attention but that the paying of a certain kind of attention results in the emergence of poetic qualities.' The advocates of this standpoint, called by some theorists 'radical conventionalism', would claim that 'there is nothing in the textual surface structure to constrain interpretation' (ZWAAN 1993 : 9), an assumption with plenty of theoretical as well as practical drawbacks that 'moderate conventionalists' such as Siegfried T. Schmidt or Jonathan Culler tried to avoid by accepting 'that the application of reading conventions can be triggered by linguistic signals' (ZWAAN 1993 : 11). The most elaborate study I know that attempts to bridge the gap between the two types of empirical research, the role of both textual and contextual variables, is that of Petra HOFFSTAEDTER (1986 ; very good summary in HOFFSTAEDTER 1987).

My study belongs to the first category. Still, the JUSTIFICATIONS and especially the EXPLANATIONS provide relevant data about the way subjects activate current conventions concerning 'literariness'. As for the last task, I was very much interested in the students' awareness as to the conventional character of the criteria they were asked to specify.

2.3. Experiment interpretation

The interpretation of the experiment consists in: 1) analysis and comparative rating of the LITERARINESS OPTIONS; 2) analysis and rating of the criteria used for JUSTIFICATIONS; 3) analysis and rating of the criteria used for EXPLANATIONS; 4) final remarks. Extensive quantitative information is provided in Appendices 2–4.

2.3.1. Analysis of the OPTIONS

The main quantitative information is shown in the following tables:

TABLE 1. Comparative rating of positive (**Yes + Probably yes**) LITERARINESS OPTIONS 1991–1996 (%):

TEXT		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		+!		+!!	-!	+!!	-!	+!!	-!!!	
1991	Y+Py	88.2	00.0	17.6	47.2	84.8	31.4	73.5	35.1	56.3
1996	Y+Py	91.1	15.2	10.9	72.7	73.8	52.2	62.2	60.0	23.9

Y = **Yes**; Py = **Probably yes**
! = +/- 10...19 %; !! = +/- 20...29 %; !!! = +/- >29%
Average: 1991: 48.2 %; 1996: 51.2 %

TABLE 2. Comparative rating of negative (**No + Probably Not**) LITERARINESS OPTIONS 1991–1996 (%):

TEXT		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1991	N+Pn	11.8	100.	82.4	52.8	15.2	68.6	26.5	64.9	43.7
1996	N+Pn	08.9	84.8	89.1	27.3	26.2	47.8	37.8	40.0	76.1

N = **No**; Pn = **Probably not**

TABLE 3. 'Indecision' (**Probably yes** + **Probably not**) comparative rating of LITERARINESS OPTIONS 1991–1996 (%):

TEXT		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1991	PyPn	32.3	17.6	26.5	61.1	24.2	45.7	52.9	51.3	46.9
1996	PyPn	24.4	23.9	17.4	47.7	47.7	50.0	62.2	65.7	34.8

Average: 1991: 39.8 %; 1996: 41.5 %

TABLE 4. Comparative ranking of LITERARINESS OPTIONS 1991–1996

	Y	Y	N	N	Y+Py	Y+Py	Py+Pn	Py+Pn
	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996
1	T1	T1	T3	T4	T1	T1	T5	T9
2	T6	T6	T4	T3	T6	T6	T8	T8
3	T8	T5	T9	T10	T8	T5	T9	T7
4	T10	T8	T7	T7	T10	T8	T10	T6/T5
5	T7	T7	T10	T9	T5	T9	T7	T6/T5
6	T5	T9	T5	T5	T9	T7	T1	T10
7	T9	T10T3	T8	T8	T7	T10	T4	T1
8	T4	T10T3	T6	T6	T4	T3	T6	T3
9	T3	T4	T1	T1	T3	T4	T3	T4

The overall quantitative variation of LITERARINESS OPTIONS is almost insignificant. A very slight increase of the '(probably) literary' estimations (2.1 %) and of the 'indecision' rate (1.7 %) can be noticed.

Significant variations appear, nevertheless, in estimations of individual texts.

Strange enough, out of the two 'norm texts' which should have elicited, in accordance to our expectations, the most obvious LITERARINESS OPTIONS within the group of subjects, T3 and T4 (the advertising text and the scientific statement), T4 was taken to a larger extent for '(probably) literary' in 1991 (+ 17.6 %, out of which 14.7 % **Probably yes** OPTIONS), while none of the subjects took T3 for '(probably) literary'. It seems that the highly abstract meaning of T4 and its neologistic language were perceived as marks of a certain intellectual

'elevation', which could be occasionally associated with 'literature'. In 1996, T4 reached the first place for 'non-literary' and the lowest indecision rate (17.4 %). T3 obtained, in spite of its obvious utilitarian destination, its trivial message and its everyday language, 6.5 % **Yes** and 8.7 % **Probably yes** OPTIONS for 'literary' and an indecision rate of 23.9 %, which is just as much as T1, the text which ranked first, in 1996 as well as in 1991, in the top of both absolute and overall positive LITERARINESS OPTIONS. Other statistical data indicate that thematic and stylistic 'elevation' has lost ground in the second phase of the experiment. T5 registers in 1996 25.5 % more overall positive OPTIONS and the hesitations are 13.4 % lower than in 1991. The agglomeration of exact measurements in the description of Böll's character, in T7, appeared less embarrassing to subjects in 1996 than it did in 1991. T7 got + 24.9 % '(probably) literary'. Nevertheless, doubting estimations of T7 were slightly more numerous (+ 4.3 %) in 1996, going up from the 5th to the 3rd place.

The LITERARINESS OPTIONS formulated in connection with T2 in 1991 seem to contradict the explanations I have suggested. The 'ordinary' subject matter of the short narrative did not prevent many students from choosing '(probably) literary' (75.5 %, 3rd or 4th place, same ranking as T8; 32.2 % absolute positive OPTIONS, 44.1 % indecision, a middle value). It was due to the elaborate aspect of the text, ironically leading towards the final wit, with an emphatic use of bathos, that T2 received so generous estimations. T2 1996, the effect of which was not in the least as transparent as that of the previous T2, scored only 26.6 % absolute and 66.6 % overall positive OPTIONS and a higher indecision rate (60.0 %). It is worth noting that T2 1996 was considered by 66.6 % of the subjects '(probably) a text fragment'. The JUSTIFICATIONS point out that the students were very little aware of the possible symbolic connotations of the 'closed' story. They rather looked for signs of literariness in the very manner of narrating or in presumptive contextualizations.

On the whole, it may be concluded that the variations analyzed indicate a more flexible approach to the hierarchical structure of literature. The current opposition between 'high' and 'low' forms of literature seems weaker in 1996 than in 1991. Stylistic characteristics such as the ones of T1 (see Appendix 1; also semantic vagueness, existential significance emotionally colored by an acknowledged lyrical mood) continue to reign supreme. Still, the acceptance of literary values beyond 'elevation' and 'esoteric' (depth and richness of meaning) has certainly increased. Even rudimentary criteria such as prosody gained weight in 1996 (T3, T5).

Excursus

Some further research contrasting different levels of literature could bring more relevant evidence in this respect. The internal hierarchy of the literary field in modern times has been a very controversial problem also from a theoretical point of view over the last decades. A clear discrimination and

description of the levels of literature — as clear as, for example, the ancient theory of the three styles — can hardly be attained. The partial overlap of literature's vertical structuring with the genre system is also confusing. The terminology, especially for designating the 'inferior' literary forms, lacks precision and agreement: 'low', 'popular', 'trivial', 'light' literature, 'Unterhaltungsliteratur', 'Trivialliteratur', 'Konsumliteratur', 'Konformliteratur', 'Kolportageliteratur' (LINK 1976: 64). There is no consensus even about the number of levels to be taken into consideration, not to mention the identity and the denomination of these. A very influential dictionary of literature by Gero von Wilpert defined Unterhaltungsliteratur (5th edition, 1969) as '...die Zwischenstufe zwischen hoher Dichtung oder Kunstlit., die allein an künstlerischen Ansprüchen zu messen ist und Trivialliteratur als e. lit. wertlosen, nur soziologisch interessanten Phänomen...' (apud BORGMEIER 1977: 19; for a three-level description see also LINK 1976: 64–80). Other theorists and critics chose to differentiate only two levels, the one of 'canonical' literature, the other comprising works which are accepted as 'literature' in a broad sense but remain outside the canon. 'So bezeichnet etwa der Terminus Trivialliteratur Werke, die im weiteren Sinne 'literarisch' sind, aber nicht zum Kanon gezählt werden, wie zum Beispiel Kriminal- und Liebesromane oder Gedichte, die in sehr auflagestarken Zeitschriften erscheinen' (HAWTHORN 1994: 157). The critical tradition used to ignore these lower levels of literature, if not to warn the readers against them by epithets such as 'trashy' (Schundliteratur) or 'kitsch'. It has remained a commonplace that various vertical divisions are primarily based on evaluative, not on descriptive criteria. ''Trivialliteratur' bezeichnet keine strukturell abgrenzbare eigene 'Literatur', sondern bedeutet eine vor allem an literarischer Funktion und Wirkung orientierte Wertung von Literatur' (WALDMANN 1973: 7). The hierarchical structuring of literature takes various forms, according to some specific oppositions: written / spoken, sacred / profane, educated / uneducated, poetic / non-poetic, superior / inferior from a social point of view (MARINO 1987: 351–363). The rehabilitation of previously despised or even incriminated forms of literature during the last decades, alongside with the 'canonical battle', reinforced, among others, the awareness that the ups and downs of the inner hierarchy are tightly connected with historical widenings and narrowings of the notion of literature itself. 'Solche neuen Ausdrücke [wie Trivialliteratur] kamen auf, da der Begriff 'Literatur' im Laufe der Zeit eine Veränderung durchmachte; aus einer sehr allgemeinen Bezeichnung wurde ein sehr viel engerer und — etwa von Kritikern wie F.R.Leavis — nur sehr selektiv verwendeter Begriff. In jüngster Zeit kann man allerdings auch die entgegengesetzte Tendenz beobachten, weg von einer elitären Begriffsverengung hin zu einem viel weiteren Begriff' (HAWTHORN 1994: 157).

The tendency toward a more permissive notion of literature was confirmed by our experiment. Even though this was a highly probable development, it was not in the least self-evident. Nowadays many writers are still confused in Romania because of the changes in the reading public which have occurred during the past few years (decades?), and would hardly accept them as a matter of fact. Beside, the teaching of literature, both at school level and, to a lesser extent, at academic level, hardly takes notice of this reality.

It is very difficult to decide when this widening of the notion of literature began — and the lack of empirical evidence is, after all, a factor. In my opinion, one can trace it back as far as the end of the seventies. Some reference points mark out this process: the gradual growth of interest and delight in the playfulness of literature and the weakening of central criteria of literariness, 'fiction' and 'diction' according to GENETTE (1994); an increasing success of non-fictional, 'border' genres such as diaries, memoirs, letters, biographies, stories which resemble a lot reports from everyday life on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the employment of prosaic, non-metaphoric modes of expression in poetry. These characteristics led several critics to compare the literary tendencies of the eighties with the avant-garde movements between the two World Wars. The revival of the avant-garde was certainly not what was happening, yet, in the eighties, younger generations of writers waged a similar attack on the established image and notion of literature. The concern for 'post-modernism' and for the change of paradigm this term was supposed to epitomize also awoke during the 80s in Romania. The 'transcendental' view of literature and the doctrine of aesthetic autonomy which had dominated the sixties and the seventies, casting a bridge toward the 'Great Tradition' of the Romanian literature from before World War II, began to lose ground.

It is not my intention to judge, one way or another, the changes in literary conceptions and taste which I have briefly commented upon here. My only claim is that one should no longer act as if they did not exist, especially in those fields where 'strategic' decisions are to be taken. Should one stress the importance of the Great Tradition, of 'canonical' aesthetics, in order to counterbalance the gradual dissipation of literature and the increasing indistinctiveness of the aesthetic response literature is meant to elicit, or should one endeavor to bridge the gap between what and how people are told to read as literature and what and how they tend to read on their own? No empirical research in itself could provide an answer to these questions. Unsystematic information, gathered from teaching experience, should rather suggest a troublesome amount of hypocrisy in literary responses of students during school or high-school education.

The more permissive notion of literature does not necessarily imply the acquisition of a sensibly higher rate of positive OPTIONS in the second phase of the experiment. The greatest variation is, on the contrary, a negative one (T10), while the average rate of the estimations of literariness remains almost the same. The variations regarding T10, T6 and T9 may be accounted for in terms of willingness for interpretation. Density, obscurity and ambiguity of meaning, up to a certain limit, are often associated with 'literature'. The problem is, in how far are literary works accepted to force the limits of comprehensibility? What is the borderline between 'literature' and 'nonsense'? There is no simple answer to such questions. The degree of tolerance depends on several factors, such as text type (genre, in a broad sense: surrealist poetry, *nouveau roman* and so on), general and specific aesthetic norms, individual or group reading styles and preferences, previous literary experience etc. In particular, such factors may influence the readers' choice, when alternative interpretive strategies are available, for the simpler or for the more complex ones.

Excursus

It has been noticed often enough that literary works, especially modern ones, take advantage of a more general habit in human communication, namely the receiver's inclination to try by all means to make sense out of a message, however obscure, intricate, unusual or surprising this may be. First of all, people engaged in communication usually share the presupposition that, if somebody has formulated and delivered a message, it must have been intended to mean something. In order that communication work properly, the receiver should try to interpret the message as correctly as possible, even when this proves to be a strenuous job. The receiver may also choose to step out of the game without infringing upon the bona fide *condition of communication partnership. He or she may reject the message altogether, considering that it is not worth taking pains to find out what it means. We usually avoid to declare some message nonsensical, unless we imply either some accident in its production or transmission, or some communication deficiency in the sender.*

Literature has acquired a different status in this respect. Literature grants the reader wider interpretive freedom and stimulates him or her to take full advantage of this liberty. Literary hermeneutics are both 'looser' and 'tenser'. The problematic nature of literary communication led many theorists to the conclusion that literature can be defined as a special sort of language. Many attempts have been made to explain literariness by finding out salient features, be they structural or functional, to be contrasted with other types of discourse. In the last decades it has been claimed, for example, that literature systematically infringes upon the Cooperative Principle and the conversation

maxims that are, according to the philosopher H. P. GRICE (1975), basic rules of 'ordinary' communication, which is tantamount to saying that literature brings about some sort of 'negative discourse', an idea which tempted several speech act philosophers. Other analysts consider Grice's maxims to be rather irrelevant for literature, which follows its own principles (SCHMIDT 1980: 152–159). There are also linguists who think that literary communication functions according to rules that neither contradict nor replace the ones of ordinary communication. From the point of view of Mary Louise Pratt, the characteristics of literature could be accounted for by 'adjusting' the maxims of Grice (PRATT 1977: 147).

Anyway, when reading literary texts the original intention does no longer represent a strong requirement of communication. Modern authors have often declared that they themselves did not know what they meant in their writings, or else they provided interpretations which seemed less satisfactory than those provided by their readers. Modern works in particular present themselves as 'interpretive offers'. The reader is, in most cases, aware of this 'convention' and chooses to act accordingly. He or she may occasionally find a text 'too sophisticated' for his or her taste and give up trying to interpret it or even to read it further. The individual response is backed up by personal judgment. But the reader may also cease trying to grasp the meaning of a text considered 'sheer nonsense'. This judgment is supposed to have inter-subjective relevance. The willingness to collaborate is determined both by subjective factors (one's likes and dislikes, skills and incapacities) and by beliefs and expectations about the 'rules of the game'.

T10 contains contradicting signals that point towards different interpretive keys (see Appendix 1): it looks like a telegram, but a very unusual one. Most of the subjects in 1996 (76.1 %) decided to take T10 for '(probably) non-literary', with a fairly low indecision rate (34.8 %, 6th place). The overall positive OPTIONS diminished by 32.4 %, the hesitations by 11.1 % compared to 1991. The possible cultural, symbolic connotations were almost completely ignored in 1996. Very few students tried to imagine metaphorical scenarios which might have rendered the text meaningful.

The interpretation I suggest may seem far-fetched, were it not supported by the JUSTIFICATIONS on the one hand, by other variations of OPTIONS on the other. Very frequently, the subjects reconciled the conflicting interpretive signals by declaring the text an 'encoded telegram'. This was an easy way to escape hermeneutic dilemmas, crediting the final information in T10.

The variations of the OPTIONS for T6 and T9 provide some additional clues. Both texts are samples of experimental poetry. Only one student, in 1996, detected the palindrome structure of T6. It was hard to expect that many subjects would

notice this unusual formal pattern: who starts to read a text backwards without being invited to do so? Still, T6 received in 1991 a very high positive evaluation (2nd place after T1, 84.8 % in all) and a very low rate of indecision (24.2 %, 8th place, less than T1). 63.6 % of the subjects chose **Yes**, quite as many as the ones who thought T1 was surely literary. Only 40.9 % selected **Yes** in 1996, the overall positive OPTIONS were 11 % lower than in 1991. Surprisingly, overall positive evaluations of T9 went up (+ 24.9 % compared to 1991). A correction must be made here. Not only an increase of 14.4 % doubt ran parallel to the one of positive choices, but also a considerable amount of invalid OPTIONS (i. e. more or less than a single selection: 11 out of 46, which means 23.9 %). It is sure that T9 caused the highest confusion in the whole experiment. The 51.4 % 'vote' for **Probably yes** was 'negative', yielding to literature a graphemic structure that seemed to find its place nowhere else. Very many subjects justified their option emphasizing formal aspects of T9. Some of them mentioned 'hermetic', 'dadaist' or 'avant-garde' poetry. Interestingly, the latter two appeared also in the JUSTIFICATIONS of relative (2) or absolute (2) negative OPTIONS. Most of the subjects complained of the incomprehensibility of T9. Seven subjects thought of the possibility that T9 had been written in some unknown 'foreign language'. All of them found the text 'probably literary'. Other 6 subjects spoke of a 'code' or 'cypher' in relation to negative OPTIONS or to no option at all. Only one selected **Probably yes**, asking rhetorically: 'What is literature after all if not *a code*?!?'

In brief, willingness for interpretive endeavors has diminished. Tolerance for textual eccentricities originates very often in naive motivations.

Significant variations may be noticed also in the estimations of T7, T5 and T8. In order to be able to explain these changes more precisely, let us have a look at the JUSTIFICATIONS the experiment required. But first, some additional remarks on this point.

Not only the variations, but also the constancy of OPTIONS may be relevant for the scope and the kind of changes the experiment aimed to detect. Variations were lowest in the case of T1 and T4, both of which are texts that rank as extremes (T4 the last but one in 1991, the last in 1996). This shows that one should be careful not to overestimate the extent of the changes the experiment points out. More evident differences appear in relation to texts which, in 1991, reached middle positions and a relatively high rate of indecision (T10, T5, T9, T7). The clearest marks of literariness and non-literariness remained the same.

Valuable additional information may also be obtained by analyzing TEXTUALITY OPTIONS. Some of these help us understand better the prototypical readings of certain texts. A fairly large number of subjects (35.5 %) thought T7 to be a complete text, 13.3 % being even sure of that, in spite of the conspicuous reference to a larger context ('co-text' might say some linguists, in

order to distinguish it from 'situational context', i.e. circumstances of communication) from the very beginning. The fact that T7 is a character presentation abounding in very precise details made some subjects perceive it as a self-sufficient discourse. This 'informational saturation' seems to have blocked out further insights into the point of view or mode of presentation. T7 received in 1991 a low percentage of positive evaluations of LITERARINESS, only 17.1 % **Yes** and 14.3 % **Probably yes**. Very few students grasped the ironic combination of stylistic variants, the Victorian-like novelistic writing on the one hand, the routine schematism of personal records on the other. T7 was the most relevant test of the low receptivity subjects had for 'post-modernist' fiction. Some of them were so confused, that they believed T7 to be part of a book review or commentary, although it remained hard to guess where the critic or the reviewer could have picked up the information from, if not out of the book itself. Students in 1996 were statistically keener to judge the unfamiliar fictional mode of T7, but things did not radically change. Only a slight majority, 52.2 %, agreed that T7 was or could be literary.

75.5 % of the subjects considered T1 '(probably) a text fragment', more than a half thought it was a text fragment for certain. Only one subject identified a one-verse poem, a poetic pattern that is quite uncommon, yet several respondents made sensitive remarks to justify their OPTIONS for '(probably) an autonomous text': completeness, independence and condensation of meaning, complete structure (beginning, middle and end), complete image, aspect of adage or aphorism, elliptical, concentrated expression. On the whole, the very high rate of positive LITERARINESS OPTIONS was based very little on the consideration that T1 looked like a shorter poem, much more on the identification of certain characteristics proper to the poetic style.

2.3.2. Analysis of the JUSTIFICATIONS

The way subjects justified their choices is one of the most interesting aspects of the experiment. Unfortunately, it was very difficult to systemize and to work out the results in order to obtain clear, relevant quantitative information.

Two types of major difficulties appeared in the data processing as early as the first phase of the experiment already, the ones in the transformation of the syntactic, propositional form used for formulating the JUSTIFICATIONS into a paradigmatic set of items, the others in grouping the resulting items in a classificatory system. A mixed procedure, both deductive and inductive, was used to elaborate the taxonomic pattern. Theoretical suggestions were taken from PLETT (1983), MARKIEWICZ (1988), CORNEA (1988), and JAKOBSON (1964). We were aware of the fact that 'the eclecticism of the resulting system reflects the diversity and the lack of homogeneity of the criteria in use' (CONSTANTINESCU et al 1991: 59). The theoretical frame was adjusted after some informal

examination of the JUSTIFICATIONS. As for the syntactic problems, the most embarrassing ones were raised by the use of the same criteria in different relations to the stimulus texts. 'Figurative language', for example, was used to motivate not only the literary character of a certain text, but also the absence of figures of speech was mentioned to demonstrate the non-literary character of some other text (EX CONTRARIO reasoning). Some criteria also appeared in concessive phrasings, that would have justified rather the opposite of the OPTION made by the respondent: 'This cooking recipe, although shallow and funny, has literary qualities' (T5). These OPPOSITIONS in reasoning, expressed in a lot of syntactic forms ('in spite of', 'but', 'yet', 'still', 'although', 'nevertheless' etc.) were registered apart. In the tables in Appendix 4 they were added to the criteria used affirmatively, not to overload the information.

The tables in Appendix 4 show the occurrences of the main types of criteria in relation to OPTIONS and to the stimulus texts. They illustrate only the first level of the classifier system, that permits a large survey of the quantitative variations. The very general information, compacted in only five columns, needs further specification.

The complete classificatory system had three levels. Here is a brief description of it.

A.: 'empirical' criteria, based on analogy, resemblance or recognition of:
- **1.** text (T1: 'It reminds me of Arghezi's *Inscripții* <Inscriptions>)
- **2.** author (T8: 'The author tries to catch up with Caragiale')
- **3.** acknowledged literary text types (border genres included: 'poem', 'haiku', 'novel', 'epigram', 'fable', 'parody' 'S.F. work' etc.)
- **4.** acknowledged non-literary text types ('advertising text', 'telegram', 'newspaper article', 'book review', 'cooking book' etc.)
- **5.** discourse types (such as narrative, descriptive, argumentative)
- **6.** literary or aesthetic orientations ('avant-garde', 'dadaism', 'modernism', 'hermetic poetry' etc.)
- **7.** aesthetic categories ('humorous', 'funny', 'ironic', 'satiric' etc.)

B.: value estimations such as
- **1.** valuable or not ('has aesthetic value', 'worthless', 'trifling' etc.)
- **2.** interesting or not ('tedious', 'boring' etc.)

C.: 'pragmatic' criteria, pertaining to a functionalist view of literature:
- **1.** reference-oriented criteria (following the suggestions of CORNEA 1988: 25–31); sub-classes:
  - **a.** referential (about something that is considered to exist; factual communication; T4: '...transmits an exact information')

  - **b.** pseudo-referential (about something imagined; fictional communication; T1: 'The reflexivity of the language is higher than its transitivity')
  - **c.** self-referential (about nothing outside the message itself; T6: '...communicates nothing about reality')
- **2.** reader-oriented criteria, mainly emotional response (T1: 'It awakes a certain feeling')
- **3.** author-oriented criteria, expressiveness (T1: ''The desert' and 'the dust' are transpositions on the level of reality of the inner void caused by 'the departure'), intentionality (T1: 'Words are not chosen at random')
- **4.** purposelessness, playfulness (T6: '...merely playing with words')

D.: structural criteria such as
- **1.** formal features; sub-classes:
  - **a.** figures of speech (T8: 'in this text we come across some figures of speech specific to literature: metaphors, epithets')
  - **b.** grammaticality (T1: 'The absence of the verbs is also part of the literary style; T2: '...the free mode of expression in relation to grammatical norms')
  - **c.** prosody (T9: 'It looks like verse', '...stanza structure'), sound effects (T1: '...special musicality')
  - **d.** occurrence (T2: 'The idea is communicated in an unusual form'; T7: '...some surprising associations')
  - **e.** recurrence (T2: 'It looks like any ordinary sentences'; T7: 'A prosaic, realist description, much concerned with details. It could have been done by anyone')
- **2.** style (T5: 'The form in which ideas are presented, the way they are expressed are literary'; T4: 'scientific style', 'scientific language'; T7: 'everyday language', 'a simple account, with no aesthetic claims')
- **3.** text organization (composition, coherence and cohesion, symmetry, narrative structure; T1: '...parallelism: 'extinguished fire', 'packed up tent''; T2: '...first person narrative, combination of direct and indirect speech')
- **4.** meaning; sub-classes:
  - **a.** comprehensible / incomprehensible (T6: 'I do not understand at all the message, the meaning of the text', 'The message cannot be grasped if we do not know the other part of the text')
  - **b.** univocal or denotative / plurivocal or connotative (T4: 'The vocabulary is very precise'; T5: 'It is quite ambiguous')

c. significant / insignificant (T2: 'That answer 'good evening' is not accidental, it must have meant something'; T5: 'It seems to have no deep significance')

5. imagery (T1: '...creates a visual image'; T8: '...the descriptive side, the created images')

E.: tautological JUSTIFICATIONS (T2: 'I am ready to say *yes*, I don't really know why'; T10: 'It looks like a literary text'

The classification has plenty of weak points, some of them perhaps unavoidable when dealing with such an intricate subject, others detected after the first phase of the experiment but left unchanged, except for some minor terminological alterations and peripheral readjustments, in order to get comparable results. **A.** contains criteria based on different kinds of reasoning: recognition, analogy or similitude (**A.1.**, **A.2.**), categorization (**A.3.**, **A.4.**, **A.5.**, **A.6.**), and description or effect (**A.7.**). **C.1.** is far too abstract to fit the motivations formulated by the subjects. It is sometimes difficult to decide between **C.2.** and **C.3.**, as it is unclear whether the comments upon certain emotional or cognitive aspects are reader-oriented or author-oriented. It seems almost impossible to find the right place for **C.4.**. It is an inconsistent class, that collects both derivatives from the 'art for art's sake' doctrine and some depreciatory judgments. **D.** can be hardly considered a purely structural class, has loopholes, fuzzy or eclectic sub-classes. **D.1.**, for example, overlooks other literary devices apart from figures of speech. Prosody (**D.1.c.**) is to be understood in a broad sense, including the graphic arrangement of the text. **D.1.d.** and **D.1.e.**, following the terminology of PLETT (1983: 143–146), reduce wider aesthetic criteria such as 'novelty', 'originality' to the level of verbal expression. It is worth mentioning that only the EXPLANATIONS listed 'originality' in its broader sense among criteria for literariness. JUSTIFICATIONS in **D.2.** come close to **A.4.**, **D.1.d.**, **D.1.e.** and to **E.**. **D.3.** is a very amalgamated class, suitable especially to those JUSTIFICATIONS which consist in text analyses or paraphrases, with very poor argumentative force. **D.5.** comes close to the pragmatic class, insofar as 'imagery' is, to a certain extent, a matter of literary effect (imaginative function). **E.** occasionally causes some trouble in drawing the line between null information and very general, vague information.

On the whole, the criteria most frequently mentioned were the ones from class **D.** and class **A.**, based on structural characteristics and on text type recognition. **A.4.** got a very high score for T4 (especially 'scientific text') and for T3 (especially 'advertising'). T7 was also attributed to several non-literary text types (10): 'newspaper article', 'journalistic text', 'police file', 'police report', 'medical report', 'literary criticism', 'summary', 'fragment of a diary'.

One subject thought it could be 'stage directions'. Many items (11) concerning T7 were also listed under **A.5.** (especially 'description'; one respondent referred to 'pseudo-description') and under **A.3.** (various literary text types, especially 'portrait' and 'play' but also 'novel', 'detective novel'). The attempt to identify the text type or the discourse type (**A.3.**, **A.4.**, **A.5.**) to which T7 could belong was very frequent (30 items on the whole, quite different ones). This seems to have been one of the main problems with the fragment from Heinrich Böll's novel. A lot of suppositions were made about the text type of T5, too. Most of the mentioned text types are either border genres, or so outmoded that they belong to the historical realm of 'literature': 'epigram', 'fable', 'satire', 'lampoon', 'proverb', 'folk verse'. They were, nevertheless, meant to motivate mainly positive LITERARINESS OPTIONS. **A.6.** class received a high score for T6 (11) and T9 (8): 'modernist poetry', 'something modern', 'avant-garde', 'avant-garde literary experiment', 'dadaist manner', 'dadaist exercise' were criteria common to both texts. Even extremely vague criteria such as 'it belongs to a literary trend' (T6) were recorded.

Value criteria were used more frequently in connection with T3 (12), T2 (7), T5 (4) and T7 (4), especially in EX CONTRARIO reasoning or in OPPOSITIONS. It is significant, I think, that only one subject used a **B.** criterion, EX CONTRARIO, in connection with T4, the other 'norm text' besides T3 (v. supra, 2.3.1., p.).

C. criteria appeared quite seldom: **C.1.c.** more for T4 (5) to explain negative OPTIONS, which was something hardly unexpected. **C.2.** and **C.3.** criteria were associated with T6 (emotional response and expressiveness, 6 and 8) and with T3 (5 items in **C.2.**, all of them motivating negative OPTIONS by the absence of emotional appeal: 'The relation between author and reader (listener) is no longer emotional, but commercial' etc.).

Structural criteria, the most numerous ones on the whole, filled in especially the classes **D.1.a.**, **D.1.c.**, **D.4.b.**, **D.4.c.** and **D.2.a.**. The presence or absence of figures of speech was mentioned very often in the JUSTIFICATIONS. 17 items were recorded for T1. Figurative speech was one of the criteria most frequently used EX CONTRARIO (e.g. 5 times for T4, but only once for T3, in inverse proportion to **B.** criteria). Prosody was important for motivating the OPTIONS for T9 (14 items, out of which 11 for positive OPTIONS), T3 (10 items, 3 for definite **Yes** and 7 for definite **No**, out of which 5 were OPPOSITIONS), T6 (9 items, 4 for positive and 5 for negative OPTIONS, 4 OPPOSITIONS in the last category) and T5 (8 items, 4 for positive and 4 for negative OPTIONS, 3 OPPOSITIONS in the last category). The idea that verse writing might be enough to indicate the literariness of a text or that it might be at least a strong argument for it was shared and rejected by subjects in a fairly balanced proportion. A clearly predictable incomprehensibility was mentioned with respect to T9 (15) and T6

(13), only once in connection with T10, which confirms my hypothesis about choosing the 'easy reading'. Univocal, denotative language was noticed in T4 (11) and in T7 (10) — once more, a proof that but few subjects grasped the ironical mode of the fragment. Besides, there are reasons to believe that the subjects were not prone to associating irony either with figurative language (for which metaphor is deemed the most representative) or with ambiguity (irony would rather be equivocal, *zweideutig*, than plurivocal, *mehrdeutig*). JUSTIFICATIONS based on distinctions between stylistic varieties were more numerous for T8 (14), T1 (12), T2 (10) and T2 (10). They were very often difficult to distinguish from **A.3.**, **A.4.** or even **A.5.** criteria, while the presence or the absence of certain stylistic markers was deemed to support the identification of the text or discourse types: 'The way in which subordinate clauses are introduced makes one think of a literary text about a social event rather than of a scientific text with a historical content ' (T8). Four respondents found T8 definitely 'not literary' because of its 'wooden language' — an expression designating the style of the official communist discourse. The 'journalistic style' prompted a **Probably not** OPTION. Three other respondents made the same choice commenting upon the stylistic contrast within the text. **Probably yes** OPTIONS were motivated by 'elevated expression', 'text strewed with neologisms', 'speech imitation', or simply by 'the existence of some stylistic marks'. 'The language is not an usual one' — noticed one respondent who held T8 for 'literary', which may be also considered a **D.1.d.** ('occurrence') criterion. In such cases the whole context of the JUSTIFICATION usually made it possible to decide whether 'novelty' or 'stylistic discrimination' was meant. Two other students were not impeded by the 'colloquial style' of T8 to consider it 'literary'. Regarding T10, subjects referred to 'slang', 'administrative style', 'concise style and formulas characteristic of a telegram' in order to motivate negative OPTIONS. 'It has nothing in common with the artistic style ' — reasoned one student. Another one meant, on the contrary, that 'the mere deviation from the usual manner of communicating may be deemed literary'. Several quasi-tautological JUSTIFICATIONS were listed in connection with T2: 'artistic style', 'it is written in a literary style', 'the wording seems to be literary', or even, as sole argument for a positive choice, 'the language'. 'Concise style' or 'concise expression' appeared, this time in favor of literariness, also in connection with T1, alongside with the 'writing manner of a 'man of letters'' or 'differing from the scientific language'. **D.2.** clearly pointed out the inconsistency of using 'style types' as a means of delimiting 'literature'.

In all, the analysis of the criteria shows quite a competent reception of the stimulus texts, even when these perplexed the respondents. There were almost no blatant misreadings — on the average, of course, not in individual cases — the only notable exception remaining T7. T10 called for, as I have pointed

out, a 'comfortable reading', which is also legitimate. T2 disappointed many students because of its apparent banality, which was not a very subtle response indeed, but it was not an aberrant one either. T8 prompted several subjects to think of silly journalism or of the official 'wooden language' of the communist period. Both observations were correct, except for the fact that the respondents overlooked the inconspicuous parodic signals of the text. As for the rest, T9 was seen as an eccentricity hard to explain, which is, in a way, just what it is; T6 was deemed a poetic puzzle, which was not completely beside the point, even if the formal constraints passed unnoticed. T3 and T4 made respondents judiciously concentrate on the 'advertising' and 'scientific' structural and functional features of the texts and prompted them to advance value arguments.

I would like to add one final methodological remark to this part of the experiment interpretation. The fact that the open-question method was chosen for collecting data about the criteria used for evaluating the literary or non-literary character of the stimulus texts opened the possibility to investigate a large field of hardly predictable information. This method also has the disadvantage of securing minimal control over the collected data (STEEN 1991: 567, 569–571). The 'translation' procedure of content analysis and classification might have induced some considerable amount of simplification or even distortion of information. One of the things that almost unavoidably gets lost in this data processing is the inner logic of the propositional answers. Why should respondents have emphasized, for example, value criteria for T3 and not for T4? Possibly because they thought that T3, because of its verse pattern, *could be taken* for literary, were it not for its aesthetic worthlessness. The OPPOSITION reasoning is sometimes explicit; more often than not it is only implied. Theoretical considerations help us understand another very complicated aspect of the problem: pondering on the 'literariness' of different texts may activate different notions of literature (see ESCARPIT et al 1974: 259–275; CORNEA 1988: 46–47; MARINO 1987: 450–466) — in our case, the structural or the functional one for T4 and the qualitative one for T3, according to which a bad novel is, under extreme circumstances, 'no literature'.

The comparative analysis of the JUSTIFICATIONS in 1991 and 1996 showed that the set of criteria and their correlation to texts and OPTIONS remained quite stable. I shall briefly comment upon some significant changes:

– For **Yes** OPTIONS: Respondents payed more attention to structural criteria (**D**) with respect to T3 and to the text type (**A**) that could be attributed to T5. Both texts received higher positive estimations of literariness in 1996.

– For **Probably yes** OPTIONS: T7 received more numerous items both in class **A** and in class **D** to motivate the increasing estimations for 'probably literary'. A more careful structural examination was recorded for T6.

– For **Probably not** OPTIONS: A considerable decrease of both text type and structural criteria was registered for T5, mainly because of the very few estimations of it as 'probably non-literary' in 1996.

– For the **No** OPTIONS: The quantitative growth of valoric JUSTIFICATIONS (**B**) for T3 was surprising, most of them claiming, in 1996, the 'worthlessness' of the text. A shift from structural to text type criteria could be noticed in connection with T7. The rate of absolutely negative OPTIONS diminished very little. The conviction that T10 is non-literary, one which went up by 23.3 %, was motivated especially by structural criteria.

2.3.3. Analysis of the EXPLANATIONS

For the analysis of the EXPLANATIONS I have used an inductive method, grouping the items mainly after certain catchwords that were selected in the examination of the answers. The resulting classification roughly coincides with that of the JUSTIFICATIONS, yet it is more flexible and allows more irregularities. Some changes are caused by the different tasks the subjects had to perform. For example the criteria of the **A** class, based on recognition, similarity or analogy had little chances to be reiterated as *general* conditions for literariness and vice versa: there are a few general criteria that would hardly apply to *particular* texts without further elaboration (e.g.'In order that the text be literary, it should be based on a convention between the author and the reader so that the text might correctly cover the distance between the sender and the receiver' — catchword 'convention').

Only 2 items about the appertainance to some literary genres and 3 items about 'following norms or conventions proper to literature' correspond to class **A**.

There are much more items that come closer to **B**: aesthetic / artistic value (9) or purpose (6), the beautiful (2), even moral value or purpose (4). 'Aesthetic accomplishment' (2) points out the qualitative notion of 'literature': 'Not all the attempts are literary', 'Literary is not every text that was intended to be so'.

Criteria reminding of class **C** are:

– emotional response (8, out of which one item is 'catharsis' and one 'aesthetic emotion')

– expressiveness (7 – catchword 'subjectivity' – including 'subjective transfiguration of reality' [2] and 'artistic vision' [1])

Some other criteria (4) have formed the loose class of 'aesthetic autonomy', roughly corresponding to **C.2.c.**: a literary text should be 'an autonomous universe, that exists according to its own inner law' or cause an 'impersonal elevation', a 'distancing from the real world and integration in the described world', an 'elevation in the realm of aesthetic delight'.

Seven items emphasized the importance of 'originality', of which there is no exact equivalent among JUSTIFICATIONS: 'new', 'un-repeatable', 'qualitative novelty', 'individuality', 'originality'.

The criteria corresponding to class **D** are the most numerous:

– specific language characteristics (12). The list is rich, yet there are obviously some recurrent items: 'neat and expressive language', 'elevated language, strewed with figures of speech and neologisms', 'syntactic blendings of great elegance and stylistic accuracy', 'neat and correct language', ' grammatically correct '. An unexpected confusion was revealed by the EXPLANATIONS, namely the one between 'literary' meaning 'which belongs to / is characteristic of literature as one of the arts' and what is called in Romanian linguistics *limbă literară* ('literary language'), recommended for all sorts of 'educated' or 'formal' communication: science, teaching, journalism, law, politics etc. Seven respondents, influenced by the lectures on Romanian linguistics they had recently attended, clearly thought of the second meaning of 'literary' as they considered 'correctness' a criterion of prime importance. Four subjects have explicitly distinguished between the two meanings of the term.

– figures of speech (8)

– musicality of words (1)

– unparaphrasable expression (1): 'impossible to be rendered in different words'

– a special kind of language (12 – catchword: 'artistic style'): 'observing certain style conditions', 'distinctive expression, differing from the common, current language')

– meaning:

  – literary texts should have meaning (4)

  – ideas (6): 'clarity', 'complexity' of ideas, 'the power of thought', 'a more or less implicit idea', 'stirring a doubt in my soul or my mind'

  – comprehensibility (2): 'one should finally be able to reach the essence of the text', 'it should be written in an accessible language'

  – coherence (3): literary texts 'must be coherent (although very many are not)'

It is possible that many EXPLANATIONS in the last four groups were influenced by the previous stimulus texts. The other criteria recommended, on the contrary, difficult meaning:

– plurisemantism (4): 'additional meaning', 'several interpretations'

– non-informative meaning (3): literary texts 'should not convey information', or they should render 'information of a different kind than the purely cognitive one'

- opacity (1): a literary text 'should not reveal its aim from the very beginning'
- intransitivity (2, following the terminology of Tudor VIANU [1941]): literary texts 'should be reflexive', 'should be neither very reflexive, nor very transitive'
- indirect expression of meaning (1)
- imagery (5): 'images', 'ideas in material form', 'information just as an occasion for sensations'

Some EXPLANATIONS, no more than 10 %, could hardly be analyzed because of their exceedingly digressive, confuse wording. Some of them were metaphorical or sentimental, not always lacking in insight. Beside enthusiastic allegations such as 'art is sublime, art is sacred', allusions to 'the magic wand, the angel finger-nail of the artist' that 'makes a hidden string vibrate' one could read that a literary text 'should know when to 'speak' and when to 'keep silent', in a language that only an inner ear may have the 'chance' to hear'. I also came across criteria that would better fit special 'poetics', sometimes very peculiar ones, recommending 'balance', 'universal themes', 'narrative roundness' or 'lack of authorial 'selfishness''. More sophisticated EXPLANATIONS suggested cumulative or alternative conditions of literariness. Quite often (15 items) respondents reasoned by exclusion or by contrast. Literary texts *should not* 'transmit information', 'be immoral' like dadaists and surrealists, pursue 'commercial aims', 'be univocal', be 'insipid, dry, objective' etc. They *are different* from scientific or historical writings, newspaper articles, advertising texts, telegrams, everyday communication etc.

The degree of 'relativism' was lower than I had expected. One can find only very poor traces of the 'conventionalist' view, that has become so popular nowadays, in the EXPLANATIONS of the students. One subject, whom I already quoted, speaks of the literary text as 'being based on a convention between the author and the reader'. Another respondent, who basically reasoned that literary are texts lying outside 'usual' communication, ended up in saying, almost contradicting, that 'even texts that do not follow compulsory grammatical rules in normal communication (see T6) may be regarded, in certain contexts (accepting certain conventions) as literary'. 'There are *norms* (more or less highlighted, more or less easy [*sic*] to the common sense) according to which texts are grouped into literary/non-literary' — was asserted in another EXPLANATION. Five respondents thought that the notion of literature is subjective, that it 'has a different meaning for each person', 'exists only in relation to the reader', 'depends on the aesthetic sense of each of us', 'is a matter of intuition', 'impossible to decide', or is barely 'what I like'. One subject implied that 'literariness' is a quality that might appear in all sort of texts, insofar as they 'testify to the refinement of some thinking or the intensity of some feeling'. Another respondent noticed that

general criteria are often contradicted by reputedly literary texts. Consequently, 'there are no definite criteria to establish a literary text'. After naming Titu Maiorescu (Romanian literary critic, teacher, and politician of the second half of the 19th century, well known for his attempts to establish criteria of aesthetic judgment) and mentioning 'many others', 'the ones we are learning about in the lectures of literary theory', another student concluded: 'Come back and ask me three years from now.' A last example of confoundedness: 'I am afraid I don't really know what it means for a text to be literary (perhaps that is what the test aims to demonstrate)'. That was not at all the point of the test, although the students who helped me with data processing were often prone to interpreting it as a means of showing the 'ignorance' of the respondents. On the contrary, I was interested to find out to what extent respondents were aware that they were dealing with a very relative matter, that had no 'correct answer' whatsoever. The most striking aspect in the analysis of the collected data is that the subjects were pretty sure of the amalgamated set of features they *had learnt* to be characteristic for literature. One may think they were influenced by the academic environment in which the experiment took place. I did my best to explain to them that it was no academic task, that it was by no means aimed to 'examine' them and that they were asked to formulate their own opinion.

2.4. Final remarks

In 1991 the literariness criteria experiment led to the conclusion that 'the prevailing reception pattern, of which subjects may or may not be aware, seems to combine a type of traditional (romanticist?) poetics, based on expressiveness and emotional involvement, with a modernist one, in which plurisemantism, suggestiveness and discontinuity are fundamental. For both kinds the prototype is (lyrical) poetry, as one can easily notice. A natural consequence of this orientation is the rejection of the borderline or 'minor' literature.' (CONSTANTINESCU et al 1991: 66–67).

The 'new' reception pattern has retained similar fundamental traits. 'Poetry' continues to be the main reference point, with regard to formal, semantic and thematic aspects as well. Characteristics such as 'playfulness', 'humor', or 'irony' continue to play just a minor role in assessing 'literariness'. They either pass unnoticed quite often, or receive a negative evaluation, being associated with a lack of aesthetic value. The poetics of vagueness, suggestion and interpretive openness make the exact, minute presentation alien to literary quality.

Nevertheless, some tentative changes may be noticed, even though they seem to be contradictory. One can ascertain a significant widening and loosening of

the notion of 'literature' on the one hand, regarding both the relationship between 'high' and 'low', and 'central' and 'peripheral', together with a tendency toward 'easy reading'. On the other hand, 'the authority of cultural models which match quite a rigid system of aesthetic norms' (CONSTANTINESCU et al 1991: 67) seems to gain weight. The additional task of the EXPLANATIONS has shed more light into the investigation of the attempt to reconcile individual desires and expectations of literary reading and educational recommendations. The vertical analysis of *all* the OPTIONS, JUSTIFICATIONS and EXPLANATIONS delivered by every *single* subject would help a lot in highlighting the coexistence of different, even diverging reading patterns and the attempts to make them fit together, but this is certainly too meticulous a job for this paper. Besides, I think that supplementary information would be needed in order to obtain fully reliable results. For me the relationship between 'private reading' and 'school reading' seems to be a very promising topic for further research.

Are the changes I have presented to be explained as a result of a poorer literary education among students in their first academic year at the Faculty of Letters? I deem this hypothesis highly plausible, but the experiment itself is unable to clear the causes of the phenomena it is meant to detect. The more permissive notion of literature is certainly influenced by the weakening of the 'canonical' authority. Whether this emancipatory trend is based on aesthetic options fully conversant with the matter or merely on increasing ignorance is a recurrent question in debates pro and against 'post-modernism'. Even the naive reliance on a 'rigid system of aesthetic norms' could be interpreted in terms of a more superficial, rather mechanical, uncritical commitment to some rudimentary canonical prescriptions received by students during their school education or while preparing for the matriculation exam.

Appendix 1

1. Stimuli texts

T1: Foc stins, cort strîns, pustiul și pulberea plecării.

T2 1991: Joi dimineața s-au strîns cu toții în jurul lui. L-au îngrijit cum au putut, au încălzit apa, au chemat și doctorul, că îl iubeau și era singura lor nădejde. Tot degeaba. Pînă seara, porcul murise.

T2 1996: Era spre sfîrșitul după-amiezii dar soarele încă mai strălucea pe cer. Pe stradă mă întîlnesc cu cineva. 'Bună ziua' îi spun. El mă privește și-mi răspunde: 'Bună seara'.

T3: Of, iar plouă!
Ei, și ce ne pasă nouă?

Vine ploaia și e rece
Dar prin hainele noastre nu trece
Pentru că le-am apretat,
Pentru că le-am impregnat
Cu produsul garantat
IM-PREG-NOL.

T4: Energia nu poate fi creată din nimic și nici nu poate să dispară în cursul proceselor și se transformă numai dintr-o formă în alta, conservîndu-se cantitativ.

T5: De-i place porcul, orice amator
Îi poate coace pulpa la cuptor.
Dar dacă-i suferind, nu e o culpă
Să fiarbă la foc molcom acea pulpă
Și de-o va fierbe, cum spusei, cu artă,
Va prețui de-a pururi pulpa fiartă.

T6: Dus aici beţiv opal
Lapoviţe bici asud
Dur, o vietáte (cal)
La cetate — ivor ud.

T7: Eroina acțiunii din prima parte este o femeie de patruzeci și opt de ani, nemțoaică; are înălțimea de 1,71 m și greutatea de 68,8 kg (în haine de casă), așadar cu 300–400 grame mai puțin decît greutatea ideală. Culoarea ochilor ei se află între albastru închis și negru, părul blond și foarte des îi e încărunțit pe alocuri și-atîrnă lejer și neted, înconjurîndu-i capul ca o cască.

T8: Acest individ, dușman feroce al noii orînduiri, prin diferite mașinațiuni a reușit să inducă poporul local în cea mai neagră noapte a decăderii, zicîndu-le că e bine, cum că trebuie toți să crează că dracul există.

T9: Ooo toe aferoov vehon
Pindi sabroe barchizani
Barcarehol ii abriod coom
Ooof findi.

T10: Către P
Contractează imediat aer. Anunță dacă ai reușit. Unanimitate pentru pasărea Phoenix. Dacă sînt alte propuneri, telegrafiați cifrat. N.

2. Sources, literal translation and description of stimuli texts

T1: Ion Pillat, 'Poeme într-un vers' (One-Verse Poems)

'Extinguished fire, packed up tent, the desert [the solitude] and the dust of departure.'

No predication, past participles; marked sound patterning, regular rhythm, euphony; metaphorical suggestiveness, ambiguity and lyrical undertones of some lexical items.

T2 1991: unpublished text by Mihai Giurgea, student in the 3rd academic year at the Bucharest Faculty of Letters and member of the research team at the time of the first phase of the experiment

'Wednesday morning they all gathered around him [it]. They looked after him [it] as well as they could, warmed up water, called for the doctor, too, 'cause they loved him [it] and he [it] was their only hope. But in vain. Until the evening, the pig had already died.'

Reference and topic indistinctiveness, caused mainly by the equivocal use of the 3rd person predication (in Romanian the personal pronoun in the 3rd person lacks the distinction 'human'/'non-human' and the subject may be deleted in the surface structure); final clue and wit, pointing out some specific background of life style and mentality.

T2 1996: Dino Buzzati, 'Povestiri de seară' (Evening Short Stories)

'It was toward the end of the afternoon, but the sun was still shining. I met someone in the street. 'Good afternoon', I say to him. He looks at me and answers: 'Good evening'.'

Obvious commonplace turned into something uncanny by means of textual isolation (and change of the verb tense), which invites the reader to look for a hidden point; there is a contrast between topic triviality and potential connotations (time and being).

T3: Radio advertising in verse

'Oh, it rains again!
But what do we care?
The rain comes and it's cold
But it won't penetrate our clothes
Because we have starched them,
Because we have impregnated them,
With the warranted product
IM-PREG-NOL.'

Transparent, naive, colloquial; clumsy versification; obvious utility function; definite text closing.

T4: 'Fizica' (Physics), textbook for the 9th form

'Energy can neither be created out of nothing, nor can it disappear in the course of certain processes; it only transforms itself from one form into another, remaining quantitatively constant.'

Obvious sample from a scientific topic (the conservation of energy law) and style.

T5: Al. O. Teodoreanu, 'Gastronomice' (Gastronomics)

'If he likes pork, any amateur
May bake the gammon in the oven
But if he's suffering, it is no guilt
To boil that gammon on a gentle fire
And if he boils it, as I've said, with art
For ever will he relish the boiled gammon.'

Sample of 'light verse'; dealing with gastronomical advice, the short poem nevertheless exhibits a gratuitous playfulness and skillful handling of the verse; a touch of irony may also be perceived.

T6: Nichita Stănescu, unpublished text

'Gone here drunkard opal
Sleets whip I sweat
Tough, a creature (horse)
At the fortress — wet ivory.'

Experimental verse, palindrome (the two couplets, verses 1–2 and 3–4 respectively, read identically both forwards and backwards); highly ungrammatical at a syntactic level, in spite of the quite elaborate punctuation in verses 3–4; difficult meaning construction, on the verge of uncomprehensiveness.

T7: Heinrich Böll, 'Fotografie de grup cu doamnă' ('Gruppenbild mit Dame')

'The protagonist in the first part of the plot is a forty-eight years old German woman; she is 5 ft. and 7 in. tall and weighs 151 lb. and 14 oz. (in home dress), which means about 10–15 oz. less than the ideal weight. The color of her eyes is between dark blue and black, her blond, very thick hair is grizzled here and there and hangs loose and smooth, surrounding her head like a helmet.'

Contradictory text signals: clear reference to narrative fiction frame and general traits of character description (portrait) on the one hand, exact quantitative details which don't fit the usual manner of introducing and depicting literary characters on the other; mixing up style variants (fictional and official) and narrative perspectives correlated to them in a 'postmodern' fashion.

T8: Ion Anghel Mănăstire, 'Noaptea nu se împușcă' (One Doesn't Shoot at Night)

'This fellow, a ferocious enemy of the new social order, has managed, by means of various machinations, to delude the local folk into the darkest night of decay, telling them that it is good so, that they all believe that the devil exists.'

Sample of emphatic ideological (possibly journalistic) discourse; the mixture of authorized clichés and ungrammatical formulations may also indicate an attempt to imitate official phrasing (e.g. in a political denunciation); parodic effects.

T9: Virgil Teodorescu, 'Poem în leopardă' (Poem in Leopard Language)

Untranslatable 'Jabberwalky'-like piece of poetry; no hints at a potential syntactic structure.

T10: Nichita Stănescu, 'Respirări' (Breaths)

'To P
Contract air immediately. Announce whether you have succeeded. Unanimity for the Phoenix bird. If there are other proposals, telegraph encoded. N.'

Conflicting text signals: frame structure of a telegram, lacking essential information (addressee); obscure meaning, semantic isotopies, cultural connotations; the overt reference to an 'encoded telegram' may either determine the reader to give up searching for meaning, or make him suspect the frame structure for a fake and try to look beyond it.

2.1. Complete texts (without title): T1, T2 1991 (?), T2 1996, T3, T5 (?), T6, T10 (?)

2.2. Fragments: T4, T7, T8, T9 (?)

Appendix 2

1. Comparative rating of LITERARINESS OPTIONS (valid answers):

TEXT		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1991	Y	22	0	1	4	21	6	10	2	6
1991	Py	8	0	5	13	7	5	15	11	12
1991	Pn	3	6	4	9	1	11	3	8	3
1991	N	1	28	24	10	4	13	6	16	11
1996	Y	33	3	2	13	19	8	10	3	3
1996	Py	9	4	2	19	16	15	18	19	8
1996	Pn	2	7	5	2	6	8	10	4	8
1996	N	2	32	37	10	5	15	7	11	26

Y = **Yes**; Py = **Probably yes**; Pn = **Probably not**; N = **No**

2. Comparative rating of LITERARINESS OPTIONS (%):

TEXT		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1991	Y	64.7	00.0	02.9	11.1	63.6	17.1	29.4	05.4	18.7
1991	Py	23.5	00.0	14.7	36.1	21.2	14.3	44.1	29.7	37.5
1991	Pn	08.8	17.6	11.8	25.0	03.0	31.4	08.8	21.6	09.4
1991	N	02.9	82.4	70.6	27.8	12.1	37.1	17.6	43.2	34.4
1996	Y	71.7	06.5	04.3	29.5	41.3	17.4	22.2	08.1	06.7
1996	Py	19.5	08.7	04.3	43.2	34.8	32.6	40.0	51.3	17.8
1996	Pn	04.4	15.2	10.9	04.5	13.0	17.4	22.2	10.8	17.8
1996	N	04.4	69.6	80.4	22.7	10.9	32.6	15.6	29.7	57.7

Appendix 3

Rating of LITERARINESS and TEXTUALITY OPTIONS 1996 (valid answers for both tasks)

LY = literary **Yes**; LPy = literary **Probably yes**; LPn = literary **Probably not**; LN = literary **No**; TY = text **Yes**; TPy = text **Probably yes**; TfY = text fragment **Yes**; TfPy = text fragment **Probably yes**

T1:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	7	1	0	0	8
TPy	2	1	0	0	3
TfY	18	4	0	1	23
TfPy	5	3	2	1	11
TOTAL	32	9	2	2	45

T2:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	2	1	0	5	8
TPy	0	3	3	1	7
TfY	8	9	3	0	20
TfPy	2	5	3	0	10
TOTAL	12	18	9	6	45

T3:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	2	2	6	28	38
TPy	1	2	1	4	8
TfY	0	0	0	0	0
TfPy	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	3	4	7	32	46

T4:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	1	0	0	10	11
TPy	0	0	1	7	8
TfY	1	1	1	12	15
TfPy	0	1	3	8	12
TOTAL	2	2	5	37	46

T5:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	10	7	1	6	24
TPy	0	6	1	3	10
TfY	2	2	0	1	5
TfPy	1	4	0	0	5
TOTAL	13	19	2	10	44

T6:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	2	1	0	1	4
TPy	4	7	3	3	17
TfY	5	1	0	1	7
TfPy	7	6	3	0	16
TOTAL	18	15	6	5	44

T7:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	1	1	2	2	6
TPy	1	5	1	3	10
TfY	5	5	3	9	22
TfPy	1	3	2	1	7
TOTAL	8	14	8	15	45

T8:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	2	0	1	1	4
TPy	0	2	2	1	5
TfY	7	13	3	3	26
TfPy	1	3	4	2	10
TOTAL	10	18	10	7	45

T9:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	1	0	1	2	4
TPy	2	11	3	5	21
TfY	0	0	0	0	0
TfPy	0	8	0	2	10
TOTAL	3	19	4	9	35

T10:

L/Nl T/Tf	LY	LPy	LPn	LN	TOTAL
TY	3	6	4	19	32
TPy	0	0	3	4	7
TfY	0	0	1	0	1
TfPy	0	2	0	2	4
TOTAL	3	8	8	25	44

Appendix 4

JUSTIFICATIONS 1996

For the **Yes** OPTIONS:

TEXT	A	B	C	D	E
T1	6	1	13	33	5
T2	8	0	0	14	0
T3	1	0	0	8	0
T4	0	0	0	3	0
T5	9	1	0	5	0
T6	12	1	2	14	0
T7	6	0	0	5	0
T8	9	0	1	8	0
T9	1	0	1	3	0
T10	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	54	3	17	93	5

For the **Probably yes** OPTIONS:

TEXT	A	B	C	D	E
T1	2	0	1	13	1
T2	9	4	0	18	4
T3	2	0	1	0	0
T4	0	0	0	3	0
T5	13	2	1	10	0
T6	5	0	2	14	1
T7	14	1	0	11	2
T8	10	1	0	6	2
T9	11	0	0	15	1
T10	8	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	74	9	6	91	12

For the **Probably not** OPTIONS:

TEXT	A	B	C	D	E
T1	1	0	1	0	0
T2	3	3	4	4	0
T3	8	0	2	3	0
T4	6	0	1	1	0
T5	1	0	3	1	1
T6	1	0	1	9	0
T7	4	1	2	6	0
T8	7	1	0	4	1
T9	4	0	0	6	0
T10	2	1	0	2	0
TOTAL	37	6	14	36	2

For the **No** OPTIONS:

TEXT	A	B	C	D	E
T1	0	0	1	2	0
T2	1	0	0	4	0
T3	21	12	10	14	0
T4	31	1	7	21	1
T5	3	1	3	13	2
T6	1	0	1	7	1
T7	12	2	4	9	0
T8	1	0	0	5	0
T9	4	2	0	8	2
T10	14	1	3	13	0
TOTAL	88	19	29	96	6

For all OPTIONS:

TEXT	A	B	C	D	E
T1	9	1	15	48	6
T2	21	7	5	40	4
T3	32	12	13	25	0
T4	37	1	8	28	1
T5	26	4	7	29	3
T6	19	1	6	44	2
T7	36	4	6	31	2
T8	27	2	1	23	3
T9	20	2	1	32	3
T10	26	3	4	16	1
TOTAL	253	37	66	298	25

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