The article analyses the strategies of employing intertexts – primarily, allusions – in contemporary Lithuanian media. The study relies on the idea that recognition and appropriate interpretation of an allusion show that both the author and the reader belong to the same cultural circle which can be identified on the basis of age, education, field of interests and other features. In order to reach the audience, an author has to use the language that the audience understands best. Therefore, if a reader fails to recognise allusions or s/he interprets them differently than intended, s/he is not part of the cultural circle.

The selected method of the study was testing respondents in order to determine how effectively allusions are recognised and interpreted by a small yet significant segment of the readership, namely, students aged 18 to 20. The respondents had to identify and interpret allusions in fifty sentences collected from articles by influential opinion leader Rimvydas Valatka, a distinguished Lithuanian publicist, whose writings are characteristic of rich rhetorical expression. The results demonstrate that only about one fourth of respondents interpret publicistic allusions adequately:

- adequate interpretation – 27%,
- ungrounded interpretation – 25%,
- no interpretation – 48%.

The statistics of the recognition and interpretation of allusions used in the texts fluctuates considerably in different areas of referent texts:

- Biblical allusions – 37%,
- folklore allusions – 32%,
- historical allusions – 12%,
- cinematographic allusions – 49%,
- cultural allusions – 25%,
- literary allusions – 25%.

It is possible to conclude that numerous intertexts used by Rimvydas Valatka are not targeted at the student-age audience, especially for the obvious shift from the Soviet- and Russian-specific items...
(only 11% of reference texts that belong to this category were identified by respondents) and that this segment of the readership remains in the periphery of Rimvydas Valatka’s cultural circle.

Keywords: allusion, intertextuality; reference texts; cultural circle; media texts.
Introduction

According to Irina Melnikova, a text is “an open universe where an interpreter may detect an infinite number of interlinks” (Melnikova, 65). This capacious phrase has the intriguing word “may” as the infinity may not be embraced and all that remains is focusing on the interconnections which we are able to recognise and interpret, one way or another. Recognition is one of the challenges brought about by intertexts as, according to Regina Koženiauskienė, an “intertext may be hidden so well that it may be perceived only through excellent knowledge of literary, historical and cultural context” (Koženiauskienė, 2013, 84).

Rhetorical devices provide the reader with aesthetic pleasure, a play on metaphors and metonymies invites us to admire the author's wits, whereas intertexts are interesting because of their existence which presupposes the presence of an active recipient, where the text becomes a chess match, a riddle. We, at once, make a reservation that this study will only focus on unmarked intertextuality which is represented by free indirect speech, paraphrases, mention, recreated phraseology, parody, allusion, i.e. figures which are not distinguished by graphic means (quotation marks, italic font), therefore, their recognition, decrypting, perception are more complex and highly depend on the background knowledge of the reader. It especially applies to the most complicated type of intertexts – allusions.

Allusion, according to the elegant description of Allan H. Pasco, is a “literary graft” which – let us carry on with the author’s metaphor – will break into young leaf and grow only when the graft and rootstock (a new context) are compatible with one another. Another, less elegant, description of allusion by Michel de Certeau suggests that creation of an allusion is “an impertinent raid on the literary preserve” where readers take away things that are useful or pleasurable (Jenkins 1992, 24).

Allusion is extremely economic, as a word here or there may touch the deepest and broadest cultural layers, unearth large volumes of information content and, supposedly, expand the volume of a text. Therefore, the paraphrase of Ted Cohen’s idea “These are good times for the friends of metaphor” (Cohen, 3) might lead to the statement that modern times are favourable to the fans of allusions. Due to its economic nature, the allusion should be especially desirable in the media which values the ability to provide as much content in as little area as possible, therefore, in the last decades, intertextuality has been seen as a characteristic of the quality media (for instance, Ott&Walter, 430). Media is in the centre of the focus of this study as well.

Studies of media intertexts

Over the last decades, intertextuality has become, according to some authors, the “intellectual currency” of the idea of post-structuralism in the media, while “allusions based on the emerging global culture are a rich and engaging journalistic writing resource” (Jian-Shiung Shie, 59). This interest notably grew with the spread of online media, where an opportunity to promptly comment on texts brought the readers both new possibilities and a new status of an actor in a communicative act.

The use of intertexts as a deliberate preference, particularly noticeable since the 80s of the 20th century, is discussed by B. Ott and C. Walter (Ott&Walter, 429, 442 et al) who associate it with the evolving nature of texts. The pragmatic strategy of allusions in the international media was thoroughly analysed by Jian-Shiung Shie who was studying how non-lexicalised allusions were used in the headlines of the New York Times and the Times Supplement published for the readership of Taiwan. The comparison of 605 articles in the English and Mandarin languages revealed that
translated texts contained much fewer allusions, although the language of the headlines, in that case, were made stylistically more restricted and culturally less Western. That is because the readers of both publications represent different cultures whose (actual) state languages differ, and their cultural baggage, that the intertexts are targeted to, is diverse, therefore the media modifies rhetorical devices meant for a specific audience. Exclusion of allusions or modification, as Jian-Shiung Shie states, improves the perception of media texts.

The comprehensive study by P. Lennon *Allusions in the Press* is dedicated to allusions in the media. It focuses on the forms, functions, and pragmatic characteristics of allusions picked up on the media of Great Britain. In the corpus of the media allusions, the author selects six groups based on categories of referents (target units, as he calls them) – quotations, titles, proverbs, formulaic texts, names and naming phrases, and analyses how they are used in the texts and headlines of the articles.

The topic of intertextuality in media texts has attracted attention in Lithuania as well: the study *Rhetorical and Stylistic Analysis of Publicist Texts* by R. Koženiauskienė (Koženiauskienė, 2013) contains an exhaustive classification and comprehensive analysis of intertextuality in Lithuanian media. R. Koženiauskienė’s article *Intertextuality: reference, alleged dialogue and other stylistic devices* (Koženiauskienė, 2007) aims at discussing intertextuality of publicistic texts of V. Kudirka, a Lithuanian writer of the 19th c., whereas the object of the study *Play on Recreated Phraseology in the Media* (Koženiauskienė, 2013 (2)) is the relationship between the playfully recreated phraseology and most prominent destructive figures, their rhetorical functions in online media. Issues of perception and interpretation of intertexts is discussed by I. Smetonienė in the article *Forms of Intertextuality in Advertising* (Smetonienė, 2013).
Recognition of a cultural circle as a result of an allusive connection

A text, according to J. Kristeva, may be described as a “mosaic of quotations” of literary and sociocultural and ideological discourses linked by intertextual connections with intertwined transformed meanings from other texts which, in turn, reflect an individual concept of the world conveyed by the language. That “mosaic of quotations” may not be chaotic as the previous texts or their fragments are not mechanically, without selection, inserted in the text being produced; in this case, intertextuality, as a rhetorical (and not only) issue, would not exist in the first place.

All unmarked intertexts are bound by a very significant attribute – an invitation to find correlations between the target text and the referent, and enabling to do so. At the same time, this means developing the relationship between the author and the addressee as the use of allusion presupposes the presence of the reader, makes them co-authors complementing the target with own knowledge, own texts, cultural context, abundance of associations, prospect of transforming the meanings being read in their own way. Allusion, according R. Koženiauskienė, is “not only a connection between certain related phenomena, but it is also an intellectual relation between an orator and the audience” (Koženiauskienė, 1999, 158) which calls the reader to yield to the author’s provocation and take part in a creative process.

An ability to understand intertexts depends on the reader’s background knowledge, therefore heterogeneous audience read the author’s idea differently. To create an allusive connection, the author should employ the assumption that his/her readers are disposing of cultural and life-experience baggage which suffices to recognise the referent and interpret it. “Allusions are typically made for that audience only which perceives them well and which finds intellectual pleasure in them” (Koženiauskienė, 1999, 158). Therefore, the success of communication relies on the education of the author and reader and on cultural thesaurus, on how close the personalities and life experiences are. Since a set of the audience is not homogeneous, it is rather comprised of various sub-sets, it is only natural that recognition, perception, interpretation of intertexts is different in every sub-set as well.

For example, William of Baskerville, the main character from “The Name of the Rose” by U. Eco, is a universally recogniseable allusion to Sherlock Holmes’s stories well known to mass readers, whereas, a more complex allusion to Voltaire’s Zadig presented in an episode of a missing horse in U. Eco’s novel will be identified by very few. Every reader will belong to yet different circles of addressees – a cultural circle, as we call it – identified by age, education, fields of interests or other attributes. By recognising allusions or failing to notice them, by reading differently into them, the readers bring their life experience, baggage of knowledge to light and reveal their creativity.

Every cultural groups attempts to create a system of identification attributes which helps differentiate between the “own” and the “other” as, according to J. Stepanov, the dichotomy penetrates the entire culture (Степанов, 1997, 472. Cited from Слышкин, 106). The reminiscence of the text designated to prove the author's association with the same group (social, political, age, etc.) is called, by G. Slyshkin, a password appeal to the referent, while the unique set of those texts is a feature of identity bringing together the group members (Слышкин, 108). A desire to identify the “own” readers and separate the “others” is a discerned or intuitive goal of the author; encoding through intertexts is a selection method applied by the author. Allusion created by the author is a method of encoding that enables the recognition of the representative of the same cultural circle, whereas the “referent is
engaged <...> because the ability to understand this text shows that the author and reader belong to the same group” (Papaurėlytė, 32). The appeal to the common corpus of referents brings the group together, as an individual, when reflecting the reminescences used in the process of communication, unconsciously sets the division between the “own” and the “other”. A hidden reference to the referent plays a role of certain segregation. The author positions him/herself at the “highest” level – of a “scholar”, an “expert”: s/he knows all connections of allusions, s/he is the sole arbitr, examiner and assessor. The internal circle represents the learned readers/audience capable of recognising all or as many allusions as possible and interpret them in a way which justifies the author’s expectations. Two peers exchanging expressive looks with one another in a conversation is the same as a reader who, having recognised the allusion and assessed its complexity and depth, feels belonging to the same cultural society, disposing of the same cultural baggage and the same background knowledge. The closeness is enhanced by realizing the existence of the external circle whose members are capable of recognising fewer allusions or their interpretation is not quite correct, thus they are not considered the interlocutors, or their opinions are to be disregarded. Consequently, if there is nothing in common between the author and reader, at least this commonality arises with a hint of elitism and distinctiveness.

When the author creates an allusion, he invites the reader for an intellectual play, i.e. to simultaneously create an allusive connection. This is a strategy chosen by the author and the reader has to decide whether or not to accept the challenge. Here, R. Leppihalme’s “culture bumps” become a cultural challenge which, when tackled, gives a joy of finding an answer, a key to a riddle. Allusion which is too sophisticated will not be grasped or it will even go unnoticed, and the reader will not become a player of the game. “Creators of texts know”, claims Irena Smetonienė, “that a reader appreciates those encrypted texts which are easy to decrypt” (Smetonienė, 2013, 171). A primitive or cliché allusion will not grab the reader, his/her initiative will not be aroused, therefore, readers of a similar level (and taste) will join at the table of the intellectual game. Similarly, the author experiences pleasure when the reader decrypts the allusion that has been buried deeper. U. Eco: “I was aware that few readers would have been able to catch the allusion, but I was equally aware that, in terms of textual strategy, this was not indispensable (I mean that one can read my novel and understand my Casaubon even though disregarding the historical Casaubon)” (ECO, 196), and further: “I was very happy that they so cunningly discovered what I so cunningly concealed in order to lead them to find it“ (ECO, 189).

**Author’s communication strategy in media texts**

The mature media has its own strategy for the use of intertexts, therefore, it is not by chance that some authors treat allusions as the deliberate inclusion of identifiable elements of another text (e.g. Irwin, 2002; Miner, 1993; Ricks, 2002). The same view is shared by Jian-Shiung Shie who says that the author should insert the text elements identifiable by the reader (Jian-Shiung Shie, 4, 5, 20). P. Lennon claims that the newspapers are trying to use allusions to the fields of knowledge and experience well known to their readers which depend on the readership’s education, interests and experience (P. Lennon, p. 15). The fact that the newspapers aim at being perceived by as wider the

---

1 By calling one of the main characters of “Foucault’s Pendulum” Casaubon, U. Eco, as he says, bore Isaac Casaubon, who proved that “Corpus Hermeticum” was false, in mind.
audience as possible is argued by P. Lennon’s observation that although the broadsheets prefer literary allusions, whereas tabloids go for “low culture” allusions, the statistical data, however, fail to show a clear dichotomy between these two formats of the media.

In media texts, allusions must be adjusted to the “own” audience, for if the reader fails to recognise the allusion, s/he will not experience intellectual pleasure and perceive deeper meanings offered by the relationship between the target text and the referent. Here is, in our view, an example of an unsuccessful allusion in the media that attempted to build bridges to the works of Kurt Vonnegut. A section of the article on how new technologies can cut jobs in the magazine “IQ”, in its February 2014 issue, was called “Player Piano”. That is a discernible allusion to K. Vonnegut’s social dystopia “Player Piano”, but it is explained nowhere in the text, although only few have read this novel in Lithuania, which means that only a small group of the readers will recognise the connection with K. Vonnegut’s works.

If the reader fails to identify allusive connections, some of the texts may be completely ruined, for example, a parody, which is a genre where the strategy of intertextuality is completely intentional. Accordingly, a contemporary author, who has become a seller of his/her cultural production and is seeking to be attractive to the modern audience, is forced to think of the text marketing and develop an effective “sales” strategy referring to the reader’s cultural profile rather than his/her own.

The author’s communications strategy should carefully balance in terms of the urge to expand the internal circle, i.e. the audience that adequately interprets the intertexts created by the author, as the text will inevitably be turning into a mediocre one, and part of the more learned readers who know the password opening the door to the closed circle may be disappointed in excess information aiming at “educating” the external circle. For example, the headline of R. Valatka’s article “Conversation of a Lithuanian with a Pole” is immediately explained in the text: “How one could forget the work of an anonymous Lithuanian “Conversation of a Pole with a Lithuanian” distributed by Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red right before the Union of Lublin”. Less educated readers find it (or do they really?) somewhat clearer, whereas the more learned will be discontented as the author co-opted the ignorant ones into the circle of the knowledgeable readers. This reminds of a boring explanation of a joke to a listener who did not understand it; if you laugh with others, you are the own, if not, you are not the own yet.

R. Valatka’s media texts contain the examples where a certain strategy of the use of allusions is deliberately chosen:

- The first method is the referent disclosure, for instance, the referent of the allusion concealed in the headline “Crisis is at the gates? So what!” is referred to in the very first sentence of the article: “Hannibal ante portas”. By the way, this strategy might be employed not only by the author of a text, but also by an interviewing journalist who believes that the allusions used by the interlocutor may be too difficult to understand for the majority of the audience.

- The second method is to distance oneself from a classic allusion. If R. Valatka had not decrypted the intertext with an insert on F. Beigbeder in the sentence “love between the president and the conservatives that lasted for three years, as it was supposed to according to F. Beigbeder, has ended”, that would have been a classic allusion, instead, the author’s choice made it closer to citation which, in terms of perception, is a “simplified version”. That strategy of the author is targeted at the circles of readers: the internal circle which understands the allusion to F. Beigbeder’s novel in the phrase “love <…> that lasted for three years”, and the external one which, after that explanation, will at least understand that wisdom concerning
the three years of lasting love is not the author’s discovery and may even contemplate reading F. Beigbeder’s novel „Love Lasts Three Years“. Comparatively, we may state that another article containing the allusion to F. Beigbeder’s – R. Valatka’s favourite – works does not provide the reader with the similar “help” and the reader may only wonder why the article is called “Miracles of Investigation into Snoras’ Death – Je Crois, Moi Non Plus”, and the article is finished with the refrain-sounding last sentence “The only thing is left for me while waiting: I sacrately believe in the conservatives and president, I don’t believe so either”.

The third method is to refer the reader to the referent – give a reference, for instance: “Do not grieve, brothers, mother Russia will find you a refuge, according to the classic collaborator”. If an elder reader has slightly forgotten the famous phrase “Do not grieve, brothers! Mother Russia will find a refuge for all!” from the propaganda short-story “Seeds of Fraternity” by Petras Cvirka which was compulsory in the curriculum of a soviet school, the “classic collaborator” will hint that one should search in a yet short list of “writers-collaborators” (Petras Cvirka, Liudas Gira, Salomėja Nėris).

Object of the study
In many cases, rhetoric practice tests reveal how unexpected and unusual interpretation of some of the allusions obvious to the elder generation is by the students of Vilnius University. Let us say, the phrase The government treats some citizens (students, people of literacy and culture) as equal, and others (market salespeople) as more equal, which I, beyond question, associate with the famous “Animal Farm” by G. Orwell, is, for part of the students, a reference to the film “Dumb & Dumber”. For many students in their twenties, the article “The Sunset in the Community of Garliava” (which for the older generation is a distinct allusion to a collection of short stories “The Sunset in the Community of Nyka” by Petras Cvirka) associates with the film “Twilight”, and the allusion to the then popular soviet television series “Seventeen Moments of Spring” that had inspired the entire layer of sub-culture “sounds like a title of the book “Fifty Shades of Grey” by E. L. James” to a modern student.

The idea that a new generation understands a lot of things in a way different to the generation of their parents or grandparents is quite a cliché; nevertheless, it is interesting to see into how being part of different cultural, historical generations is reflected in interpretations of the texts of a very significant present-day communication field – publicism. Are there any patterns, trends that could be expressed statistically? After all, isn’t it often the case that the effort of journalists using allusions perceived by their generation remain merely vox clamantis in deserto, for if the reader failed to identify the intertexts or interpreted them in a way opposite to the author’s idea, it may be assumed that the rhetorical method chosen by the author is not effective enough, and then it is either the reader or the method that needs to be changed.

The texts by Rimvydas Valatka have been selected for this study for several reasons:

- abundance of rhetorical devices and their skillful use (for this reason, many articles by R. Valatka are highly suitable for educational purposes and rhetorical exercises);
- creative productivity – several hundred texts by this author may be quickly found online;
sufficient, in our view, age gap between the author and the target group: R. Valatka is about 35 years older than the respondents, therefore he definitely belongs to the generation enjoying different life and cultural experience.

**Tasks and objectives of the study**

The objective of the study is to experimentally test how a view of the world of the two generations, separated by thirty years, differs in allusive connections of the texts; what eighteen/twenty-year olds see in the mosaic of allusions presented to them by a much older author. A test method was employed to analyse how the students of Vilnius University recognised and perceived unmarked intertexts in publicistic texts, the issues of the author’s pragmatic strategy relevant in the contemporary scientific discourse were briefly touched upon as well.

Tasks of the study:

- to experimentally determine which part of 18-20-year-old students identify intertexts in Rimvydas Valatka’s media texts and adequately, i.e. according to the author’s intention, interpret them;
- to present statistics of interpretation of different referent fields and discuss the trends;
- to assess whether R. Valatka is applying any deliberate communication strategy.

**Methodology of the study**

**Respondents:** fifty 1st and 2nd year students from various faculties of Vilnius University who attended rhetorical practice as part of general university studies in 2014-2015. A group was not structured based on university specialities.

**Tasks:** a) recognise the referent, and b) explain and interpret it.

**Test sample and structure.** The test consisted of phrases containing concealed intertexts selected from R. Valatka’s articles between 2009 and 2014. The study was based on the assumption that the respondents would recognise the referents of various fields at a different rate of success, therefore six text groups were collected and presented. There is no single acknowledged classification of the referents, every author may group them by the purpose of a study based on own arguments. In this study, the intertexts were broken down as follows (the number of intertexts is indicated in the brackets):

1. **Biblical** intertexts (5), for instance, “blessed are those who believe without seeing”.
2. **Folklore** intertexts (4), for instance, “he who sups with the devil should have a long spoon”, “freeze one’s tail in the ice hole”.
3. **Historical** intertexts (10) which require knowledge of history to recognise and correctly interpret them, for example, Napoleon’s march to Russia. We have attributed the popular phrases related to historical realia such as “class struggle is growing stronger” and famous citations that received public attention in the last decades, for example, J. Chirac’s quote “missed a great opportunity to shut up”.
4. **Cinema (cinematographic)** intertexts (5) were defined as a distinct group, as media allusions are highly relevant in modern communication of the youth. For example, “power plant in Lithuania is like that hedgehog in the fog”.

Page | 9
5. **Cultural** intertexts (7) which refer to life realia, customs, daily phenomena, for instance, a habit to write “Ann + John = love” or equivalent abbreviations “A+J=L” on the walls. Cultural allusions include allusions to the current issues like advertisement texts or the mental health centre in Vasaros street, Vilnius, and to Latin sayings whose authorship is unknown (i.e. *urbi et orbi*).

6. **Literary** intertexts (19) whose referents are works of literature and Latin sayings whose authors are known (*veni, vidi, vici; quod licet Iovi non licet bovi; Hannibal ante portas; Iupiter iratus ergo nefas*).

The respondents did not know which fields the referents belonged to, and the referents in turn were not grouped by that attribute, let us say, the phrases with literary allusions were presented in a mixture with cinematographic, Biblical or other allusions. The reason for this was the attempt to avoid the effect observed by the author in the riddle studies (called the “accommodation effect” based on the eye’s ability to adjust to a distance to an object), where the decrypter finds the answer easier after several attempts because s/he grasps the idea of the structure of a presented text, field that the operative word belongs to, etc.

The test answer had to meet at least one of the following requirements:

a) A correct referent is indicated without comments, for example: “Don Quixote”, “Caesar’s “Veni, vidi, vici”. Where the comments are provided, it must be clear that the author’s idea has been adequately understood.

b) If a referent is not indicated, the comments must make it clear that the author’s idea has been accurately understood, for instance, *A. Paulauskas immediately tucked his tail between his legs and together with the remnants of the social-liberal party surrendered to the custody of the Knyaz of Kėdainiai. For a Member of Parliament’s spoon. – “For a spoonful of tasty food: – it is used when truly valuable things are abandoned for the sake of material benefit”*

c) An expressly related alternative referent is indicated, for example, the saying “be back to square one“ (literally “be back with the broken wash-tub”) instead of “The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish”, or the phrase “Moscow could be burnt to ashes, but not captured by the French” is perceived as the allusion to a historical event rather than to N. Lermontov’s poem.

**Course of the study**

1. The respondents – 50 students were reminded of what an intertext was, several examples were discussed.

2. The respondents were handed out the sheets with 50 phrases each containing at least one unmarked intertext.

3. The respondents wrote down the referents in the second column “Comments”, they could also insert wider comments, for instance:
Table No 1. Examples of allusion interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Respondents’ comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Kubilius would deny his words three times today</td>
<td>The Bible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Kubilius would deny his words three times today</td>
<td>Allusion to the Holy Scripture, when Peter denied Jesus three times, although he declared that that could never happen; this is how Kubilius denies his words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The author of this paper discovered the “correct” interpretation of every text during his interview with journalist Rimvydas Valatka. The aim was to avoid the subjective interpretation of the results.

5. The analysis of the responses provided by the students was conducted, the statistical data were presented. A percentage share in the text below represents a percentage share of all possible answers to the test, i.e. the ratio is correct answers / 50 * 100 %. Three groups of results were distinguished: a) **adequate interpretation**, where the respondent’s answer corresponded to the selection criteria specified in the chapter above; b) **ungrounded interpretation** – the criteria have not been met, c) **no answer**.

**Study results**

Having assessed the answers to the test based on the selected methodology, the statistical results achieved showed that only some one fourth of the students adequately recognised the allusions concealed in R. Valatka’s media texts:

Table No 2. Statistics of recognition of allusions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adequate interpretation</th>
<th>27%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ungrounded interpretation</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No interpretation</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics of recognition by the fields of allusions varies strongly:

---

2 The accuracy of statistical data presented has a tolerance of 1 percentage point, therefore the total amount may not equal 100% in some cases.
Table No 3. Statistics of recognised referents by fields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Number of intertexts</th>
<th>Possible number of correct answers</th>
<th>Actual number of correct answers</th>
<th>Share of correct answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biblical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2 500</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Biblical intertexts**

Biblical allusions were correctly or almost correctly interpreted in 37% of the answers.

- A. Kubilius would deny his words three times today – 26% of the respondents identified the episode from the Bible, where St. Peter denied Jesus three times before the rooster crowed.
- The students easily recognized the allusion in the phrase B. Obama, this new prophet of a billion-consumer community, will take them to the Promised land with the rivers of milk and golden banks – 70% of the correct answers. The most frequent answers were “the Bible”, “Holy Scripture”. It was often clarified that it happened “when Moses led the Jews from Egypt”. The cases where Abraham was mentioned instead of Moses were ascribed to the correct interpretation.
- What’s God’s goes to God, what’s Caesar’s goes to Caesar – only 22% of the respondents associated the free citation with Mark 12:17 “Give back to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s”.
- Most of the respondents (58%) correctly identified the referent of the phrase Blessed are those who believe in them – the Bible. Greater accuracy was not required as not only the usual phrase Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed (Jn 20:29), but also the phrases Blessed are all who wait for him!, Isaiah 30:18; Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God, Lk 6:20; Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and obey it, Lk 11:28; the Sermon of the Mount, Mt 5,3:5,11 may be indicated as the referents.
- The students found the allusion concealed in the sentence The adults’ game reached the heights from the child’s fate, when all that is left is to suggest two women grab the girl’s hands and drag them to be the most complicated – only 4% of the students recognized the story of the Holy Scripture on Solomon’s decision to cut the baby.
Folklore intertexts
In total, 32% of folklore intertexts were recognised in the test, which means that the average was exceeded by 5 percentage points.

- The respondents have best recognised the motif of a broken wash-tub in the phrase *The Correan company KEPCO ran away and left A. Kubilius at the broken wash-tub* (52%). Although none of the answers referred to the author of a fairy tale (A. Pushkin or the Brothers Grimm, as A. Pushkin’s fairy tale is a follow-up of the tale by the Brother Grimm “Vom Fischer und seiner Frau”), the answers “allusion to the tale of the goldfish”, “tale of the greedy old people who were left with the broken wash-tub”, “from the tale of the fisherman who was left with the broken wash-tub” were considered sufficient.

- In the phrase *By the pike’s will*, at A. Sekmokas’ command, the Japanese-hieroglyph-painted golden age returns to Lithuania, the respondents recognised the Russian folktale “*By the Pike’s Will*” in 44% of the cases.

- W*hy is the president still with her tail slightly frozen in the Klonis ice-hole?* – 26% of the respondents correctly identified the fairy tale “*Wolf Ice Fishing with a Tail*”, some of them indicated the cartoon with the same plot. The answers saying that it was a fox (the assumed flow of thought: the president is a woman, therefore it was the fox and not the wolf with a frozen tail), a dog that had its tail frozen were considered acceptable.

- The reasons says not to go for apples with the Prime Minister wandering on the post-crisis paths that only exist in his mind — 6% of correct answers (“he that sups with the devil needs a long spoon/ Do not go for apples with the Devil because you will lose both your apples and your bag”).

Historical intertexts
It would seem that, when considering the recognition of historical allusions, we might expect a greater gap between the background knowledge possessed by the modern 20-year-olds and the generation of R. Valatka. Indeed, the statistics of the recognition of historical allusions puts an ardent touch on a portrait of the lower-year students: only 12% of allusions have been recognized, which means that the gap from the total of 27% of the average of recognition of all intertexts constitutes 15 percentage points.

- *The communist front of the traitor’s grandchild, having drawn the “rob the loot” from the landfill of history* – one answer was given (2%) which treats this historical phrase – the bolsheviks’ slogan “loot the looters” – as the “allusion to the historical communist context where thefts were common”.

- *That’s how it was suggested to L. Stankūnaitė by our Sun Queen* (52%). Several cases were accepted as adequate answers, where Louis XVI, Henri VIII and “the one whose wife was Marie Antoinette” were referred to instead of Louis XIV, as all indicated monarchs were prominent examples of absolutism and conceit.

---
3 „*By the Pike’s Will*“. From the fairy tale about Emelya who set free the pike he had caught. The grateful pike promised that whatever Emelya wished would be granted as soon as he said *“By the Pike’s Will”*. 4 The word “fox” (*lapė*) is a feminine word in the Lithuanian language.
Crisis is at the gates? So what! (2%) is truly difficult to recognise, therefore R. Valatka explains the allusion in the very first sentence: “Hannibal ante portas!” The respondents, however, were not introduced a wider context, thus “the enemy is at the gates” is the only acceptable interpretation.

Thanks to 4 parties and the Government – is perceived by the respondents (12%) as a reflection of the period: the “allusion to a soviet period”, “soviet period”, communism slogan”.

None of the respondents associated J. Chirac’s quote “they missed a great opportunity to shut up” (The expert, as g. Kirkilas’ Cabinet, missed an opportunity to shut up back then) with a specific event or with the author of the phrase, although it is quite popular (Google search shows some 15,000 results in Lithuanian alone).

Todays’ youth have no knowledge of the soviet history and fail to recognise the extinct myths created by the soviet propaganda machine: A. Matrosov’s feat during World War II (Hasn’t V. Uspaskich of Kėdainiai, caught with young ladies from Vilnius, been blocked by Jolanta the Wife in the same matrosov-like way?) was mentioned in one single answer, and J. Stalin’s regime in the sentence From the point of view of the government’s “chetvyorka”, as in the view of Stalinist “troikas”, with the crisis going deeper, the only mean of the righteous government in the fight against the sabotage of hospitals and doctors is the presumption of the patient’s guilt established by laws was recognised by three respondents only (6% of the answers).

In order to substantiate or withdraw an assumption that the respondents are better at recognising more recent, more relevant events, we compared the age of alluded facts with the allusion recognition results (see Table Correlation between the age of alluded fact and its recognition). The data urge us to rule out that assumption, as the “lifetime” of the allusive connection is determined by various factors. If it becomes a fossilised phrase, such as the “Sun King”, a hundred-year-old alluded fact will be recognised better than the event that took place several years ago which was not updated in the minds of the readers. For this reason, probably, the students recognise the fossilised slogans (“rob the loot”) and ideological statements (“class struggle is growing stronger”) from a merely known and understandable soviet period relatively easily, but they fail to identify the said phrase by J. Chirac.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Period of alluded fact</th>
<th>Recognition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That’s how it was suggested to L. Stankūnaitė by our Sun Queen</td>
<td>Louis XIV</td>
<td>XVII-XVIII c.</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubilism is the best policy, but class struggle is still growing stronger</td>
<td>J. Stalin’s ideological statement on class struggle under development of socialism of communism</td>
<td>9 July 1928</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moscow could be burnt to ashes, but not captured by the French</td>
<td>Napoleon’s march to Russia in 1812</td>
<td>Beginning of XIX c.</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thanks to 4 parties and the Government</td>
<td>Soviet propaganda phrase</td>
<td>20s-80s of XX c.</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The communist front of the traitor’s grandchild, having drawn the “rob the loot” from the landfill of history

Bolsheviks’ slogan
20s of XX c.
4%

Crisis is at the gates? So what!

Punic wars
II-III c. b.c.
2%

The expert, as G. Kirkilas’ Cabinet, missed an opportunity to shut up back then

J. Chirac’s criticism to the EU candidate countries regarding the pro-American response on Iraq disarmament: They missed a great opportunity to shut up
17 February 2003
2%

Lithuania: a country of timid people and mad politicians

Slogan “Lithuania: a brave country” for the image of Lithuania suggested by G. Kirkilas
January 2008
2%

Hasn’t V. Uspaskich of Kėdainiai, caught with young ladies from Vilnius, been blocked by Jolanta the Wife in the same matrosov-like way?

A. Matrosov’s feat during World War II
5 February 1943
2%

Cinema intertexts

This was a group of allusions that were recognised the best in the study – 49%.

- Show *White and the Seven Dwarfs* are well known to the respondents (*The seven dwarfs sit in a blue fairy hut – television studio*) – 86%. Although Rimvydas Valatka treats this allusion as a folklore one rather than the cinema allusion (from the interview with R. Valatka), we, nevertheless, attributed it to cinema intertexts during the analysis.

- Almost three fourths of the students associated the phrase *Having 85 votes in this Seimas is mission impossible* with the film “Mission: Impossible” directed by B. de Palma in 1996 (70%).

- Unexpectedly, only 44% of the respondents connected the phrase *Power plant in Lithuania is like that hedgehog in the fog* with the famous cartoon “Hedgehog in the Fog” by Y. Norstein.

- It would seem that the film “Nobody Wanted to Die” by V. Žalakevičius has firmly rooted in our culture, but only 40% of the respondents recognized it in the phrase *Nobody wanted to be in the opposition. To be more precise, to die.*

- The obvious shift further from the Russian culture is illustrated by a poorly recognised allusion to the popular film “Peculiarities of the National Fishing” by A. Rogozhkin and its sequels „Peculiarities of the National Hunt“, „Peculiarities of National Politics“: mere 4% of the respondents associated the phrase *Peculiarities of alignment to the right* with the said films.
Cultural intertexts

The respondents have successfully recognised the total of 25% of cultural intertexts.

- **Welcome to Vasaros Street** is the best recognised cultural allusion to the mental health centre established in Vasaros Street and operating in Vilnius since 1927 (60%). This should come as a surprise, as a “cuckoo house” as the synonym of “Vasaro 5” has been long known to everyone, not only to the people of Vilnius. The fact that the name of Vasaros Street has acquired a status of a strong “brand name” and has established itself in the Lithuanians’ minds as a symbol of mental disorders is illustrated by much poorer recognition of another allusion associated with the same alluded fact: the phrase *The remnants of N Venckienė’s purple army looked as if a larky follower of S. Freud had ordered to bring them from the ward of the hospital that the Lithuanians are not particularly keen on* was connected with Vasaros Street or mental disorders by 20% of the students only.

- Half of the respondents (50%) recognized the euphemistic allusion to the prostitutes’ services (*On-Call [Female] Members of Parliament*).

- **A. Kubilius + V. Uspaskichas = love?** — 22% of the respondents connected the phrase with writings on the walls or carving initials into a tree bark (“Immature scribble on the walls of WC”, “Allusion to childish games”, “Allusion to the inscription x + y = love”). In the texts by R. Valatka, this formula is repeatedly used, for instance, *Search of enemies and prisons + criminalisation of the whole of Lithuania = A. Kubilius’ Cabinet*. This formula stands for the allusion to the phrase *Communism is the Soviet Power + Electrification of the Whole Country* used by V. Lenin in 1920. In Vilnius, this text had been for many years illuminated above the building of the former Central Administration of Energy and Electrification in Upiės street.

- Only 22% of the respondents related the phrase *Peculiarities of the calculation of the insurance tax, published urbi et orbi in May, forced all emigrants to register* with the annual Easter speech given by the Pope (“Catholic Pope’s celebratory speech”, “Pope’s celebratory speech”).

- The customs and sayings in antiquity are recognised to an even smaller extent: mere 3% of the respondents identified the saying used by the Spartan women telling men to return victorious or dead, i.e. carried on the shield, in the phrase *Instead of the triumphant return of conservative infantry V. Gailius and V. Giržadas on the shield – the president’s check to A. Kubilius*. None of the answers provided the Latin saying *Jupiter, you are angry, therefore, you are wrong (Iuppiter iratus ergo nefas)* in the phrase *If you angry, Jupiter, it means you are not Jupiter yet, you are only a poor bull that every time attacks the same red rug tucked under its nose with the same fury*.

Literary intertexts

The total of 25% of the referents were recognised in the largest group of intertexts – literary allusions.

- The allusions that were recognised best were the ones alluding to the works of literature analysed in the curriculum; this should be expected taking account of the respondents’ age and increasing literary ignorance. The recognition average was exceeded by the allusions to “Forest of the Gods” by B. Sruoga (*Seimas division of the Forest of the Gods – 86%), “Veni, Vidi, Vici” by Julius Caesar (*The conservatives’ credo – “I came, I saw, I destroyed”, and then I drew a new beautiful nuclear power plant and even more beautiful energy security...*)
scheme on my computer – became beautifully evident – 74%), “The Seasons” by K. Donelaitis (The number of peasants is going down, and the serfdom is growing stronger – 62%), “The Ingenious Nobleman Sir Quixote of La Mancha” by M. de Cervantes Saavedra (The fighter with the gays’ windmills was left by his wife on top of that – 56%), “The Emperor’s New Clothes” by H. K. Andersen (A. Kubilius the King is naked – 44%) and “The Sugar Lambs” by P. Cvirka (Ezopas and A. Sacharukas are just the sugar lambs compared to a new term of the Seimas – 34%).

- Four literary referents were recognised by no one: “Group of Friends” by V. Petkevičius (Not only this can happen if the dictatorship of the “groups of friends” continues to prevail in the [political] parties), “Conversation of a Pole with a Lithuanian” by A. Rotundus (Conversation of a Pole with a Pole), “Adventures of the Good Soldier Shveik” by J. Hashek (The government that raised the price of beer will last forever) and “Who Lives Well in Russia” by N. Nekrasov (Who lives well in Lithuania). These are the works which have lost their relevance today (“Group of Friends”), which require literacy in a specific field (“Conversation of a Pole with a Lithuanian” by A. Rotundus), which belong to “male” literature (“Adventures of the Good Soldier Shveik” by J. Hashek) or works that are read in non-Lithuanian secondary schools (“Who Lives Well in Russia” by N. Nekrasov).

- Moscow could be burnt to ashes, but not captured by the French (42%). For R. Valatka it is the allusion to the poem “Borodino” by N. Lermontov. Only one respondent understood it this way (2%), another respondent referred to the other work reflecting the mentioned events – “War and Peace” by L. Tolstoy – and one respondent indicated the battle of Borodino; when assessing the answers, however, we considered the references to a historical event as correct ones as well (40% of the respondents).

- Breakfast of champions. The President’s version (22%). The respondents provided three versions: the reference to the “Breakfast of Champions” by K. Vonnegut, the film “Breakfast of Champions” and food commercial. We treated all three options as the correct ones.

- The gifts from the Danaans foisted on Kubilius – increased taxes, income expropriation and disdain for investment will stay forever (8%). None of the answers were completely precise (“Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes” in Virgil’s “Aeneid”); the students found the allusions to the “saying from the ancient times”, “story of the Danaans (antiquity)”, but the comments make it obvious that the use of the allusion hit the target: “a mischievous gift which will bring bad luck“, “gifts with a wicked intention”.

- The (non-)recognition of some of the allusions clearly demonstrates the distinction between the literary experience owned by the generations of R. Valatka and the respondents: the quote from the “Seeds of Fraternity” by P. Cvirka (Do not grieve, brothers, mother Russia will find you a refuge, according to the classic collaborator – 6%), “Marytė Melnikaitė“ by S. Nėris (Torment us, torturers, even stronger, then it will even take us to the Europarliament – 12%), “The Sunset in the Community of Nyka” by P. Cvirka (The Sunset in the Community of Garliava – 8%).

- The respondents’ rate of recognising the intertexts which are linked with the main text by a commonality of a form: the allusion to one of the works of the canon of the Lithuanian literature – “The Forest of Anykščiai“: All, all has gone: in the deserted kedophilia plain, a smelly union with the tried Kėdainiat Knysz remains (16%).
Surprisingly, only one respondent (2%) recognised “Labora!” by V. Kudirka⁵ (A. Paulauskas immediately tucked his tail between his legs and together with the remnants of the social-liberal party surrendered to the custody of the Knyaz of Kėdainiai. For an MP’s spoon.). Only two answers (4%) contained the identification of the book “Jei Crois, Moi Non Plus” by M. di Falco and F. Beigbeder (Miracles of Investigation into Snoras’ Death – Je Crois, Moi Non Plus).

Statistics of the least and most recognised referents
The statistics of the least and most recognised referents is presented next to the division of the intertexts into groups presented above:

Table No 5. Least recognised referents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intertext</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Recognition (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The communist front of the traitor’s grandchild, having drawn the “rob the loot” from the landfill of history</td>
<td>Bolsheviks’ slogan „loot the looter“; Justas Paleckis, Rimvydas Paleckis, Socialist People’s Front</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis is at the gates? So what!</td>
<td>“Hannibal ad portas”, Punic wars</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expert, as G. Kirkilas’ Cabinet, missed an opportunity to shut up back then</td>
<td>J. Chirac’s phrase “They missed a great opportunity to shut up”</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania: a country of timid people and mad politicians</td>
<td>“Lithuania: a brave country” (marketing slogan “Lithuania: a brave country” suggested by the commission chaired by Prime Minister G. Kirkilas)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasn’t V. Uspaskich of Kėdainiai, caught with young ladies from Vilnius, been blocked by Jolanta the Wife in the same matrosov-like way?</td>
<td>A. Matrosov’s feat during World War II</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instead of the triumphant return of conservative infantry V. Gailius and V. Giržadas on the shield – the president’s check to A. Kubilius</td>
<td>“With the shield or on the shield” (saying used by the Spartan women telling men going to war, i.e. victory or honourable death)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you angry, Jupiter, it means you are not Jupiter yet, you are only a poor bull that every time attacks the same red rug tucked under its nose with the same fury</td>
<td>Jupiter, you are angry, therefore, you are wrong (Iuppiter iratus ergo nefas)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government that raised the price of beer will last forever</td>
<td>“The government that raises the price of beer is destined to fall” (“Adventures of the Good Soldier Shveik” by J. Hashek)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁵ A Lithuanian writer and political figure of the 19th century, author of the Lithuanian anthem.
Not only this can happen if the dictatorship of the “groups of friends” continues to prevail in the [political] parties.

A. Paulauskas immediately tucked his tail between his legs and together with the remnants of the social-liberal party surrendered to the custody of the Knyaz of Kėdainiai. For an MP’s spoon.

Conversation of a Lithuanian with a Pole

Who lives well in Lithuania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intertext</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Recognition (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seimas division of the Forest of the Gods</td>
<td>“Forest of the Gods” by B. Sruoga</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The seven dwarfs sit in a blue fairy hut – television studio</td>
<td>“Show White and the Seven Dwarfs”</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The conservatives’ credo – “I came, I saw, I destroyed”, and then I drew a new beautiful nuclear power plant and even more beautiful energy security scheme on my computer – became beautifully evident</td>
<td>“Veni, Vidi, Vici” by Julius Caesar</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Obama, this new prophet of a billion-consumer community, will take them to the Promised land with the rivers of milk and golden banks</td>
<td>The Bible</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having 85 votes in this Seimas is mission impossible</td>
<td>Movie “Mission: Impossible”</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of peasants is going down, and the serfdom is growing stronger</td>
<td>“The Seasons” by K. Donelaitis</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcome to Vasaros Street</td>
<td>Psychoneurological Dispensary in Vilnius, Vasaros str. 5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet another section could be interesting alongside with the chosen classification of the intertexts – allusions referring to the soviet ideological cliches, classical Russian literature and Soviet Lithuanian literature. The statistics of the answers shows that only 11% of such allusions are recognized.
Conclusions

The study showed that the 18-20-year-old students of Vilnius University have adequately recognised (only) one fourth of the referents concealed in the allusions contained in the media texts by Rimvydas Valatka. When considering the results, the following restriction of the test method should be taken account of: the respondents knew that each phrase contained allusions and they were actively trying to recognise them; it is worth suggesting that part of the allusions would remain unnoticed when reading the media texts in free time, thus the result would be even worse.

The best recognition rate was that of the cinematographic (49%) and biblical (37%) referents, historical (12%) referents were recognised the worst.

The essential shift from the background knowledge of the Russian and Soviet culture to the Western cultural background is obvious – the respondents adequately interpreted only 11% of the referents linked with the Russian and Soviet culture (“Peculiarities of the National Fishing”, “Who Lives Well in Russia”, “The Sunset in the Community of Nyka”, etc.). This shows that the modern youth are merely familiar with the Soviet culture and the link of historical memory between the parents and young generation is basically broken in that respect.

We may now answer the question constantly appearing within the margins of this study: do the respondents – 18-20-year-old students – belong to R. Valatka’s internal cultural circle? Probably not, as only one fourth of the readers of this age and education category recognise the referents of the intertexts created by R. Valatka, thus this group of the readers remains in the periphery of the cultural circle. The study covering the entire profile of R. Valatka’s audience would enable drawing more far-reaching conclusions and providing recommendations on the application of the strategy of intertextuality.

The larger-scale studies would enable drawing conclusions on the following related topics as well:

- does the use of intertexts in the Lithuanian media have its own strategy typical to the mature Western media?
- which share of the intertexts created by the Lithuanian publicistic writers plays the role of linguistic play by preferring the form to the content? For good reason, Oxford English Dictionary Online defines the word “allusion“ as the “play on words”, the scholars in turn refer to an aesthetic function of allusions as well;
- does the Lithuanian media have the strategies of deliberate intertextuality; is any type or group of the media more productive in employing the opportunities of connecting with the audience provided by intertexts?

To make the connection between the author and the readers more efficient, the rule that the students of the course of rhetoric are taught must be followed: know your audience. Hear what they talk and write in the comment section about; use the phrases they use; create allusions to their world. This piece of advice also applies to moulding the connection between the author and the audience created by intertextual devices.
References


22. Кузнецова, Екатерина. Обучение навыкам идентификации, интерпретации и формирования аллюзий русского языка студентов-иностранных высокого продвинутого уровня. Методическая разработка по преподаванию социокультурной компетенции студентам высокого продвинутого уровня (на материале русского языка), 2008.
