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In Search of Cultural and Personal Experience behind *woman* in James Joyce's *Dubliners*

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W poszukiwaniu kulturowej i jednostkowej motywacji w użyciu leksemu *woman* przez Jamesa Joyce'a w *Dublińczykach*

Streszczenie: W artykule zaprezentowano metodologiczną zasadność i konieczność zastosowania takiej analizy leksykalno-semantycznej, w której za podstawę przyjmuje się nie wyabstrahowane ponad- i pozakontekstowe definicje słownikowe, ale sposób, w jaki znaczenia kreuje dany (jednostkowy) użytkownik języka w faktycznych zdarzeniach mownych. Na podstawie opowiadań Jamesa Joyce'a ze zbioru *Dublińczycy* prześledzono niuanse semantyczne słowa *woman* 'kobieta', przyjmując, że w każdym wypadku są to wyrazy doświadczeniowych konceptualizacji samego Joyce'a, tych o podłożu wspólnotowym i tych jednostkowych. Chociaż niektóre ze stwierdzonych konceptualizacji przypominają wyidealizowane definicje, jakie leksemowi *woman* przypisują dla angielszczyzny okresu wiktoriańskiego słowniki, to dla pełnego zrozumienia *woman* w *Dublińczykach* należy uwzględnić wiele epizodów z życia Joyce'a oraz charakterystykę społeczno-kulturową jego czasów.

Słowa kluczowe: semantyka leksykalna, konceptualizacja, doświadczenie, kobieta, James Joyce

The aim of this contribution is to exemplify a private and individualized approach to word meaning as both an alternative and complementation to the standard dictionary-oriented and sense-based lexical semantics[1]. We, thus, assume that

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[1]   For earlier examples of what we understand by an individualized approach to doing lexical semantics, see Łozowski (2007) and (2008), where King Alfred's semantics of pre-modals is examined against the Old English tradition of inter-linear glossing. Łozowski and Stachurska (2015) present further lexical analyses, all given in contrast to a purely systemic

an individual's choice and use of words reflects his/her subjective experience and idiosyncratic assessment of reality. Our lexical material comprises the lexical item *woman* in James Joyce's *Dubliners*, the attempt being to show how the senses of *woman* in the collection are related to the writer's private life-story and his own vision of the Irish culture and society as regards gender issues at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries[2].

On the methodological plane, our position is that the senses of a word are not just extensions of one another, but, rather, they all constitute clusters based on "family resemblance"[3]. As there is no generally established, or agreed, rule on the basis of which we can predict conventionalized meanings of a lexical item, it seems that the senses are culturally defined and have to be learned, rather than can be predicted. Even within one culture, the meaning of a word is by no means the same in all minds. Still, it is possible to find experiential

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and dictionary-based way of tracing semantic histories of words. On methodological and practical inadequacies of the latter, see additionally Łozowski (2015).

[2]   We attempt this specifically in our contextual analysis below. Yet, a few words of generalization might prove useful here. Gleed (2011: 51–52) points out that having spent in Ireland his first 22 years of life, James Joyce left not only his own country but also abandoned his Roman Catholic religion, choosing "self-imposed exile" in Continental Europe. In the words of Bulson (2006: 21), "Joyce was born and raised in the nineteenth-century Ireland, but he matured in twentieth-century Europe." Although in many European countries this was the period of great changes as regards gender roles, Ireland's development concerning this issue was considerably postponed to the result that old Victorian values were preserved there much longer. Irish women at the turn of the 20th century were severely abused with no rights to defend themselves. To conform to societal norms, they had to be obedient, devoted to family life and religion, passionless, and submissive towards men (see Digby (1989), Maynard (1989), Schwarze (2002), Brannon (2004), Wiener (2004), King (2005), Papadopoulou (2005), Nelson (2007), Mitchell (2009), Hogg (2012)). Having moved to Continental Europe, Joyce met with drastic changes as regards the roles of men and women that allegedly influenced his way of seeing females. For him, a complete woman was no longer the domestic angel devoid of any sexual passion, desire, and intellectual skills, but rather a good companion, sexually independent goddess defined by nature, who could overpower a man as well as take care of him like a mother. Still, the rooted Victorian expectations interrupted his eccentric attitude towards females in such a way that he was at times baffled as to the idea of a woman [for more on women issues in the 19th/20th century Mediterranean region, see Dunnage (2002); for Joyce's vision of women, refer to Ellmann (1982), French (1988), Maddox (1990), Ehrlich (1997), Baccolini (1998), Johnson (2004), Maunder (2007), Parson (2007), Pappalardo (2011), Bowker (2012)].

[3]   Naturally, we owe this concept to Wittgenstein (1953). In his analysis of the German category *Spiele*, he points to the fact that *Spiele* includes not only the category *game*, but also such diverse notions as a sports match, a theater play/performance, and gambling for money. This means that although members of a given category have different status, with the boundaries in-between them being far from clear-cut, they all may belong to one and the same category in terms of human cognition and experience. For a human conceptualizer, a category is a family of related meanings.

motivation that stands behind each conventionalized meaning. In our analysis, apart from its cultural motivation, the meaning of *woman* is also determined by Joyce's individual experience. In other words, what is of our concern here is not only the meaning generated, or better: imposed, by the Victorian culture, but also the one projected by the writer's personal experience. Hence, we present conventionalized variations of the word in question that diverge from dictionary definitions and cannot be predicted by general rules, but are motivated by experience, both personal as well as cultural.

Woman in lexicographic records

On the basis of a thorough search of etymological roots and historical developments of *woman,* we can distinguish certain models of woman, as recorded in the lexicographic sources[4]. These models include the following: (i) the adult female of the human race model, (ii) the servant model, (iii) the weak and feeble creature model, (iv) the infantile person model, (v) the lady-love (mistress) model, (vi) the wife model, and (vii) the coin side model. If so, let us see which of these all-embracing historically-recorded models find their reflection in the common dictionaries of English used between 18th and 20th century, which is the period most relevant, as a reference point, for our examination of Joyce's *Dubliners*[5]. The main sources chosen for our analysis comprise *A Dictionary of the English Language* by Johnson, 1785 (henceforth: the *JD,*), *A Popular and Complete English Dictionary* by Boag, 1848 (the *PCED*), *A Dictionary of the English Language* by Wheeler, 1872 (the *DEL*) and *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* by Fowler and Fowler, 1919 (the *CODCE*). As evidenced in the following table, the entry *woman* happened to be defined as follows:

JD (late 18th c.)	*PCED* (early 19th c.)	*DEL* (late 19th c.)	*CODCE* (early 20th c.)
1. The female of the human race	1. The female of the human race, grown to adult years	1. The female of the human race, especially when grown to adult years	1. Adult human female (every woman is to him a lady)

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[4] For the economy of space, we do not quote any etymological data that may prove relevant for the overall history of *woman.* These can be found in *OED,* Ayto (2005: 549), Partridge (2006a: 3685), Partridge (2006b: 3686), Liberman (2005: 84), or Hendrickson (2008: 897).

[5] The dictionaries might not be entirely correct as regards the meanings or etymology, yet our aim is not to evaluate their accuracy or objectivity, but to uncover the attitudes towards *woman* as seen in the Victorian period *and* reflected in dictionaries.

JD (late 18th c.)	PCED (early 19th c.)	DEL (late 19th c.)	CODCE (early 20th c.)
2. A female attendant on a person of rank	2. A female attendant or servant	2. A female attendant or servant	2. *Woman's* or *women's rights,* position of legal quality with men demanded for women
–	–	–	3. *There is a woman in it,* way of accounting for man's inexplicable conduct
–	–	–	4. *Woman with a past,* with some scandal attaching to her past life
–––			5. *Woman of the world,* experienced in society, not raw and innocent
–––			6. *Play the woman,* weep or show fear
–––			7. *Make an honest woman of,* marry after seducing
–––			8. *Tied to woman's apron-strings,* controlled like a child by her
–––			9. *Single woman,* spinster
–––			10. The SCARLET woman (also Scarlet whore), an abusive term used with reference to pagan Rome, papal Rome, or the worldly spirit (in allusions to Revelation xvii)
–––			11. WISE woman, a witch, fortune-teller, also a midwife
–––			12. Without article, the average or typical woman, the female sex, any woman (how does woman differ from man?)
–––			13. Queen's or great lady's female attendant, lady in waiting (archaic, sent one of her women to ask)
–––			14. Men with feminine characteristics (is a woman in tenderness)
–––			15. The feminine emotions (all the woman in her rose in rebellion)
–––			16. (attrib.) female (*woman doctor, woman friend*)
–––			17. Chiefly in terms correlated to compounds in –*man,* woman concerned or dealing or skillful with (*countrywoman, shopwoman, chairwoman, needlewoman*)
–––			18. By close combination with adjective (*gentlewoman, womankind*)

As regards the above data, it can evidently be noticed that we do not find all the historically-recorded models of *woman* in the period under consideration (late 18th c. – early 20th c.). The principal two senses seem to be 'a female human being' and 'a servant'.

The first three sources (*JD, PCED, DEL*) are rather limited in their explanation of the entry. As to the first definition, while the *JD* gives basic information, the following two add some additional data concerning the age of the female. Still, according to the *DEL*, an adult age is the option rather than the necessary condition for a female to be called *woman*. The second meaning is given in a fairly similar way in the first three sources, with the 19th century dictionaries distinguishing between 'an attendant' and 'a servant'.

It is the *CODCE* that seems to be the only dictionary devoting much attention to the entry in question. Still, at a closer inspection, it can be noticed that most of the definitions contain the same meaning of *woman,* yet it is simply exemplified in various collocations or in compound words. A deeper insight into the *CODCE* data reveals that the semantics of the investigated lexical item amounts, on the whole, to five different senses, that is 'an adult human female,' 'female sex,' 'a female attendant,' 'a man with feminine characteristics,' 'feminine emotions'. There are no direct traces of any negative connotations as regards the entry, but there may be signaled some pejorative overtones. For example, in *scarlet woman* we have an allusions to the Book of Revelation XVII and papal Rome, which uncovers negative associations with a female as 'a sinister creature'. Much in similar vein, the expression *wise woman* reveals associations with 'a female person having occult power or knowledge of mysterious things seen in the negative light by society'.

As expected, 'an adult female of the human race' appears to be the central sense for the entry *woman*. Nonetheless, the meaning 'a servant' proves to be of prime importance as well. Although the 20th century dictionary reveals some negative connotations, they do not directly relate to the central meaning. Instead of the parameters of age or occupation, it is occultism and magical powers that seem to occupy the semantics of the lexical item in question. Still, the meanings have apparently been built in the opposition to the entry *man*. For example, the sense 'a female defined by irrationality and nature' is clearly opposed to the sense 'a man of a rational and civilized sphere'. This could be taken as evidence that various meanings of a given lexical item are not separated senses, but they form a web of resemblances, undoubtedly related to one another to some extent and under different conditions. At this point, let us look at the semantics of *woman* as projected by Joyce in *Dubliners* to see whether any cultural and/or personal experience can be contained in specific contexts.

Woman in *Dubliners*

Sense 1. An adult female characterized by infantile behaviour or childish appearance, at the same level as children in the evolutionary ladder.

References[6]: Story 1 (*D*: 5), Story 3 (*D*: 23), Story 13 (*D*: 111), Story 15 (*D*: 142), Story 15 (*D*: 145), Story 15 (*D*: 152), Story 15 (*D*: 154)

Context. In each of the above cases, the context suggests that, in the evolutionary ladder, the adult female is lower than the adult male. In terms of her physical appearance or behaviour, the woman is considered closer to children than adults. In Story 1, women and boys are all the same interested in local issues, such as reading obituaries. Men, on the other hand, are not keen on such trivial activities as they have more important things to do in public life. As the *OED* indicates, the adjective *poor*, apart from its common sense, also means 'of little worth,' this only strengthening the lower position of females in the eyes of society in the narrative. In the passage from Story 3, it is the woman that is in the habit of talking a lot about some unimportant issues, and concerned with trivial activities such as collecting and selling used postage stamps to raise money for some charity. Such an activity would not be considered appropriate for a man responsible for public life, but good enough for a boy. In the excerpt from Story 13, it is the diminutive figure of the woman that is underscored, this implying her close resemblance to a child rather than an adult. Additionally, as the *OED* outlines, the adjective *little*, apart from denoting 'small in size,' is also used to mean 'not of great importance, trivial,' 'not distinguished, inferior in rank,' this allegedly suggesting unimportant position of the woman in the narrative. In Story 15, apart from the little postures of elderly ladies that are emphasized, it is the behaviour similar to a disoriented child that characterizes one woman. The elderly ladies are considered unimportant, lacking adequate knowledge and understanding, and thus are treated as children. What is more, the women consider themselves silly and accept their lower position in a society. It should also be mentioned that, as the *OED* indicates, the old meaning of the adjective *stupid* was 'paralysed,' this apparently implying the women's inability to ameliorate. Much in similar vein, one of the female guests is depicted. The lady is not only dressed in clothes with girlish motifs but also behaves like a little child who

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6   Again, for the sake of economy of space, we do not offer any quotations from *Dubliners* that could exemplify and illustrate the delimited senses, but, instead, give only references to the relevant and most representative passages in Joyce's collection. The number of the story is the same as in *Dubliners.* The letter *D* refers to *Dubliners*, while the number following it denotes the page in the collection.

cannot wait the game. Finally, in Story 15, women are considered even lower in the social hierarchy than boys. In the church choir, they are replaced with boys, this apparently implicating that young males are more suitable for such public activities than adult females.

Cultural basis. Motivation behind Joyce's conceptualization of woman seems to be rooted in the Victorian cult of the woman as a little girl and the postulations put forward by Darwin who classified females as closer to children than men in the evolutionary ladder. The ideas of the 19th century research on females in the world of science also find their reflections in Joyce's conceptualization (King 2005: 24–25; Nelson 2007: 19).

Personal basis. As evidenced by Ellmann (*SL*: 3), Joyce was brought up in a traditional Victorian family where the roles of parents were strictly divided into the public and domestic duties. Yet, the writer seemed to oppose the socially constructed norms and the idea of gender segregation. His negative attitude towards the Victorian system, conceptualized as woman, was allegedly reflected in the semantics of *woman* that seems to uncover the hidden side of reality as regards the life of domestic angels and bears rather negative connotations towards the issue of the 19th century model of a woman. Still, the criticism is not directed against such women but rather the system that puts them is such a position (Schwarze 2002: 4–5).

Sense 2. An old, unattractive, cold-blooded female, concerned with the material side of life.

References: Story 1 (*D*: 7), Story 7 (*D*: 47), Story 14 (*D*: 122), Story 15 (*D*: 150–151)

Context. In the references, the context makes it evident that *woman* means 'a middle-aged person who is concerned with the material side of life, this being her guarantee to survive in the Victorian society'. Many of such women, as French (1988: 270) notices, "treat men as customers who cannot always be relied upon to pay their bills. In Story 1, the woman focuses on the religious rituals rather than the spiritual side of the wake. From the excerpt, it seems that it is hard for the woman to make ends meet and consequently take care of her appearance being the mark of the social rank within society. Her obsession with the ritual allegedly serves to make up for her losses in the material status or her physical attractiveness in the eyes of the public. The meanings of the words and phrases used in the fragment apparently allude to the woman's situation. The verb *toil*, as the *OED* indicates, apart from 'physical labour' also means 'struggling for a living'. The expression *scarcely above the level* refers to the rail of the

stairs but might as well indicate the woman's level of living standard. In Story 7, the woman is a down-to-earth person who knows how to deal with and invest money in order to survive and become independent of an abusive husband. Again, it is materialism rather than spiritual love or intimacy the woman aims at. It seems that the woman is not keen on any relationship with a man on the grounds that she is able to provide for herself financially. The adjective *imposing* might refer to her physical appearance as well as 'practising imposture and deception' (see the *OED*). The excerpt form Story 14 evidently suggests that the woman is too much concerned with the rituals as well as the physical appearance of her husband rather than his intellect or character. She assumes that it is his clothes and posture that counts and wins her respect in society. In their relationship, it is not intimacy but rather the issue of how people perceive them that takes its prime. The adjective *practical* apparently implies using reason rather than emotions in selecting a husband (see the *OED*). In general, all the aforementioned instances indicate that the semantics of *woman* refers to 'a material, middle-age female person'.

Cultural basis. As outlined by Maynard (1989: 229–230), in Victorian times, it was marriage of convenience rather than love match that was contracted. In other words, matrimony was a financial transaction rather than a romantic relationship between the two people. What mattered was the public image that took its prime over intimate relations between the spouses at home. For women, calculation and *sang-froid* in marriage was the only guarantee of financial support and good social status. Unmarried women, *au contraire*, were in a burdensome financial situation and had little opportunities of living up to the standards. What is more, unless entered a convent, they were frequently stigmatized for their single status. These circumstances allegedly influenced Joyce's conceptualization of WOMAN.

Personal basis. Considering the writer's private experience, it is possible to find motivation behind his vision of WOMAN as well. As evidenced in his biography (Bowker 2011: 167), Joyce fervently opposed the idea of marriage on the grounds that the spouses were not in the intimate relationship but rather made a business deal where a woman sacrificed her body to her husband in exchange for financial support, this being the reason for his refusing marrying Nora (see also Ellmann 1982: 294).

Sense 3. A domestic prostitute of moral duty, a defenseless creature.
References: Story 6 (*D*: 39), Story 6 (*D*: 41), Story 6 (*D*: 42), Story 6 (*D*: 43–44*)*, Story 6 (D: 44–45), Story 7 (*D*: 48), Story 8 (*D*: 62), Story 11 (D: 86)

Context. In view of the given references, it is possible to infer that the context echoes objectification of women by men in the Victorian period. Here, with reference to a young female, *woman* is 'an object of male abuse and seduction'. In Story 6, it is the woman who agrees on indecent practices due to male encouragement. She is simply used by the man to his own gain. The word *game*, used here as a slang word, means 'agree'. However, it can also denote 'prostitution' (see the *OED*). As implied by Morillot (2007: 98), the colours of the woman's clothes seem to reflect the Virgin Mary, the aim being to reflect her aspirations to an approved model of a Victorian woman, that is a *déclassé* subordinate towards a man or, in Joyce's understanding, an exclusive prostitute of her husband. In fact, the woman, hoping the man would become her husband, goes with him possibly to have a sexual encounter outside the city. As regards symbolism, the colour and style of the maid's clothes might also bear some associations to the navy where salutation is a form of respect. Here, we can see lack of respect on the side of the man since he "approach[es] the young woman […] without saluting" (*D*: 42). Examining her from the distance shows also the male superior status and the male idea of being better than a woman. The reference to her mouth, possibly moist, apart from sexual overtones, might also imply her paralysis and inability to ameliorate. The context of the excerpt from Story 7 makes it evident that Polly is not *woman* in Sense 3. The men feel comfortable in the company of a female subordinate (that is *woman*) who would serve and assist them but, as implied, Polly's role is not to nurse and sacrifice her body but rather flirt and satisfy her own needs. Hence, *woman* in this quotation does not refer to her. Her presence serves to delude men into thinking that they have a domestic angel around, and, consequently, to take advantage of them. She is a *femme fatale* rather than a weak subordinate. In Story 8, *woman* is used to denote 'an objectified female inferior who is well available to a man and waits until he wishes to focus his attention on her'. In short, the word denotes 'a person without any reason and clear thinking'. Her role is to serve the man and be available at any time. Additionally, the expression *the woman and the cash* allegedly implies that females and money are of the same value for the man. The quotation from Story 11 evidences that sexual intercourse is not perceived as an act of pleasure in marriage but rather as a moral obligation. In general, it can be concluded that *woman* in the above contexts means 'a prostitute of moral duty'.

Cultural basis. What possibly motivated Joyce's conceptualization of WOMAN was Darwin's theory of evolution, with women being lower in the evolutionary ladder than men, and, analogously to the animal world, considered weaker sex and the object of male desire (see King 2005: 24–25).

Personal basis. With respect to his personal experience, it was Joyce's interest in the Phoenician customs as regards sacred prostitution and cross gender relations that allegedly influenced his way of conceptualizing WOMAN. As Pappalardo (2011: 159) implies, in the Phoenician culture, prostitution was of a "tripartite pattern," with sacred prostitution being an obligation rather than an option for a woman, much similarly as the institution of marriage in the Victorian period. In general, as implied in *LII*: 134, for Joyce, it was the Irish reality that imprisoned and caused moral paralysis of Dubliners. Here, the ideal of a Victorian woman was perceived by the writer as a paralyzed person subjugated towards a man, unable to take any steps to alter her hopeless situation. What could change this forlorn position was an escape abroad.

Sense 4. Non-Irish, unmarried female member of public life interested in a financial gain for her service, a prostitute by choice.
References: Story 8 (*D*: 58), Story 9 (*D*: 69), Story 9 (*D*: 72), Story 9 (*D*: 74)

Context. The references evince that *woman* is used to mean 'a foreign female who aims at getting some financial benefit for her hospitality towards a man'. In Story 8, *woman* seems to be equated with *girl*, yet, its synonym *cocotte,* defined by *OED* as '[a] prostitute; one of a class of the *demi-monde* of Paris,' suggests that it is financial gain from an encounter rather than sexual pleasure a woman aims at. Much in similar vein, in Story 9, English women[7] accompany men in the pub for some monetary purpose of their encounter rather than pure pleasure. It is clear for one of the girls that Farrington is out of money and, therefore, she disdains him. The big hats the women wear might allude to collecting money in a hat (see *hat* as defined by the *OED*). As regards the middle-aged Jewish woman, it remains unclear whether she is interested in any sexual encounter at all, yet, it seems evident that the woman uses her female charm and lure to get a financial benefit from the business deal. All the instances here indicate that *woman* can plausibly mean 'a prostitute by choice'.

Cultural basis. It seems that WOMAN presented so far is strictly correlated with Irish nationality. When the word is used with reference to an English or a French woman, its semantics does not conform to the aforementioned ideal of a Victorian woman. This seems to be motivated by the political situation in the 19th century Ireland. The country was under the colonial rule, while France and England were independent, the latter being also the cause of the subjugation of

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[7]   Notice that unlike in Context to Sense 3, the women are saluted by a man, thus implying his respect towards them, possibly due to the fact that they do not aspire to marriage and to become the male property as the maid from Story 6.

Ireland. As evidenced by Valente (2011: 20), Ireland was associated with a female figure, while the union between England and Ireland with Victorian marriage.

Personal basis. The motivation behind WOMAN is allegedly rooted in Joyce's idea of woman as a prostitute. Basing his postulations on Phoenician customs, the writer assumed that prostitution was an early form of marriage (see also Lombroso and Ferrero 2004: 100–101). In his conceptualizations, WOMAN refers to prostitutes of two kinds[8]: Irish wife and non-Irish independent female. In both cases, women get material benefits from sexual encounters with men.

Sense 5. An adult female imprisoned in the domestic sphere of life, devoid of any passion and joy of life, a domestic angel.

5.a An unattractive female, a wife that is a burden for a man.

References: Story 8 (*D*: 64), Story 9 (*D*: 74), Story 11 (*D*: 87), Story 13 (*D*: 112), Story 14 (*D*: 123), Story 15 (*D*: 140), Story 15 (*D*: 151), Story 15 (*D*: 166), Story 15 (*D*: 176)

Context. As deduced from the context, being a contract of imprisonment for a woman, marriage causes her loss of passion, and coldness towards her husband, and, as a consequence, frequently results in her bitterness and depression. Thus, French (1988: 269) rightfully notices that contrary to men, women in *Dubliners* "lack sexuality." In Story 8, *woman* is used to denote 'a wife devoid of passion and joy of life, a stressful mother who abuses her husband emotionally'. In the narrative, the woman is perceived by her husband as a cold and passionless lady.

To put it bluntly, unattractiveness of the woman does not correspond to her looks but rather lack of vigor, desire, and glee of life. Much in similar vein, the excerpt from Story 9 evidences the chilly and insulting nature of a wife towards her husband. Yet, in this case, the man hits back at her when drunk. In Story 11, because of her unhappy marriage and imprisonment in the domestic sphere, the woman falls into depression, and consequently commits suicide. It should be mentioned that the use the verb *fall* might not only suggest 'moving down towards the ground' but also 'descending from moral elevation,' or 'being struck down by some tragedy', while used as a slang word, the noun *fall* means 'imprisonment' (see the *OED*). Therefore, it seems that the aforementioned senses only support our argumentation as regards the semantics of *woman* here. In Story 13, the physical appearance of a woman reflects her state of mind, possibly being the result of her imprisonment in the house. She is a pale and badly

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[8]   The third kind, where prostitution means a sexual encounter with a man for pleasure, is represented with *girl*.

dressed stranger no one has ever heard of. It seems that it is the semantics of the neighbouring word that also mirrors the woman's condition. The adjective *solitary*, apart from meaning 'alone or unaccompanied,' might also be used to mean 'keeping apart or aloof from society,' 'secluded,' 'lonely' (see the *OED*). In Story 14, the person called *woman* seems to be unhappy in her marriage, this being evidenced by her addiction to alcohol. In other words, the woman drinks in order to alleviate the pain of imprisonment and lack of affection from her husband. Depression she allegedly suffers from has caused her indifference towards her physical appearance. Similarly, Story 15 indicates that *woman* means 'devoid of passion and an unhappy wife'. The context suggests that Greta seems to have similar interests as the elderly ladies, this being the possible reason of her husband staying with the maid, hoping for her affection. In the next scene, Gabriel is not able to recognize his wife from the distance due to the fact that her passion is gone. Additionally, the verb *distant* might not only be used with reference to music but also to Greta. She is no longer an independent and passionate person she used to be. It is marriage that has imprisoned her and has caused her bitterness and loss of desire. The woman's loss of passion is also suggested by the use of the names for colours. The vivid red terra-cotta and salmon-pink colours are seen as ordinary black and white by Gabriel. Hence, although he feels affection towards her, this is not a mutual feeling. Generally speaking, *woman* in the aforementioned references denotes 'devoid of passion and an unattractive wife'.

Cultural basis. What apparently influenced Joyce's conceptualization of WOMAN was the marriage of convenience popular in the Victorian period that caused females to be *sangfroid*, and make cold calculation as regards choosing their life partners. Still, *au contraire,* the relationships devoid of any affection caused unhappiness and depression of women. What contributed to this issue was also the idea of a woman confined to the domestic sphere of life without any possibility of going out (Schwarze 2002: 119). It was also the belief that menstruation and childbearing were the root of female unstable nervous system and mental illnesses that apparently influenced Joyce's WOMAN. Additionally, the idea that pleasure from sexual intercourse could trigger women's dangerous and savage nature, and expectations to inhibit their sexual needs and sacrifice their bodies to their husbands (King 2005: 20) possibly had some impact on Joycean WOMAN as well.

Personal basis. Certain events from Joyce's personal life allegedly influenced his conceptualizations as regards WOMAN. As a child, the writer had a very close relationship with his mother, seeing his father as the opponent, and his parents' relation as devoid of any affection but merely narrowed down to having children.

Later, he used to say that true love was only possible between a mother and a child (Ellmann 1982: 292–295; Bowker 2012: 167). The writer also considered women devoting their entire life to family and home duties as prisoners in their own houses (Schwarze 2002: 4–5).

5. b A former independent, cunning and passionate woman who was turned into a domestic angel.
References: Story 10 (*D*: 76), Story 10 (*D*: 77)

Context. In the references here, the semantics of *woman* seems to be 'an imprisoned female'. The context evidently makes some allusions to prison. First, as the *OED* indicates, the word *matron* generally refers to 'a woman who has official charge of the domestic arrangement of the public institution such as a hospital or a prison'. The women can obtain a pass from the laundry as if it was a pass from prison. Called by the bell, they rush in twos to the summon similarly as in jail. The distribution of food ratios and ban on alcohol also seem to echo prison. Reformed prostitutes are incarcerated in the laundry being the stopgap of a domestic sphere much in the same way as Victorian females are closed in their houses. The bambrack, a traditional Halloween cake with a ring inside, alludes to marriage perceived by society as a blessing for the women. However, in reality, the aim of the reform is to put independent females in custody. Additionally, it seems tempting to suggest that Maria, the former independent female, is also a member of this group, but of a higher rank. After all, she has to obtain the pass from the laundry to visit her former employers. In the last excerpt, the use of the adjective *common* meaning 'ordinary,' 'not sophisticated' might also allude to 'a harlot' or 'a criminal' (see the *OED*), hence, 'a person deserving prison'. In view of the above considerations, it seems that *woman* means 'a reformed prostitute who abandoned her freedom and independence for the sake of Victorian morality'.

Cultural basis. What contributed to Joyce's conceptualization of WOMAN in this way was the Victorian idea of social reforms for prostitutes (Schwarze 2002: 100) as well as the issue of the strict division into the public and the domestic spheres, the latter being the exclusively female domain (Brannon 2004: 161).

Personal basis. As deduced from his biography, for Joyce, it was allegedly a Victorian wife rather than a harlot that was a real prostitute that needed reformation to better her hopeless life (Maunder 2007: 216). This idea supposedly contributed to his conceptualization of WOMAN.

Sense 6. An adult female performing a low status job.
References: Story 1 (*D*: 8), Story 1 (*D*: 9)*, Story 3 (*D*: 21), Story 9 (*D*: 71)

Context. It becomes evident from the context that *woman* means 'a female person eligible to perform a job of low rank'. In Story 1, it is the woman who washes the dead corpse, while in Story 3, the women work surrounded by people of lowest social ranks, such as drunkards or offensive factory workers. Additionally, as the *OED* indicates, the word *bargain* also refers to 'a piece of work let to the workers making the lowest offer,' this implying that the job the women perform is of lowest rank and no one except females is willing to do it'. Similarly, in Story 9, the women returning from work are exposed to squalid conditions. Joyce uses the word *woman* instead of *girl* allegedly due to the fact that the former is associated with a working and dependent female, while the latter with a free and passionate person.

Cultural basis. What possibly contributed to Joyce's conceptualization of WOMAN here was the fact that jobs available to women in the Victorian period were low-paid and non-prestigious. Working women were of lower social ranks and were considered a deviation from the Victorian norm of a domestic angel (Papadopoulou 2005: 6–7).

Personal basis. Nora never worked when they were together. For Joyce, she was not WOMAN in Sense 5 and 6 for the reason that he did not marry her. For the writer, marrying a woman meant her imprisonment (Schwarze 2002: 4–5).

Concluding remarks

In our analysis, we suggest that the senses of *woman* as identified in *Dubliners* should be taken as reflections of Joyce's conceptualizations derived from his own life experience, both personal and cultural. As Tabakowska (2005: 375–376) writes, "meaning is equalized with conceptualization […] and] comes as a result of a particular way of seeing things." We might, therefore, conclude that human language is motivated by human experience. Our analysis has also revealed that treated as a medium of communication and expression of a given speech community, language can be the element of culture, reflecting its customs, beliefs, traditions, taboos, and social norms. Still, when we speak of language of an individual, it is culture subjectively expressed and evaluated in language that becomes its integral part.

The word *woman* can possibly resemble some of the dictionary models such as the wife model or the servant model, but its semantics seems to be wider than the dictionary definitions. What greatly contributes to the meanings of *woman* is the writer's own experience. Apart from this, the semantics of *woman* shows

that, depending on the context, it can be, to certain degrees, the synonym or the antonym of *girl*.

In general, in Joyce's *Dubliners*, *woman* shows six main broad senses, all of which share the element 'a female person of lower status than a male person,' with Sense 5 apparently being central. In other words, for Joyce, the concept women covers females who are considered human beings of lower ranks. Their subjugated position might result from their behaviour, physiology, education, performed job or duties, and societal expectations. The idea of inferiority and subjection seems to reflect the early meaning of *woman* as 'a female person characterized by changeability, capriciousness, proneness to tears'. The idea of the domestic sphere and woman's responsibility for the household seems to be correlated with the Old English *wīf* that was originally a collective neuter plural meaning 'a family belonging to a woman'. We can also note the connection between *woman* denoting 'a reverse side of a coin' and Joyce's *woman* meaning 'a cold-blooded female, concerned with trivialities and the material side of life'. What the two have in common is the monetary significance and emphasis on materialism.

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Summary: In the article, we exemplify an individualized approach to lexical semantics, where an individual's use of words is given priority over abstracted and all-embracing dictionary-like definitions. Thus, as identified in *Dubliners*, the senses of *woman* are presented as reflections of Joyce's conceptualizations derived from his own life experience, both personal and cultural. These conceptualizatons may resemble some of the dictionary models/definitions of *woman* of the relevant (Victorian) period, but, on the whole, they are highly individualized and context-specific. In our analysis, Joyce's *woman* shows in *Dubliners* six main broad senses, all of which share the element 'a female person of a status lower than that of a male person.'

Key words: lexical semantics, conceptualization, experience, woman, James Joyce