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Idioms in Context and Within Text: An Analysis of Student Perception of Idioms in a Literary Work

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Abstract

This study focuses on learners' perception of idioms and maps their perceptions of figurative language used in contemporary literary texts. Idioms are cultural denominators and thus vary across different cultures. Modern literary texts are moving away from the use of standard dialect of English towards including local variations that embellish the text and further help in connecting the l1 of the characters within the novel to English, their l2. Idioms are present in abundance in literary texts. Still, the significance of their usage in the novel and for the reader is the central question this paper tries to answer. This paper has chosen a collection of short stories entitled "This is How You Lose Her" by Junot díaz as the scope of the study. Fifteen students from the English department of Banaras Hindu University and the Indian Institute of Technology, Banaras Hindu University (IIT-BHU), were asked to 'think aloud' and explain their perceptions about the text with the help of idioms present in the text. A positive correlation was found between idiomatic analysis and textual comprehension. Lastly, the idioms presented provided insights into a literary analysis of the texts and further explained the violence perpetrated on women and their bodies.

Keywords: Dialect, Idioms, Junot Díaz, L1 Transfer, Second Language Acquisition.

Introduction

Idioms constitute a large part of any language and are used in varied ways by speakers worldwide. An idiom is a figurative expression of varied length whose meaning differs from its constituents. The etymological origins of an idiomatic expression are generally opaque, and speakers usually know their meanings. They are considered part of multi-word expressions, and learning them is essential for language acquisition. Various researchers have tried to understand how a Non-Native Speaker (NNS) obtains mastery over them (1-3). These studies are significant, but they are only replicable in some settings. In the Indian context, the studies on idiom acquisition have generally been prescriptive in their approach. These studies address and provide teaching directives but refrain from engaging in an L2 classroom. Another problem with idiom acquisition studies has been that they focus on specific populations: young learners and immigrant speakers in an L2 setting. Mastery of a language entails understanding the literal and the figurative aspects of that language metaphors, cliches, proverbs, idioms, slang, etc. Proverbs, idioms, etc., arise from the cultural knowledge of a particular community, and some of

them are idiosyncratic to them. In an L2 setting, these expressions might create interference with language acquisition. Figurative expressions should be studied concerning the context that provides a comprehension base. Usually, idioms shown in these studies are presented in isolation or with a small context. This methodology can check for the knowledge of meaning but does not provide insight into a person's perception of a particular idiom. This research tries to understand how people perceive idioms by studying expressions from the select stories of Junot Díaz's "This is How You Lose Her" (4). The researcher tries to bridge the gap between how a person perceives an idiomatic expression in a social setting foreign to their own and the strategies that are used for comprehending them.

Linguistic Models and Idiom Studies

Idiomatic expressions have been of keen interest to linguistics. Several researchers have studied their syntactic and semantic structure (5). Traditionally, idioms have been equated with having a fixed and rigid frame. Syntactical transformations are scarce, thus they are considers

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non-compositional. Non-compositionality means that the constituents of idioms do not help comprehend the phrase's semantic meaning. The meaning is institutionalised and frozen (6). On the other hand, Nunberg, Sag, and Wasow presented various idioms that did not follow the standard features ascribed to them (7). Further, the syntactic transformations an idiom can undergo were also studied by Glucksberg and McGlone (8).

Theoretical and Classroom Studies of Idioms

Academic studies have tried to categorise idioms based on compositionality and transparency. Some researchers have presented a modern outlook that helps categorise idioms (7). They distinguished between Idiomatic phrases and Idiomatically Combining Expressions. The primary focus of their paper was on the transparent aspect of idiomatic expressions. According to their study, most idioms are compositional, meaning the constituent parts of do possess a meaning. Thus, they are not noncompositional with a fixed structure but have a dynamic build-up. Through this categorisation, idioms with transformational potential were found to be abundant. Compared to Makkai's model, the classification was more precise and could be easily used (9). He segregated idiomatic phrases based on length and categorised idiomatic expressions ranging from single words (blackbird) to multiword expressions (to kick the bucket) to complete sentences. In addition to this, his research paved the way for further typological development.

Classroom research on Idiom Acquisition was earlier done with prescription in its purview. As was the case in the study of Adkins, she developed various methods for teaching idiomatic phrases (1). Based on the frequency of idioms used, she prescribed that language teachers should focus on them. An experimental study was required in her research; instead, she provided a prescriptive module. Further, her entire paper was based on secondary data. Similarly, Karen Bromley provided a framework for teaching idioms in an L2 classroom (10). She suggested that idiomatic phrases should be taught based on their definition, usage, and application. Further, she indicated that these expressions are highly imageable and thus can be dramatised.

Idiomatic phrases were then studied with L2 learners in the classroom setting. Engagement with the classroom helped to generate quantitative

data. Researchers could then develop teaching strategies based on actual data.

Suzanne Irujo's paper attempted this classroom study model (3). She studied idiom comprehension by Twelve advanced learners of English from Venezuela. Findings indicated that these L2 learners quickly comprehended idioms similar in structure to their native (L1) idioms but found difficulty with idiomatic expressions that differed from their L1. Cooper's study was based on the classroom model (2). The significant advantage of his research was that the subjects for his study were from different L1 backgrounds (2). Eighteen participants were chosen, and a 'Think Aloud' procedure was used to gain insight into the strategies used for idiom comprehension. In this study, the data was taken from students asked to speak about strategies they use when they see an unfamiliar idiom. Subsequently, they were presented with 20 frequently spoken idioms. The drawback of the study was that these idioms were presented without context. Although the students were found to be 'Requesting information' for the idiom, the interviewer did not provide these (2). In the field of Applied Classroom Research, this study was highly influential.

Theoretical models discussed in this section dealt with organising idioms and developing a typology for these expressions. However, this organisation of idiomatic expressions is essential only for a linguist.

Boers *et al.* give three reasons for the importance of idiom acquisition for a language learner: 1. A nativelike proficiency is perceived in language use. 2. Preconstructed chunks are made available. Thus, fewer hesitations are produced. 3. Fluent language production in real-time situations (11). These findings provide insight into why idiom acquisition is essential. However, there is a gap that is still present in the field. Researchers have focused on the acquisition of idioms for L2 learners, but they still need to focus on how they comprehend and utilise them. Strategies discussed for idiom comprehension are essential, but the cognitive act and inferences drawn during the analysis of an idiomatic expression must also be understood.

These experiences are generally anthropocentric and related to the human body. Hu and Fong distinguished and contrasted Chinese and English idioms about mind and heart in their study (12).

Idioms specific to these realms were selected because of the cultural and philosophical differences. They conjectured that due to the development of Cartesian philosophy, the mind was given the space of rationality and the heart the seat of emotion. Thus, a value was assigned to idioms according to the domain referred. On the contrary, in Chinese philosophy, 'Xin' denotes both the heart and the mind. Findings indicated that Chinese students who formed the dataset had trouble comprehending correctly idioms such as "learn by heart" and "pour one's heart out."

However, for this research, it was more important to understand what people perceive when they hear an idiom. These research questions were developed. How do respondents transact with violent and sexual idiomatic expressions? Do they agree with the researcher's categorisation of idioms? What perception of the characters in the novel and their social group does it conjure up? Is there a profound influence of friends and peers in the novel upon the characters? Does it influence their idiomatic language use? Lastly, is their culture involved in this perception formation? Classroom research has laid the foundation for quantitative data analysis with actual classroom implications. There is a relevant stream of research in this field, but real-time applications can only be obtained after connecting the idiomatic text to the worldly context. Hence, this research is a small attempt in this direction. The techniques utilised in this research have arisen from these studies, which will be elaborated in the next section.

Methodology

Junot Díaz's novel, "This is How You Lose Her," presents an exciting set of stories loosely connected (4). The protagonist, 'Yunior', is a Dominican-American man who grew up in the suburbs, and the novel traces his relationships with his family, women, and the Dominican-American cultural experience. His work has focused on the Dominican-American immigrant experience and their hardships. In his works, he highlights the relationship and the language utilised between men and women. Friendship and friendly influence build a Fratriarchal setup (13). Unlike Patriarchy, which is correlated with the rule of men, Fratriarchy is the correlation between the views and language used by men on women and the bond between men that helps sustain this view. Thus, his tales can be used effectively to attain insight into the idiomatic cultural expressions of the population represented in the novel.

Idioms from the text were first marked and then categorised by the researcher. Violent, Culturespecific, Perception, Sexual, and Traditional idioms formed the primary groups into which idiomatic expressions were divided. For this study, except for Traditional idioms, all others were included. The rationale for this was that expressions such as 'nodded her head' represent assent but do not explain anything intrinsic about the character. On the other hand, when a character 'smacks the chops out of me', then there is a form of literal violence that in the novel is done on Yunior by a woman named Magda for his cheating (4). Several questions arise regarding the justification of this violence, then the perception one forms of Yunior and Magda through this act. Further, what other characters in the text comment when they hear this expression can tell us about the world the author is trying to represent. Thus, gaining insights into these expressions formed the focal point of this study. Idioms represent the cultural aspect of a particular space. In this research, idiom comprehension is studied, and the student's perception of them is recorded. Idiom recognition is a well-researched area, but their perception of a cultural setting is rarely analysed. Further, idiom categorisation is a significant tool required for this research.

There are specific inclusion criteria based on which respondents were selected. First, students working on their PhD in English will have good reading and comprehension abilities. Additionally, they would have been acquainted with figurative language and using figurative expressions for a prolonged period. Lastly, they would have experienced other cultures and their expressions in various works of literature. Thus, PhD students from the prestigious Banaras Hindu University and the Indian Institute of Technology - Banaras Hindu University (IIT-BHU) were selected. This study had an exclusion criterion, too, as few respondents did not have the habit of extensive reading to identify and decode figurative language and its application in a sociocultural context. Eight male and seven female candidates formed the core respondents for this study. A snowball sampling method was utilised. As peers recognised the reading patterns of their peers, respondents were selected based on the recommendation of the previous respondents.

Initially, respondents were given a copy of the novel and further were asked to read the text and focus on the figurative language use contained within it. The scope of the research and research questions were explained to them. Subsequently, they were described the 'Think Aloud' procedure. In this process, the researcher would ask them to reread specific sections from the text and then express their thoughts on how they perceive the expressions used, the social setting, and the characters who use them. Lastly, they were asked to be available for an interview, in which they would have to answer a few questions.

Examples of idiomatic expressions were presented before the interview. Subsequently, a small 10item idiom test was administered. This was done to check the respondents' basic proficiency and comprehension of idioms. Five idioms were chosen from Suzanne Irujo's study, and five were selected from the text used in this study (3). Idiomatic expressions frequently used, such as "to hold your tongue", "to flip one the bird", etc., were chosen for this test. The idioms were presented in their infinitive form. Description and meaning were asked for each idiom. As the focal point of this research was to obtain personal insights, multiplechoice or discourse completion tests prominently used in Classroom-based idiom studies were not used. Categories of idioms were marked, and selected readings were presented to the respondents. The 'Think Aloud' process was done through unstructured interviews. Questions were of an open-ended nature, and the respondents were asked to elaborate on their views.

Personal interviews and telephonic interviews were taken for the convenience of the respondents. The respondents were initially asked about their analysis of the short stories. Subsequently, they were asked to read specific sections from the text during the interview. Then, they were asked to explain their comprehension of the idiomatic phrases used there and if they had heard these expressions before. Additionally, they were asked to explain their judgements on the cultures from these select readings in the context of the novel. A thematic analysis was done of the data that was collected. The characters' setting and status within these stories were conceptualised as the contextual background. As mentioned earlier, Idioms pertaining to violence and men's perception of women were identified, and they formed the dataset for this study. The recorded responses were analysed and correlated with the Fratriarchal and Patriarchal framework that forms the novel's central theme and served as the primary analytical tool for this study.

Lastly, respondents were asked if idiomatic analysis helped in the process of textual comprehension. Did the respondents form value judgements on the several relationships within the novel through the interconnection laid by idioms? Which idiomatic expressions did strike them the most? Did they sympathise with the protagonist "Yunior" and the narrator's description of him?

Results and Discussion

Idiomatic expressions are used to express a diverse range of emotions. Anger ("up in arms"), fear ("make your blood run cold"), social settings ("to break the ice"), surprise ("to take one's breath"), and several other emotions arising out of various fields of experience. This study chose expressions based on cultural differences between various groups and how readers perceive them. Differences can arise because of economic conditions, historical factors, and sociocultural environment. Expressions thus arising are to be marked clearly. Dominican-American experience of the first-person narrator, "Yunior," uses several phrases that tell us about his cultural experiences. Out of these, idiomatic phrases were marked. The categorisation of these expressions was:

Sexual Idioms

Idioms that were overtly sexual were primarily marked. These are related to desire, male and female genitals, and sexual intercourse. Their presence and usage by characters were segregated based on the violence they entailed or the desire they presented. Expressions such as "Bone the shit out of her" and "Bust a nut in her mouth" are overtly sexual and present a male-centric sexual and violent sexual encounter. Whereas "God, Yunior, you're making me wet" and "...gives me some Grade A dick" represent sexual desire present in women (4). Perception of these phrases was necessary as the narrator's perception of men and women was shown here, and further attaining insight into what respondents think of these uses also helps answer our central research question.

Violent Idioms

Violence forms a large part of cultures worldwide. Thus, expressions arising from it form a significant

part of our lexicon. 'Why don't you beat it, Pancho?', "beat the shit out of someone", and '...smacked me right across the chops' are phrases that do signify violence (4). Some of the idioms are also markers of cultural violence. Several respondents found these phrases to be spoken in different settings than their own. They correlated their usage with the characters' upbringing and social surroundings within the novel. Further, some commented on the violent nature of the historical experiences of the Dominican-American population and, thus, the rise of violence in their language.

Perception-Based Idioms

Expressions based on the perception of men towards women and their friendships and men's views on their friendships. '...were still feeding her a bad line', 'don't sweat that bitch', 'you were whitetrash', and 'fuck that lying bitch', are all expressions used about the opposite gender (4). An astute understanding of the text envisages a mixture of phrasal usage conjoined with the textual context. Respondents noticed these idioms the most during their initial reading of the text.

Cultural Idioms

'Clavo saca clavo' and 'I'll put a machete in you' were the cultural idioms found in the text (4). These idioms are more closely related to the culture of the Dominican Republic. "Clavo saca clavo" is a proverbial idiom which means that 'one nail drives out another one.' This is an idiom in Spanish but was used in the text as advice to Yunior. In this context, it meant that the pain caused by one woman could only be mitigated by another woman. Respondents found expression to represent the hyper-masculine image that Yunior, the narrator, tries to portray throughout the text. Further, we found that respondents were perturbed by the usage of 'machete' in place of 'knife', which is commonly used in this expression. All 15 respondents asked what they thought about the 'machete', and then they said that this is used commonly in Latin-American countries, thus representing a weapon of violence, and here used as a tool for this idiomatic expression.

Traditional Idioms

Idioms that can be ascribed to the category of 'true idioms' (also includes idioms that have been transformed and used) (14). "Edge of the chair", "nodded her head", and "to have a skeleton in one's

cupboard" are more commonly known and used idioms. These idioms are easily remembered and constitute a significant part of our lexicon. These idioms are called dead metaphors because their metaphoricity has withered. So, their meanings are implicitly known, and these expressions form a significant part of our idiom list.

Think Aloud results

'Think Aloud', for this research, is a process where respondents represent their subjective views concerning the language used in the text and explain their judgements in a live interview. The 10-item idiom test was administered before the readings were provided to check proficiency in identifying idiomatic expressions. 10 out of 15 respondents gave the correct meaning for all the expressions. On the other hand, three respondents got eight idioms correct, whereas two others could answer seven idioms correctly. They faced trouble, especially with idioms chosen from the text. The expressions that they found difficult to comprehend were: "to flip one the bird" (which is a derogatory expression) and "to test one's ass." Like Irujo's study, expressions that do not arise from our cultural surroundings are challenging to comprehend (3). Respondents voiced identical complaints during the interview sessions. Although they initially faced trouble finding the exact meaning of the idiom, they comprehended it with the help of the context. The researcher pointed out some select passages for them to read and correlated the idiomatic phrases with the more significant meanings they provided. This provided fruitful insights regarding the text and a framework for understanding people's perceptions of the expressions used as the focal point of this study.

Respondent's perception of Yunior and the Dominican-American experience

Primarily, questions regarding 'Yunior' as a character were raised. All seven female respondents found him "immature, insecure, and a person akin to self-pity." Male respondents saw that Yunior had done wrong but were still receptive to the idea that he had shown maturity throughout his stories. One male respondent found him to possess a "flexible" character. With this, he meant that Yunior was receptive to ideas that differed from his own. "He took care of a child that was not his own, and when he was told he was not the father, still he didn't take it as badly."

Two female respondents did not perceive any growth in Yunior in his relationships throughout the text. Other male and female respondents found him to have bad relationships throughout the novel, but he was more proactive in understanding his failings. The significant finding in the three relationships texts that show three phases of relationships concerning Yunior is that, as Yunior grows older, his usage of male-centric idioms and expressions increases.

Yunior, in the last tale, "The Cheater's Guide to Love", uses expressions such as "...you'd boned the entire time", "...planning to give me ass anytime soon", and "boot her ass out on the street." A respondent indicated a tussle between Yunior, who feels guilt over his actions, and another side of Yunior that is influenced by his peers and his Dominican Republic Identity. She further elaborated that Yunior had "a lot of primal masculine desire represented by his Dominican Republic identity that is keeping him from growing further." Twelve respondents were sympathetic to his plight, and the other three indicated that his shortcomings were his fault and that no amount of guilt he feels justifies his actions throughout the tales.

Fratriarchal Framework and Friendships

While patriarchy is literally 'rule of the fathers', the has been successively refined and rechristened as fratriarchy and viriarchy to denote the homosocial relationships among masculine/heterosexual men through which economic emotional and resources monopolised, against the participation and influence of women (15). Fratriarchy is a movement away from the static rule system of the father towards the 'dynamic and volatile system of domination' performed by the frats (13). Fratriarchy in Junot Díaz's work works in various ways (4). It is a system with extreme and sexist opinions on women, but it also performs the positive function of helping men form support groups. Although the support is usually against women, there are instances within the text where it has pushed for a positive change.

The respondents were asked questions regarding their understanding of the influence of male and female friendships on the views and decisions the characters performed in the text. Initially, the female respondents understood male friendships to impact their psyche negatively. They considered these friendships a platform for continuing to look at women in a derogatory manner. One female respondent pointed out, "An Individual woman is absent from the text. Women represent their community, whereas Yunior and his friends are individuals." She further elaborated that words such as "Sucias", "Blanquita", and "Latina" are used to speak about individual women. These expressions are derogatory and negate the presence of actual women within the text. One male respondent reacted negatively to this assessment and said that Yunior looked at women individually, but it was to appease his friends that he used such terminologies.

The following are the two excerpts from which a Fratriarchal framework was studied, and questions were raised on using idiomatic expressions. The respondents' insights helped build a bridge between the male perception of women and how friendships amongst men help penetrate these thoughts into the masculine world

"YOU CLEAN UP your act. You *cut it out* with all the old *sucias*, even the long-term Iranian girl *you'd* boned the entire time you were with the fiancée. You want to turn over a new leaf. Takes you a bit—after all, old sluts are the hardest habit to ditch"— (4)

Here in this section, Yunior talks about his actions after he was caught cheating and how he was trying to improve his life, but still, he uses terms that present women in a derogatory light. His change and trying to "turn over a new leaf" encompasses removing specific objects from his life, namely women. All seven female respondents found these idioms to portray a hypermasculine image and to give conviction to the male debate that all problems in a man's life are because of women. A female respondent commented that expression such as "old sluts are the hardest habit to ditch" is used as a maxim here and presents Yunior's unfiltered views on women. Male respondents also reacted negatively to these idiomatic expressions and said that such expressions present immaturity on Yunior's part. However, he is still aware of his shortcomings and tries to move positively toward change.

What the hell are you going to do with a blanquita? Bone the shit out of her, Elvis offers. Bust a nut in her mouth, your boy Darnell

seconds. Give her a chance, Arlenny proposes. But you don't do any of it. At the end of the sessions, you move away quickly to wipe down your mat, and she takes the hint. She doesn't mess with you again, though sometimes during practice she watches you with longing. (4)

Expressions such as "bone the shit out of her" and "bust a nut in her mouth" made several respondents uneasy. One female respondent said these expressions reiterate the male-centric view on a sexual encounter. Female sexual desire is absent from the text or is looked at negatively. She cites the usage of these lines "Only a bitch of color comes to Harvard to get pregnant. White women don't do that. Asian women don't do that. Only fucking black and Latina women" (4). She says this language uses sexist and racist terms to discredit successful women of color and binds them to the male-centric world.

Responses to the idiomatic expressions used within the text show that respondents found these expressions aberrant and offensive. A value judgement on the characters who use them was made in the process. Generally, male respondents looked more sympathetically towards the setup and cited that masculinity engrosses several arenas. Female respondents were sympathetic towards Yunior's fate and found him to at least strive for some change. However, the possibility of change, according to them, was difficult as the system of both Patriarchy and Fratriarchy has a strong hold on men's perception today. Whereas other Idiom studies have focused on language acquisition and the best strategies through which L2 learners can gain proficiency in using them. This study attempts to understand what an advanced L2 learner comprehends from the expressions presented in a text. Thus, the goal of this research has real-life implications. The idiom list we possess and how we utilise it is a question that many theoreticians have tried to answer (16-18). Theoretical models must be practical and ought to answer questions from the real-life research arena. Several influential studies, such as Cooper, have not moved outside the classroom setting and have only utilised the meaning of idioms to hold prominence (2).

Conclusion

One of the focal points of this study was to understand how proficient L2 learners perceive idioms and how they use these insights to

understand a culture. The questions raised in this study were answered with the help of a qualitative research design. Fifteen respondents who formed this research dataset helped attain insights of central importance to this research question.

Sexual and violent idioms held a significant space in the text for the respondents. They saw these expressions as representing the male-centric view of the world, and some respondents correlated it with the cultural experiences that the Dominican-American population had undergone. A positive connection between Sexual idioms and the Fratriarchal (and Patriarchal) framework was found to be evident by the respondents. The influence of the society around Yunior and his guilt and desire to change were found to be in contrast. Views on the protagonist were mixed, and several respondents were sympathetic towards him but not with his actions.

The central finding of this study was the connecting link between character analysis in the novel and language analysis of the text. Language use helps us perceive the world, and idiomatic expressions form a significant part. The limitation of this study is that it has tried to understand only specific idioms and gain perceptions surrounding them. Idiom types were marked based on one text, and their analysis should be included based on linguistic sets such as compositionality and transparency. This would provide more fruitful insights into the understanding of the strategies utilised by students. The period of this research was limited. Further, as readings were provided beforehand, 'Think Aloud' data may have been affected as the respondents might have focused and remembered the sections chosen for the study. Lastly, this study was limited to one text and PhD scholars from two recognised colleges. Thus, the sample size is small, more extensive studies ought to be conducted, and more texts from authors of various ethnicities ought to be introduced. A need for more diverse and random respondents will help generalise results.

Abbreviation

Nil.

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Author Contributions

Piyush Kumar: Designed the study and conducted the data collection and interviews, undertook the analysis of the data, Swasti Mishra: supervised the writing process, developed the methodology and conducted the Literature Review.

Conflict of Interest

None of the Co-authors expressed Conflict of Interest.

Ethics Approval

This research does not require ethics approval.

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