

B.A.S.

British and American Studies

2016

EDITURA
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British and American Studies

A Journal of the Romanian Society of English and American Studies

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THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE,
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The language of the journal is English. Contributions from both Romania and abroad are welcome. Articles for publication should be sent to Prof. Hortensia Pârlog, Department of English Language and Literature, 4, Bd. Vasile Pârvan, 300223, Timisoara, Romania. They should be supplied both as a hard copy, and electronically at bas.journal@gmail.com

© British and American Studies, vol. XXII, 2016

BAS. *British and American Studies* is indexed in the following data bases:
CEEOL, MLA, Erich Plus, Ulrich's (ProQuest)

ISSN 1224-3086
e-ISSN 2457-7715

Publisher	ADRIAN BODNARU
Cover Design	DAN URSACHI
Cover Illustration	IOSIF O. STROIA — <i>Câmpul universal al corpului de lumină</i>
Layout	DRAGOȘ CROITORU

EDITURA
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OLD AND NEW DILEMMAS

JOHN KEATS AND THE STAGE: *OTHO THE GREAT (1819) AND KING STEPHEN (1819)*

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Abstract: *At the beginning of the nineteenth century, theatrical performances underwent substantial transformations: dazzling backgrounds and unexacting plots aimed at attracting large audiences that wished to be entertained rather than instructed. This paper aims at exploring the way John Keats strived to reform the stage by addressing political and social issues in his two plays: Otho the Great and King Stephen.*

Keywords: *John Keats, Charles Armitage Brown, Romantic drama, Hunt Circle, Edmund Kean*

1. Introduction: John Keats' neglected plays

The extraordinary theatrical quality of John Keats's poetry has been admirably highlighted by several critics: Beth Lau (1998: 47), for example, has detected "traditional dramatic elements" in his most famous odes, featuring the "development of a debate", "a confrontation that is charged with dramatic tension, climax, and resolution". O.P. Mathur (2007: 39) has praised "the highly dramatic moments of suspense and action" as well as the notable "scenic effects" in poems such as "The Eve of St. Agnes" and "Lamia"; even though he admitted that the association between the word *drama* and Keats's poetic output may seem "rather unusual, if not unjustified" (Mathur 2005: 111), in another article, Mathur has also emphasised the meticulous attention paid by the author to the "stage-settings" (Mathur 2005: 115) and the background details of his compositions, besides noticing that Keats often acted as a chorus-like narrator and commentator in his texts (Mathur 2005: 117). It is all the more surprising, therefore, that his two existing theatrical attempts, namely *Otho the Great* (in collaboration with his friend Charles Armitage Brown) and *King Stephen* (left incomplete after the first four scenes), have been largely overlooked – when not openly rejected and condemned – by most scholars. Written in July-August 1819 (in parallel with the above-mentioned, celebrated poems), with the clear intention of securing an income which would enable Keats to marry Fanny Brawne, *Otho the Great* was regarded by Amy Lowell (1925: 282) as a mere "pot-boiler" and "a failure" (294), also because it was never staged while the poet was alive; as Lowell (1925: 294) underlined, "[*Otho*] is dull beyond belief, it is unnatural, perfervid, and weak [...] To a modern reader, [it] is inconceivably dreary and stupid". The American writer was less critical of *King Stephen* (begun in November 1819), even if she censored the poet's "slavish adherence" (Lowell 1925: 362) to the Shakespearian model. Over the years, her disparaging observations have been echoed by quite a number of academics: Philip Eggers (1971: 997) argues that both dramas lack "the suppleness and depth of [Keats's] best poetry"; John Bayley (1993: 116) maintains that "Keats had not, and probably never would have had, any true dramatic talent"; conversely, despite labelling *Otho the Great* as "undistinguished" (White 2010: 183), White (2010: 186) has attempted a timid reassessment of the tragedy's value,

stating that it “is no worse, and probably much better than many of the original plays performed in the West End of London during the period”.

Leaving aside the actual meaning of the two plays (which, nonetheless, will be the object of further investigation in this essay), the general dismissal of *Otho the Great* and *King Stephen* as second-rate works stems primarily from the sheerly economic reasons that apparently prompted Keats to undertake the challenge of writing for the theatre: in his letters, he remarked that, given the lucrative nature of theatrical productions, *Otho* “would have been a bank” (Buxton Forman 1900: 101) to him, had it only proved successful. Moreover, Charles Armitage Brown’s self-flattering comments in his biography of John Keats, suggesting that, with the sole exception of the fifth act (entirely ascribed to his friend), the poet’s role in the creation of *Otho* had been only secondary, seriously undermined the reputation of the drama: “I engaged to furnish [Keats] with the fable, characters, and dramatic conduct of a tragedy, and he was to embody it into poetry” (Armitage Brown 1937: 54). He (1937: 56) also credited himself with selecting the subject of *King Stephen*, although he had to eventually confess that, tired of being in “leading-strings”, Keats had decided to develop the theme of the play on his own.

This essay sets out to demonstrate that John Keats actually attached much greater importance to his plays than it is commonly thought and that, like other artists belonging to the *Hunt circle*, he viewed the stage as the perfect site to promote a message of communal regeneration and political reform, during the tumultuous and difficult times of the Regency Period. A brief account of Keats’s abiding – albeit not much known – commitment to the theatre, in its inextricable connection with his frequently disregarded engagement in current political debates, will provide the necessary information to contextualise and support the analysis of *Otho the Great* (a drama in which social institutions are covertly criticised and hypocrisy finally unmasked) and *King Stephen*.

2. John Keats’s keen interest in the theatre

As Jonathan Mulrooney (2003: 233) has elucidated, in the time-span between 1815 and 1819, Keats was a habitual theatre goer; besides, he regularly attended Hazlitt’s lectures on Elizabethan drama at the Surrey Institute (Slote 1958: 114). In 1818, he composed a fair number of short texts “intended as songs towards an opera” (White 2010: 177), and a play on the Earl of Leicester might be listed among his tentative literary endeavours (Eggers 1971: 997). The very notion of the poet as a chameleon (formulated in a letter to Richard Woodhouse, dated October 27, 1818) closely resembles the definition of an actor, the description of a histrionic figure capable of adjusting to an ever-changing scenario: “he has no identity; he is continually in for, and filling some other body” (Houghton 1867: 189); “the poetical character itself [...] is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing—it has no character—it enjoys light and shade—it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated” (Houghton 1867: 189). Keats’s correspondence bears witness to the pivotal role he attributed to his theatrical experience: on November 17, 1819 (while he was immersed in the creation of *King Stephen*), he declared to John Taylor that “the writing of a few fine Plays” was his “greatest ambition” (Buxton Forman (ed.) 1900: 133); furthermore, on August 14, 1819 (when he was absorbed in the writing of the conclusive sections of *Otho the Great*), he disclosed to Benjamin Bailey that one of his innermost aspirations was “to make as great a revolution in modern dramatic

writing as Kean ha[d] done in acting” (Buxton Forman (ed.) 1900: 81). The reference to the renowned actor Edmund Kean should not pass unnoticed. *Otho the Great* (as well as *King Stephen*) had actually been devised with Kean in mind for the part of Ludolph, Otho’s defiant son. The breaking news that the actor was about to leave for his long American tour and that, for this very reason, he would not be able to star in any of Keats’s plays, prompted the poet to withdraw *Otho* from Drury Lane (as one gathers from Armitage Brown (1937: 54), the play had been accepted), and to abandon his second theatrical venture after the initial 200 lines (Lau 2010: 755). The illegitimate son of a (most likely) Jewish father, an outsider in a society that considered class and a refined upbringing as primary values, like Keats, Kean experienced harsh ostracism and turned to art (his acting career) as a means to gain authority and recognition (Lau 2010: 755). Famous for privileging the role of the underdog or the unsettling *other* (Shylock, Richard III, Othello), averse to any form of mannerism, Kean sided with the liberals, worked for the staunchly Whig Drury Lane and, in the words of Stanley Jones (1991: 134), “he also symbolised a threat to the Tory establishment in his revolutionary style of acting, a threat to which he gave voice in his off-stage ranting against the social order”. Mentioned twenty times in Keats’s letters, Kean as a Shakespearian actor was also the subject of the first of the three dramatic reviews that the poet wrote for *The Champion* (the remaining two focused respectively on a Covent Garden tragedy entitled *Retribution*, and on a Drury Lane pantomime version of *Don Giovanni*). Published on December 21, 1817 to celebrate Kean’s return to the stage after six weeks of illness, Keats’s article is meaningfully charged with political overtones. He begins by making a bold and ironic reference to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act (enacted six months before), while portraying the current climate of cultural stagnation and degradation, enlivened, in his opinion, only by the thought-provoking talent of the actor:

‘In our unimaginative days’, – *Habeas Corpus’d* as we are, out of all wonder, uncertainty and fear; – in these fireside, delicate, gilded days, - these days of sickly safety and comfort, we feel very grateful to Mr. Kean for giving us some excitement by his old passion in one of the old plays. (Houghton 1867: 335)

The review – which, as John Kandl (2001: 130) has emphasised, presents Kean “as an energised embodiment of reformist values” – ends with another allusion to the present “cold and enfeebling times” (Houghton 1867: 337), thus tightening the connection between the actor, the invigorating potential of the stage, and Keats’s active commitment to public and political issues through his writings for/on the theatre. Observed from this unusual perspective, far from identifying himself with the figure of “the pre-eminently apolitical or even anti-political Romantic poet” (Rohrback and Sun 2011: 229) (as he was depicted by many scholars until the mid-1980s), Keats can be regarded as a fully-fledged member of that new Cockney school of intellectuals that was striving to challenge and transform the Regency culture. The strenuous engagement of the *Hunt circle* (especially of Shelley and Byron) in the production of theatrical performances should not be overlooked. What is more, as Michael Eberle-Sinatra (2005: 25) has elucidated, Hunt himself, in his capacity as both theatrical critic and political journalist, considered drama not just as mere entertainment, but rather “as one of the major social influences on the citizens of a country”.

3. *Otho the Great and King Stephen*

Given what has been argued so far, Keats's *Otho the Great* and *King Stephen* acquire a much deeper significance. The first play is named after the historical figure of the German Otho I (912-973 A.D.), "the first European ruler since Charlemagne to unify Europe under one rule", in the words of Daniel P. Watkins (1989: 103). The real protagonist of the drama, however, is his son Ludolph (the character Kean was supposed to play), who initially rebels against his father, only to be reconciled with him once the object of his desire, the attractive but treacherous Auranthe, is granted to him as a wife. Apparently, the text is centred on a domestic tragedy, namely Auranthe's disreputable behaviour and her unfaithfulness to the one who loves her, resulting in Ludolph's madness and the sudden (but natural) death of both spouses. Hence, in one of the very few critical essays devoted to the play, Catherine Burroughs (1992: 131) has focused on the concept of female sexuality, perceived as "a strong preoccupation for Keats during the writing of *Otho*". The metatheatrical quality of the text (a feature possibly influenced by the poet's enthusiasm for Shakespeare) has been underlined by Charles J. Rzepka, who has noticed that the characters are often conscious of playing different roles according to the circumstances; as the scholar has pointed out, Keats probably wished to "make his audience aware of the 'theatrical' nature of everyday life" (Rzepka 1984: 35). Nevertheless, I contend that the social and political implications of *Otho the Great* deserve greater critical attention. Like Regency England (characterised by bribery, corruption, immorality, and pretence, against a background of riots, treason trials, and the 1819 Peterloo Massacre), the world John Keats depicts is peopled by "prodigious sycophants" (II.i.25), who use "dexterous policy" (I.i.8) to achieve their goals. Appearances are always deceptive and each character pursues solely his/her own interest. Conrad, Auranthe's brother, passes from being a rebel to "most believing" (I.i.50) Otho's favourite, joining forces with him only when threatened by the Hungarians (their mutual enemy). Impelled by his lust for power, he favours his sister's marriage with Ludolph, inducing the king to consent to their union, even if he knows that Auranthe has a furtive liaison with another man, and that Ludolph was originally betrothed to Erminia (whose reputation he succeeds in tainting). In turn, Auranthe is perfectly aware that no brotherly love drives Conrad's actions and that, knowing her secret, he will always hold her in his grip; as she states:

[*Auranthe*] 'twas for yourself you laboured-not for me!
Do you not count, when I am queen, to take
Advantage of your chance discoveries
Of my poor secrets, and so hold a rod
Over my life?" (I.i.112-116)

Even the king, who appears to be so noble and magnanimous as to release Gersa (the defeated Prince of Hungary) from his shackles, is an ambiguous figure. First of all, the fierceness of the conflict and the brutal ruthlessness of the German troops (clashing against the supposed righteousness of their leader) are hinted at through the mention of the numerous Hungarian "slain battalions" (I.ii.126), as well as of Otho's "blood-stain'd ensigns" (I.i.51), earlier on in the play. Then, the relevance of his carefully pondered act of mercy is considerably diminished when one realises that Gersa was actually not a strong opponent to the king:

[*Otho*] Though I did hold you high in my esteem
 For your self's sake, I do not personate
 The stage-play emperor to entrap applause,
 To set the silly sort of the world agape,
 And make the politic smile; no, I have heard
 How in the Council you condemn'd this war,
 Urging the perfidy of broken faith,-
 For that I am your friend. (I.ii.142-149)

Feigned compassion, ostentatious forgiveness, and callous manipulation are, therefore, the political weapons employed by the monarch to acquire another grateful and obedient ally to his power: "And thus a marble column do I build/ to prop my empire's dome" (I.ii.160-161). The king's morality and his honesty of conduct are further questioned when Conrad (the real villain of the play, whom Otho supports with the sole intention of being backed by him) is acknowledged among his closest partners:

[*Otho*] Conrad, in thee
 I have another steadfast [pillar], to uphold
 The portals of my state; and, for my own
 Pre-eminence and safety, I will strive
 To keep thy strength upon its pedestal. (I.ii.161-165)

In this perplexing and ambivalent context (reminiscent of Keats's own times) the only character who seems capable of perceiving and defending the truth is Ludolph, the wronged and unruly prince whose part perfectly suited liberal Kean in the intentions of the author. Ludolph understands the contradictions of Otho's personality, highlighting both his "noble nature" (I.iii.55) and his "hot, proud, obstinate" (I.iii.89) temper; he criticises his herds of flatterers and minions, "curling, like spaniels, round [his] father's feet" (I.iii.82), besides comparing Conrad to "a tight leech" (II.1.56), feeding on Otho's blood. This modest and dignified figure (who even disguised himself as an Arab to protect his father in battle without him knowing) is often associated to a *fool* throughout the drama, a Shakespearean fool, one may be tempted to add, given his inclination to tell the truth that the others deny. His actual madness at the end of the tragedy, stemming from the discovery of his newly-wed bride's infidelity, may be interpreted as Keats's final *coupe de theatre*, his strategy to expose and stigmatise, through the filter of a mentally deranged person, the very rhetoric of power and control which was deemed legitimate if employed to describe territorial conquests and possessions. Hence, Ludolph's vicious dreams of immolating Auranthe "upon the altar of wrath" (V.v.156), and his fantasies of male domination, soon mingle with visions of war which, far from being auspicious, are turned by Keats into the ominous hallucinations of a diseased mind:

[*Ludolph*] Father, I will lead your legions forth,
 Compact in steeled squares, and speared files,
 And bid our trumpets speak a fell rebuke
 To nations drows'd in peace! (V.v.159-162)

Being an unfinished fragment, very little can be said about *King Stephen*; all the same, from its very beginning, political considerations are embedded even in this text. In truth, Keats appears to be particularly fascinated by the character of

Queen Maud, placing a strong emphasis on the wisdom a proper ruler has to display; as she says to Gloucester, “to sage advisers let me ever bend/ a meek attentive ear” (I.iv.10-11).

4. Conclusion

Speculating on the development of *King Stephen*'s plot proves fruitless, also because very few references to the play are scattered in the poet's letters. Conversely, one more chapter can be added to *Otho the Great*'s story. After Severn's unsuccessful attempt at staging it in Rome, in 1838, the tragedy was eventually performed for the first time by the Preview Theatre Club in London, on November 26, 1950. The play was directed and revised by Tom Rothfield and Robin Bailey played the part of Ludolph. As Dorothy Hewlett (1952: 83) observed, “the play, judiciously cut, well played and presented, held the audience to a remarkable degree”: a belated, but still meaningful success for John Keats as a dramatist.

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THE RECEPTION OF THOMAS HARDY IN FRANCO'S SPAIN: THE CASES OF *TESS* AND *JUDE THE OBSCURE*

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Abstract: *Some of Thomas Hardy's novels are well known for the controversial reception they received from Victorian British publishers and readers. Tess of the D'Urbervilles (1891) and Jude the Obscure (1895) were both heavily bowdlerised and harshly attacked for being in conflict with Victorian morality. This paper will look at the reception of these two novels in Spain, which shows the contradictions as well as the changing social and moral climate during General Franco's regime (1939-1975).*

Keywords: *Thomas Hardy, censorship, General Franco, marriage, morality, reception*

1. Introduction

Thomas Hardy, the famous late Victorian novelist, “the incomparable chronicler of his Wessex” as Raymond Williams observed (1970: 97), was very much concerned, one could say even anxious, about the reception of his novels. More perhaps than other writers, he wanted to elicit positive responses from critics and readers. Eve Sorum (2011: 179) refers to Hardy’s “crankiness about being misread” and his constant revisions of his novels. However, he did not always succeed according to his wish. Some of Hardy’s novels are well known for the controversial reception they received from Victorian British publishers and readers. When first published in serial form, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891) and *Jude the Obscure* (1895) were both heavily bowdlerised and, when they were finally published as books, some critics harshly attacked them for being in conflict with Victorian morality.

Tess, the story of a country girl who is raped by a member of a wealthy branch of the family, has an illegitimate son and ends up by being executed by a narrow-minded society, was rejected by several magazines and, when published, some passages were omitted or modified. In the introduction to *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Reception*, R. G. Cox (1970: xxviii) describes how the newspaper syndicate of Tillotson and Son of Bolton, as well as *Murray's Magazine* and *Macmillan's Magazine* rejected the novel after they had read the seduction and the baptism scenes. When it was eventually accepted by *Graphic*, the seduction and the illegitimate child were completely removed. Then, when the full version appeared in volume form, it also received hostile attention from conservative reviewers, like Mowbray Morris (1892) of *The Quarterly Review*, who mainly dismissed Hardy’s sympathetic portrayal of what, at that time, was considered to be a “fallen woman”.

Jude the Obscure was also very controversial. Hardy had an agreement with *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* to publish the story of Jude Fawley, a working-class young man, who dreams of becoming a scholar. As the story develops, Jude is manipulated into marrying a rather superficial local girl, Arabella Donn, who deserts him within two years; he then falls in love with his free-spirited cousin, Sue Bridehead, although she marries another man. The plot gets even more complicated when Sue finds that she is unhappy with her husband and falls in love with Jude.

Then, they begin to live together, although unmarried, and have two children. At this point, when the manuscript was serialised from December 1894 to November 1895, the magazine's editor decides to heavily censor Jude's relationship with Sue and Arabella, as Patricia Ingham explains in her article "The Evolution of *Jude the Obscure*". When the full novel was published in 1895, it also received a harsh reception from several critics, who viewed it as indecent and degenerate. The novel's explicit references to sexuality and its negative comments on marriage, religion, and England's class system, offended many Victorian readers. One of them, Margaret Oliphant, believed that Hardy's novel was a clear assault on the institution of marriage and wrote the following in her review of the novel, entitled "The Anti-Marriage League", published in *Blackwood's Magazine*:

There may be books more disgusting, more impious as regards human nature, more foul in detail, in those dark corners where the amateurs of filth find garbage to their taste; but not, we repeat, from any Master's hand. (1896: 138)

Adverse reactions to the novel were widespread among different types of readers. An interesting anecdote has survived of how Hardy received a packet of ashes from Australia, which purportedly were from a burnt copy of *Jude the Obscure* (Cox 1970: xxxvi). Similarly, William Walsham How, Bishop of Wakefield, also claimed to have thrown the novel into the fire and, more importantly, he persuaded W. H. Smith's circulating library to ban it (Tomalin 2006: 260).

Surprisingly enough, when a translation of *Tess* was reprinted in Spain during General Franco's regime (1939-1975), despite its strict moral and religious censorship, Spanish censors did not find fault with Hardy's sympathetic portrayal of a "fallen woman". Nevertheless, the case of *Jude* was special. The novel was banned in Spain on moral and religious grounds during most of the regime. It was only in 1972 that censors did not disapprove of the book's critique of the institution of marriage and allowed a Spanish printing of 15,000 copies of Jude's story. It is interesting to note that laws regarding marriage were very strict under Franco's regime and divorce was not legalised until 1981. This paper will look at the reception of *Tess* and *Jude the Obscure* in Spain, which seem to show the contradictions as well as the changing social and moral climate during Franco's regime.

2. Historical context

In the 1930s, Spain went through political turmoil and a civil war that led up to a long dictatorship (1939-1975), a regime with a very strict censorship system that exercised tight control over the publishing and import of books, in order to determine what was morally or politically correct for the common good of the nation. It is interesting to note that it was a system of prior censorship; that is to say, since the establishment of the press laws in 1938, no book could be printed or sold without permission from the board of censorship.

For every book, the censorship office opened a file which generally contained the application form signed by the publisher or bookseller, a copy of the text (usually the galley proof of the book or the original version of the text that was to be translated) and one or several reports written by the censors, in which they justified their decision on whether the text should be banned, published or published with some "alterations". In a regime that supported the political right and

the traditional values of the Catholic Church, these censors were the guardians of the morals of society and suppressed or changed any publication that was thought to be subversive and included “improper” comments about morality, the traditional values of the Catholic Church or the founding principles of the regime.

In 1966, a new press law was passed (commonly referred to as the *Ley Fraga*), which replaced prior censorship by the so-called “voluntary consultation”. This meant that publishing houses or writers were made responsible for what they published, but they could ask the censorship office for approval (consultation) to avoid any confrontation with the censors, who, before the distribution of any printing matter, received a copy of the book. Although it was introduced as a liberal law by comparison with what the regime had before, it hardly encouraged the practice of freedom, since the state still retained the right to punish publishers for what might have been considered politically incorrect and a banned text could lead to heavy fines and even prison.

So, was Hardy’s controversial fiction improper or immoral according to Spanish censors’ standards? Were novels like *Tess* and *Jude the Obscure* banned in Spain? What, if any, was the target of this censorship? Was it similar to the British censorship during the Victorian period? Franco’s censorship files, which can be found in the “Fondo de Cultura” at the General Administration Archive (Archivo General de la Administración) in Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, provides a wealth of valuable data about the interest of publishers and booksellers, the editions printed or imported at that time and, most importantly, the censors’ critical views of Hardy’s novels. Data from the censorship files will contribute not only to a better understanding of the reception of Hardy in Spain, but also to a better understanding of the Spanish society during Franco’s regime.

3. *Tess* and the censors’ positive response

A quick look at the catalogue of the Spanish National Library shows that Hardy had already arrived in Spain during the second decade of the 20th century. The first novel by Hardy translated into Spanish was *A Pair of Blue Eyes: A Novel* (1873), an unobjectionable text, drawing on Hardy’s courtship of his wife, which appeared in 1919, in Barcelona, with the title *Unos ojos azules*. Another novel, *The Well-Beloved* (1897), followed suit; this story of the sculptor Jocelyn Pierston searching for the ideal woman was published in Madrid as *La bien amada* in 1921. Then, three years later came *Tess*, whose Spanish version was published, also in Madrid, under the title *Teresa la de Urbervilles (una mujer pura): novella*, reproducing the original “a pure woman” given by Hardy. The translator, Manuel Ortega y Gasset, was a well-known Spanish humanist, brother of the famous Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, and had already translated novels by William Makepeace Thackeray, Jane Austen, James Cook and Charles Dickens. There was even a Catalan translation of *Tess* by César-August Jordanapublished in 1929, which also respects the original title: *Teresa dels Urbervilles: una dona pura*. There were no censorship problems with this novel in 1920s Spain.

What is indeed surprising is that the same translation of *Tess* by Ortega y Gasset was reprinted in Spain during the early years of Franco’s regime, despite the fact that its strict moral and religious censorship had already been in place for three years. It seems that Spanish censors did not find fault with Hardy’s sympathetic portrayal of a “fallen woman”. In 1941, a Barcelona publisher, Ediciones Nausica, wanted to publish 2,000 copies of *Tess* and submitted the text for approval at the

ensorship office in Madrid. The application was accepted and *Teresa la de Urbervilles* (notice that the subtitle “una mujer pura” had been removed) was authorised without any restriction. In fact, the censor wrote a very positive report:

Novela, drama de amor, cuya trama muy bien desarrollada y escrita con gran pulcritud, se sigue con interés. La acción se desarrolla en Inglaterra y en la lucha de las pasiones que mueven a los personajes triunfa la moral, pero no la moral religiosa para la que hay ataques por parte de los protagonistas – aun cuando la religión que atacan es el protestantismo – sino una moral racionalista. A pesar de esto, creo puede ser publicada, pues el argumento en su trayectoria se aparta del problema religioso que solo accidentalmente toca en algunos párrafos.

(‘Novel, love drama, whose well-developed plot, written with great neatness, can be followed with interest. The action takes place in England and, in the struggle of the passions that move the characters, morality wins, but not religious morality, which is attacked by some protagonists– even though the attacked religion is Protestantism – but a rationalist morality. Despite this, I think it may be published, as the argument in its path deviates from the religious problem, which is only touched, accidentally, in some paragraphs.’ (File Z-519-41; the translation of all texts from the censorship files into English is mine.)

It is interesting to note how the censor spotted critical comments on religion; however, they were not considered offensive, since the target was not the Catholic Church, but English Protestantism, which was deliberately marginalised and persecuted during Franco’s dictatorship. Therefore, Hardy’s religious position, according to Spanish censors, fell in line with the doctrines of the regime. Besides, the moral issues raised in the story were not considered important enough to ban the novel. What is more, “morality wins” in the end. Therefore, Spanish readers could continue to enjoy the company of *Tess* in the 1940s.

In the following decade, a somewhat contradictory situation arose. Spanish censors had to examine an application to import 300 copies of the French *Tess*, published by Le Livre de Poche and translated by Madeleine Rolland in 1956. At that time, French was the main foreign language in Spanish schools and universities, so it is logical that there was a demand for novels in French, rather than in the original English. After reading a copy of the novel that accompanied the application form, the censor stated in his report that there was nothing to object to the importation of this “famous novel, already a classic”. However, he added that “the corrections that a Spanish version should require could be tolerated in this French interpretation” (File 5387-56. “Las rectificaciones que exigiría una versión española pueden tolerarse en esta interpretación francesa”). Ignoring the 1941 positive antecedent, this censor was insinuating that had he examined a version of *Tess* in Spanish, a few corrections or changes would probably have been made. No detail is given about the nature of those corrections; perhaps, they had to do with moral issues that the 1941 censor did not consider important. We shall never know. But his attitude towards the novel’s content was certainly more strict and harsh. Authorisation was only granted because the novel was in French and, one could add, few copies were going to be sold anyway.

Tess’s story continued to fare well among Spanish censors in the 1960s. In 1962, a large and well-distributed publishing house from Barcelona, Editorial Planeta, requested permission for the publication of 2,000 copies of *Teresa de Urbervilles*, as part of the series “Maestros Ingleses” (English Masters). It seemed that Hardy’s reputation in Spain was already well established. This time, the censor

checked the antecedents and simply renewed the authorisation that had been granted in 1941 (File 590-62). This Spanish edition of Hardy's novel included an introductory study on the author by a Catalan writer and journalist, Juan Sebastián Arbó, which clearly presents *Tess* as a controversial novel that had been involved in a scandal when published in England. No possible disturbing detail is hidden from the censor in this edition that was authorised without any restriction.

In his essay "Candour in English Fiction", written when he was having problems with the serialisation of *Tess*, Hardy lamented the power that both magazines and circulating libraries have over the shaping of novels. He believed that "acting under the censorship of prudery," both magazines and libraries "rigorously exclude from the pages they regulate subjects that have been made, by general approval of the best judges, the bases of the finest imaginative compositions since literature rose to the dignity of an art" (1890: 18). The author, Hardy argues, has very few options and inevitably ends up submitting to these powers. Fifty years later, Hardy's *Tess* found itself submitted to similar powers in a different country, the powers of Spanish censorship office; however, they were more benevolent than their Victorian counterparts.

4. The reception of *Jude the Obscure*

The favourable reception of Hardy's novels in twentieth-century Spain was possible thanks to the interest of the publishers and booksellers, as well as to the authorisations granted to a large number of his novels by the censors: a reprint of the Spanish version of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* appeared in 1942; *The Well-Beloved* was authorised in 1943 and 1965; the green light was also given to the short stories *A group of Noble Dames* and *Life's Little Ironies* in 1943; censors also granted permission for the publication of a first Spanish translation of *Under the Greenwood Tree* (*Bajo el árbol de la selva verde*) in 1945; similarly, *Far from the Madding Crowd* appeared in 1969 as *Lejos del mundanal ruido*. To these, one should add *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, which, though not published in Spain, large importations of a 1941 Spanish translation from Argentina were authorised in 1944 (1,000 copies) and in 1946 (3,000 copies). However, the case of *Jude* was very different. The novel was banned by Franco's censors on moral and religious grounds during most of his regime.

Jude the Obscure had been ignored in Spain for the first four decades of the twentieth century. However, an importer from Madrid wanted to place 300 copies of an Argentinean translation, *Jud el oscuro*, on the Spanish market in 1946. Franco's censors did not allow it (File 3540-46). No report is included in the censorship file, so we cannot know for certain the reasons for this ban, although we can guess them from the information found in a second file opened in 1958 (File 2056-58). This time it was an application to import 300 copies of a French version of Hardy's novel, published by Le Livre de Poche (the novel had been published in France as early as 1901). The censor's report was very clear:

Novela impía, en la que se atacan los fundamentos de la religión, la moral y las normas sociales más elementales. El adulterio, la bigamia y la protesta contra el sacramento del matrimonio resultan demoledores y llevan incluso al suicidio de tres niños. No hay posibilidad de encontrar en esta obra una sola parte digna de ser leída. El sufrimiento de los protagonistas no puede servir de pretexto para destruir los cimientos de la religión y la sociedad.

No debe autorizarse.

(Impious novel in which the fundamentals of religion, morality and the most basic social norms are attacked. Adultery, bigamy and protest against the sacrament of marriage are devastating and even lead to the suicide of three boys. There is no chance of finding in this work a single section that is worth reading. The suffering of the protagonists cannot be an excuse to destroy the foundations of religion and society.

It should not be authorised.)

In this censor's devastating analysis of the novel, we see a similar reaction to that of the Victorian critics nearly 60 years before. We should not forget that the book was in French and there were only 300 copies, so its readership could not have been very large. Nevertheless, the censorship office thought it was not appropriate to allow the book into the country, because it would upset the fundamentals of religious and social norms.

Hardy's anxiety about censorship and reception made him stop writing novels, after the public outrage about *Jude the Obscure*. As biographer Michael Millgate (1982: 374) put it, "he remained quite unprepared for the violence of the critical response, for the psychological stresses consequent upon so extensive and painful a public exposure [...]". Surely, Hardy's fans felt a huge sense of relief that he was no longer alive to see how his last novel also caused similar outrage and indignation in the readers of a different country.

We have to wait until 1972 to see a Spanish edition of *Jude the Obscure* in Spain. A well-established publishing house from Madrid, Alianza Editorial, submitted the text to the censorship office for "voluntary consultation". It was going to be a paperback edition of the novel, 15,000 copies. The censor's report is very interesting (File 12316-72). *Jude the Obscure* was rightly considered a thesis novel, whose main aim is to criticise the tyranny of marriage. As can be seen from his report, the censor had read the definitive 1912 edition of the novel and the Preface in which Hardy states: "A marriage should be dissolvable as soon as it becomes a cruelty to either of the parties - being then essentially and morally no marriage" (2002: xlv). So, the censor was aware of Hardy's emphasis on social reforms, particularly those related to marriage laws and sex relations, which, in his opinion, should be liberalised. This 1972 report does not refer to adultery, bigamy or irreverent treatment of conventional love and marriage. On the contrary, in the summary of the plot the censor considers that Jude and Sue's relationship was built upon "the most pure and sincere love" after failing in their respective marriages. Moreover, the censor showed an understanding attitude towards Hardy's critical views of the conventions of the time and even "the religious rules" that forced a married couple to live unhappily once their love had vanished. The explanation to the censor's position was also clear:

La divulgación que el tema [el divorcio] ha tenido en nuestra sociedad y la frecuente aparición del mismo en el cine, la televisión, la literatura y la prensa le privan hoy de carácter polémico, como lo fue en su tiempo, y, a juicio del lector que suscribe, se considera este libro como ADMISIBLE.

(The dissemination that the issue [divorce] has had in our society and its frequent presence in films, television, literature and the print media deprive it today of its controversial nature, as it was in its time, and, according to the reader who undersigns this report, the book is considered ACCEPTABLE.)

It is interesting to note that laws regarding marriage were very strict under Franco's regime and divorce was not legalised until 1981, six years after Franco's death. During the Franco years, marriages had to be sanctioned by the Catholic Church, which prohibited divorce. However, from this censorship report on *Jude the Obscure*, it seems that the Spanish society was already changing at the beginning of the 1970s and the issue of divorce and ending a canonical marriage was not seen any more as something shameful that harmed society.

5. Conclusion

In the Preface to the first edition of *Tess* as a book, Hardy draws his readers' attention to the restrictions imposed by the previous serial publication and puts forward an eloquent defence of freedom of speech, quoting a sentence of St Jerome's: "If an offence come out of the truth, better is it that the offence come than the truth be concealed" (1967: 26). Hardy's fiction was often subjected to the censor's scrutiny and his Spanish translations were not going to be different. However, it seems that the representation of truth was less concealed in Spain than in his own country. All his novels and short stories went through the filter of the strict moral censorship that was established during Franco's regime; only *Jude the Obscure* had a negative response from the Spanish censors, who did not allow the story to be imported or published until 1972.

As for *Tess*, despite the slight contradiction between the first censor in 1941 and the one who read the French version in 1956, the novel was always authorised in Spain. Nomoral or religious issues were really raised by the Spanish censors, as the Victorian publishers and critics had done before. The seduction scene, Tess's baptism of her dying child, or Hardy's disconcerting views on some beliefs of the church, which do not mesh with a modern society, did not pose a serious problem for Spanish readers. It is true that some decades had gone by since the negative English responses appeared, but the Spanish society had not evolved much, particularly since the establishment of Franco's regime. It seems that the Spanish censors did not attach much significance to Hardy's moral nihilism; perhaps, because the protagonists were English and Protestant, or maybe because what they had to authorise was just a few copies in French, although this last explanation was not valid for *Jude*.

Jude the Obscure went through a very different experience. The history of its reception in Spain shows the contradictions and the changing social and moral climate during the latter years of Franco's regime. The novel was first banned for a few years but, eventually, the censors authorised it in 1972, because, as the censor states in his report, divorce was already socially accepted. Although the regime supported the traditional values of the Catholic Church, which believes that marriage is a permanent union and does not accept a civil divorce, a representation of the regime, the censorship office, accepted Hardy's critical position against these religious rules and allowed the novel to be published. It seems that the official discourse on divorce, established by a law passed in September 1939, which made a civil marriage very difficult and divorce impossible, was still in force; however, the Spanish society of the 1970s was changing and more people believed that those old laws had to be updated. The publication of *Jude the Obscure* in Spain in 1972 signals the transition to a modern society, the coming out of a profoundly traditional religious society, in many ways similar to the Victorian

society that rejected the novel, and the arrival of a new, more secular and modern society, that accords greater respect to individual liberties and civil rights.

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FORD MADOX FORD: TRAVEL WRITING IN PROVENCE

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Abstract: *Ford Madox Ford is known as a novelist, essayist, poet and literary critic, but very rarely as a travel writer. Yet he did turn to travel writing later in life, producing a mixture of memoir, historical writing and ode to place. This short paper analyzes Ford Madox Ford's description of southern France in his travel book *Provence From Minstrels to the Machine*, first published in 1935.*

Keywords: *Ford Madox Ford, British expatriate, Provence, travel writing*

1. Introduction

Ford Madox Ford is known as a novelist, essayist, poet and literary critic, but very rarely as a travel writer. Yet he did turn to travel writing later in life, producing a mixture of memoir, historical writing and ode to place. He was not the first British or American writer to embark on a journey to live and write in France. He had perhaps been inspired by his literary predecessors such as Robert Louis Stevenson, who had recounted his impressions of France in his famous *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*, published in 1879, or Henry James, whose travel book *A Little Tour of France* was published in 1884. Neither was he alone among his contemporaries to document his discoveries. Edith Wharton had embarked on three automobile tours of the country in 1906 and 1907, while Ezra Pound had traced the footsteps of the troubadours on his walking tour through southern France in 1912. Then in the interwar years, numerous writers took advantage of the new technology, which so facilitated travel and their renewed possibility to discover France. Ford Madox Ford was one of these writers who chose to return regularly to live and write in France, where he had made numerous trips as a child and young adult. This short study analyzes Ford Madox Ford's description of southern France in his travel book entitled *Provence from Minstrels to the Machine*, first published in 1935.

2. Travel writing

Ford approached history, literature, and travel writing as a modernist. His history of Provence is a mixture of legends, descriptions of battles, suppositions, historical facts and eyewitness accounts. Not only does Ford change rapidly between subjective and objective accounts of various places in his description of Provence, but he also alternates between eras, referring in non-chronological order to the arrival of the Greeks and Romans, the Visigoth attacks in the 5th century, Clovis' defeat of the Goths in 507 AD, the 13th century Cathar Crusade, the first World War, etc. And then he realizes that, despite all these different civilizations battling over Provence, coming and going throughout history, Provence just remained Provence, its true identity being related to the Troubadours, the Courts of Love and the heresy of the Albigenses or Cathars. It is this heritage that stimulates the imagination and allows one to travel. Ford (2009: 64) wrote: "Provence is not a country nor the home of a race, but a frame of mind". What he loved in Provence is also that it put him in another frame of mind – one where he could think – go on

tangents without being interrupted – and that is exactly what he does in his travel writing.

In the introduction to his book *Modernist Travel Writing*, David G Farley (2010: 2) comments on Helen Carr's distinction between "travelling writers" and "travel writers" and notes that the travel books written by modernist authors between the two World Wars often "draw as much on a fragmentary interiority as on an objective reality", they became as Carr suggests more "memoir than manual." And this is indeed the case for Ford's *From Minstrels to the Machine*, which is actually what can be called a "bread and butter" book. It was written at a time when Ford's financial situation was dubious and he needed to make a living. Ford used his own personal experiences and observations of Provence to write what he refers to as a "serious book, a moral one" (Ford 2009: 24), because he is going to make the reader aware of paradise on earth – Provence. And that is exactly what he does. Ford's Provence is a world apart. It is a world which continues unchanged despite all the desolation and despair of the modern world which may surround it. Despite wars and book burnings, the olive trees continue to grow and vines still cover the hillsides. It is this sense of earthly paradise – of earthly permanence that attracts Ford.

Ford begins his travel book with a description of London. He and his companion, the American artist Biala – who will serve as his nameless American companion in his travels, allowing him to make countless asides and digressions, always introducing the subjective into a seemingly objective observation - are standing on the steps of the left-hand entrance of the National Gallery, looking across Trafalgar Square and down Whitehall to the spires of Westminster Abbey. Their view is obscured by publicity and suddenly they are aware of the evening song of starlings and Ford's imagination takes him to the nightingales of Tarascon. (Ford 2009: 25). And he embarks on his journey.

Written as a first person non-linear narrative, Ford's travel book is a series of reminiscences as well as projections into the future. He writes of his time spent in Provence, the memories it inspires which are linked to other memories, which are in turn linked to other memories, ad infinitum, and which are at the same time also linked to the present, the time of writing, and the imagination of what the future may hold. Although this technique resembles a sort of stream of consciousness writing, it is in fact very controlled. The chapter entitled "Church and Stage" begins with a very thorough description of all the battles waged in Provence based on religious differences and ends with stories of the London theatre world from his youth. Memory of course makes the association between the stage of battles often springing out of senseless circumstances and the idle chat of fashionable theatre actresses.

2.1. The influence of the past

Among Ford's non sequiturs, there are several leitmotifs which resurface from time to time - his childhood memories of London, the troubadours and the courts of love, the stories of Nicolette and Aucassin and those of Guilhem de Cabestanh dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, food and indigestion, the remarks of his American friend which allow him to express his thoughts, continue on his tangents, and juxtapose his Englishness with a foreign culture.

Childhood memories play an important part in his travel writing. He is constantly reminded of moments in his youth which marked him and inspired his

great interest and love of Provence. As a young boy in a gloomy English schoolroom, he is unhappy and bullied by an older classmate, until he is miraculously transported to sunny Avignon by reading aloud one of Daudet's verses. Although he points out numerous times that he does not like Daudet's writing and that "Lettres de mon Moulin" was not actually written at the mill which had by then become a tourist attraction, the stories do serve as a point of departure to describe St Remy and Arles – and to recall Tarascon and the love story of Nicolette and Aucassin (Ford 2009: 210). Ford was introduced to French literature and culture early in life by his father, who had written a well-known book on the Troubadours. So as a young boy, he was already well-versed in the tales of the wandering minstrels and the courts of love in France. These legendary courts purported to have existed during the time of the troubadours would pass judgment on transgressions of the philosophy of love and the codes of chivalry and courtly love. Composed of married women and widows who were also the objects of the adulation, the courts would rule on the nature of true love, passion and infidelity. Although he writes that he preferred Daniel Arnaud and Bertrand de Born, as did Ezra Pound, he was more versed in the poetry of Guilhem de Cabestanh – his father's specialty. He often refers to the story of Guilhem de Cabestanh, the legendary troubadour who fell in love with and became the lover of Seremonda, the wife of Raimon de Castel. When he discovered the affair, Raimon de Castel had Guilhem de Cabestanh killed and served his heart on a platter to Seremonda. Upon learning that she had dined on her lover's heart, Seremonda threw herself from the top of the castle.

In the chapter "The Courts of Love", Ford actually describes a walking tour of London. Beginning with a commentary on Henry James, he embarks on a description of London streets, one linking to another, on a long walk through memory, much like Pound's walking tour of Provence. And like Pound, Ford's rambles eventually bring him to the memory of the Troubadours. And continuing to follow his thoughts, he jumps forward in time and remembers Frederic Mistral, the very famous 19th century Provençal troubadour-poet – one of the seven founding members of *Le Félibre* – a literary movement promoting the Provençal language and culture.

2.2. Travel through space and time

This technique of mixing actual observations with memories allows Ford to travel through time and space. In the first chapter of Part 3, he and his American friend are on the Sussex train going south to Provence. His thoughts roam to the French Riviera, the memory of a childhood vacation with his uncle, that of himself waiting as a soldier on a train platform to be sent to the front during the war, to those of the best meals he had ever eaten at the time of his writing- and all this within the time it took for the train to arrive at Pulborough station, roughly 60 kilometers away. It is in the same Sussex train riding south that Ford muses that he should not write a history of Provincia Romana, but a survey, describing it as it was at that moment. This survey includes the past, present, and future, because Provence remains as it always has been and always will be – a land of sun, wine and olive trees.

From Minstrels to the Machine is after all a travel book, and includes numerous references to French cuisine – to fine wine and food and where to find the best cafés and restaurants. An 1891 recipe for *bouillabaisse* – the famous fish soup – from the Grand Hôtel du Louvre et de la Paix in Marseilles is given in

detail, an ode to cooking with goose fat in Castelnaudary, references to sauce *à la ravigotte* and *à la poulette*, and a description of menus and prices of two memorable restaurants in Nice and Monte Carlo are woven into the travel narrative. Ford's frequent references to indigestion do not usually refer to French food – but rather to the abuse of it, or the misunderstanding of it. Tea brings on indigestion, underdone roast beef or lamb or any other meat does the same (Ford 2009: 246, 266). When Ford's wealthy American neighbor in Toulon invites him to dinner and uses too much garlic in her cooking, Ford wonders at whether it was done on purpose to please him or to give him indigestion. Ford mocks the average Anglo-Saxon traveler who does not try local beverages and dishes. He describes his American friend's timid choice of a meal on the train going south to Provence:

By an amiable remains of the Trans-Atlantic barbaric that poor fellow took hors d'oeuvre instead of snails...and admirable the hors d'oeuvres of Dijon are. But you should have seen his faces when he smelt the perfume across the table of my snails... (Ford 2009: 328)

He even attributes his desire to write the book, his inspiration, to the chance encounter with a fellow Englishman in the *Café de Paris*, his favorite café in Tarascon. His compatriot was drinking a lemonade – or “highly diluted sulfuric acid” as Ford described it, and refused to indulge in anything local. Ford's inspiration was born from that “uncivilisedness” and his moral duty to correct it (Ford 2009: 16-17).

Ford appreciates the French, but does not really identify with them. In the editor's preface to the collection of essays, *Ford Madox Ford and Englishness*, Max Saunders (2003:11) remarks that many of the contributors noted that in his later career, when Ford identified himself more as an American or French writer, “he was still contemplating Englishness even while even farther distancing himself from it.” He appreciated French writers – in particular Valéry Larbaud, as demonstrated by Gil Charbonnier (2011) in his article “Ford Madox Ford and Valéry Larbaud: Critical Convergences”, published in the collection *Ford Madox Ford, France and Provence* – and doubtlessly learned from them and was influenced by them, but he did not become a French writer. His observations remain very English. He does describe how Anglo-Saxon and Latin people differ – for example their appreciations of nature. The English see the beauty of a park in its untamed wild growth, while for the Mediterranean, the beauty of nature lies in its controlled cultivation. Which ideal of beauty he preferred is unclear, but he did notice and appreciate the difference. It is this awareness of a difference that influenced his perception of the world.

Ford describes the effect reading Mistral's poetry has had on his own perception of London.

But the authentic note of the great poet is to modify for you the aspect of the world and of your relationship to your world. This Mistral very astonishingly does. I have said that for a great many years I misestimated this great poet. But of late I have been reading him a great deal – notably since I have been in this city...And the curious effect has been to render London infinitely more supportable. (Ford 2009: 161)

3. Double vision

This double vision is also very evident in his travel book, which is not only about Provence, but also about London. Ford uses Provence as a point of

comparison with London - Provence is bright and warm, London is dark and damp – but the comparison obviously goes a little deeper. Provence is permanent, whereas London should be and could be- there is a message of hope in Ford's irony and criticism. It mustn't be forgotten that the book was published in 1935, on the eve of World War II. The genre of travel writing offers Ford an ideal situation to write about cultural differences and changes in perception. He situates himself in a certain place and either observes his actual location or makes observations on another place from a distance. Part I describes London as seen from the narrator in Provence, whereas Part II reveals Provence as he sees it from London. The last chapter in Part II of the travel book, entitled "Fine Arts", is written from a London garret, where Ford's imagination takes him away from the dull grey rain and strong tea back to Provence and the Palace of the Popes in Avignon and the Golden Age of the good King René, and he writes,

[...] There are in this world only two earthly paradises. The one is in Provence with what has survived of the civilizations of the Good King, of the conte-fablists of the Troubadours and of the painters of Avignon of the Popes. The other is the Reading Room of the British Library. (Ford 2009: 215)

Indeed, Ford writes as though he were in a library or a museum, catching sight of different books and paintings, which all evoke different ideas and the possibility of infinite transgressions and journeys of the imagination.

In the last chapter of the book, which has been highly criticized, Ford lauds bullfighting in Provence, comparing it to foxhunting in England, and even suggesting that it is a healthy way to vent man's natural sadism. He describes the violent criticism of Americans, Germans and British of the game as being cultural differences, which leads him on to support an early, very simplified version of globalization – every country should produce what they do best. The English should breed livestock, the French should raise vegetables, the Americans, Argentinians and Russians should grow wheat – and in this idyllic world there would be free trade for all. By extension, everyone would be satisfied, and there would be no more wars.

And then we should be back again to the manner of the Great Trade Route with the sacred and honest merchants travelling with their wares from tabu ground to ground...and civilizations flowing backwards and forwards from China to Peru. (Ford 2009: 353)

The title of the chapter "Animam non coelum mutare" (**Animum debes mutare, non caelum**) refers to Seneca's famous quote that the soul must be changed, not the climate – and is actually the conclusion to his travel through time and space.

4. Conclusion

Ford has demonstrated that outside influences are superfluous; they can be changed or altered without ever changing the core value of an event, person or place. Provence has weathered invasions and wars over centuries, without ever losing its real character. Provence is and will remain an earthly paradise. Whether the legendary courts of love ever actually existed is a moot question. They definitely existed and still exist in the imagination and literary lore; they have inspired many writers and poets and will continue to do so. Ford's boyhood

memories of the streets of London are as real and alive at the time of his writing as they were before that and will always be. Events happened and have provoked other events without ever changing the basic landscape. The non-linear narrative combining both subjective and objective references to the past, present and future paradoxically reinforces this idea of permanence. True values will survive and will always be rediscovered through tangents of the imagination, which are confined neither to linear time nor geographical location. Ford's mixture of erudite references to historical facts, popular renditions of legendary events, as well as very concrete replications of culinary recipes serves also to confirm this concept of permanency throughout time. He is both a travel writer and a travelling writer, writing a travel book about time, place and permanence.

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IN THE AUTUMN OF LIFE: SEAMUS HEANEY'S *HUMAN CHAIN*

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Abstract: Based on Seamus Heaney's last collection of verse, *Human Chain* (2010), the paper addresses the issues of old age as experienced by the poet aware of his dwindling potential; it also demonstrates how, despite his brush with death, and grappling with frailty and memory loss, he is determined to make the best of what life has in store for him.

Keywords: aging, Heaney, *Human Chain*, Irish poetry

1. Introduction

One August day in 2006, Seamus Heaney simply could not make a move to get out of bed. Luckily, he managed to alert his wife, and the Kavanaghs, his family doctor friends, organized what medical help was necessary. In his interview with Robert McCrum (2009), the poet speaks thus about his rescue operation: "The trip in the ambulance I always remember," he says, "because Marie was in the back with me.[...]. To me, that was one of the actual beauties of the stroke, that renewal of love in the ambulance. One of the strongest, sweetest memories I have. We went through Glendorn on a very beautiful, long, bumpy ride to Letterkenny hospital" (McCrums 2009). Within a comparatively short time, a matter of weeks, he was, as McCrum (2009) has it, on the road to recovery, referring to his hospitalization as "a rest cure".

Even though in Heaney's narrative the stroke resembles an episode from a holiday story, whose other "attractions" include a celebration in a circle of friends, a drive across the country, and romance, it nevertheless proved to be a highly traumatic experience, a powerful moment of punctuation in his intensely busy life, which, forcing the poet to face the onset of his old age (O'Riordan 2010), alerted him to the fact that "he should devote more time to himself and to the life still left" (McCrums 2009). Such was the genesis of *Human Chain*, Heaney's "first book of old age" (Grennan 2010) which, published in 2010, happened to be the last by this finest and most important Irish poet since W.B. Yeats (Boorman 2013); the senior bard who, garlanded with many honours, the Nobel Prize included, "has put his country and his people into [...] memorable verse" (McCrums 2009).

2. The artist as the old man

Recalling in "Miracle" how he was being transferred to the ambulance in the immediate aftermath of his stroke, Heaney draws on the New Testament story of the men who carried their paralyzed friend to be healed by Jesus. It is to the frequently overlooked heroes without whom the miracle could not have happened, to those people "who carr[ied] him in and lowered for healing" (Heaney 2010: 17) that *Human Chain* pays tribute, also extended to all those who "had known him all along" (Heaney 2010: 17) and made him who he was.

Whereas the invalid remains an anonymous "he" throughout the poem, its focus is on the bearers, the limelight revealing their effort and sacrifice, their sweat and aches, and, finally, their lightheadedness and incredulity as they absorb the

wonder they have just made possible. With the suffering man hardly visible in the picture, the self-pity, bitterness and fear that usually define/accompany ailments become non-existent. Hence, in the poem, which is a tuning fork for the whole collection, it is first and foremost the speaker's humble gratitude that emerges as the dominant characteristic of Heaney's confrontation with his mortality. Its light shines through his poetic reflections on aging which, all together, "write" this poetic portrait of "the artist as an old man" (Smith 2011), an "old man's book" (Jollimore 2010) about "old age" (Johnston 2010).

In this essay I wish to argue that the poems of the collection can be treated as Heaney's unique contribution into gerotranscendence. Not only does this book of wisdom catalogue various symptoms of aging, it also presents the mechanisms that made it possible for the poet to cope with the frailty and other infirmities of his advancing years, allowing him to remain active, happy, and fulfilled to the very end.

Combined with his reflective reverence is Heaney's appreciation of his privileged life and his having had a chance to exist there and then, and also, of being endowed with his unique talent and the gift of joy - "in being, in language, and in awareness" (Hirshfield 2010), each and all captured by the opening poem of the collection, "Had I Not Been Awake".

Lying in bed, the speaker sees and hears the wind whirling the leaves, which fills him with a new energy: "the whole of me a-patter, / Alive and ticking like an electric fence." (Heaney 2010:3). Had he not been awake, he would have missed the miracle of this rediscovered vitality which, Christine Fears (2013) argues, "defies Heaney's own recent history of illness and incapacity, and rejects the assumption that one's alertness to the movements of the world around decreases with the onset of age."

The energy boost, along with the need to analyze his life and look at it from a new perspective, that of one who, miraculously spared, has just been given another chance to live, sends the poet travelling in time – through photographs and memories. This deployment of the album device, conducive to his "ghost footing," (Heaney 2010: 84) makes him move easily between "the age of ghosts" (Heaney 2010: 53) and the realm of the present. Hence, Lordan (2011) explains, most of the poems in *Human Chain*

take place in a twilight zone between the here and the hereafter, where memories are purified and transformed into myth, with poetry as the means of transmutation. The pages are crowded with wraiths and shades and shining apparitions. Visionary moments commingle with earthbound description, and the dead and the living are in constant congress.

Hence, also, the distinctive, elegiac tone of the collection, variously described as a "book of grief and pain," (Lewison 2010) "a book of shadows and shades" (Tóibín 2013), or "of ghosts and goodbyes" (Lordan 2011).

One such journey in time, during which he revisits his Derry college of St Columba, provides him with a motto for his explorations, the ancient "quaerite", reminding him of the duty to seek, to search for the sense of one's existence. This search, being one of the stimuli behind *Human Chain*, proves to be the experience that significantly informs the poet's understanding of old age, its autumnal climate and landscapes. It is as if he went back to school, turning again into "a glass beaker dipped / and filling in the flow" (Heaney 2010: 78). Even though he no longer

turns powder into ink, he feels privileged to learn again, to share his wisdom with his readers, and satisfy their thirst for knowledge.

One of his findings is the complex situation of an aging man who is torn between the desire to go on, as he used to, with his life and his ever greater, forced awareness of its finality. The proximity of death, as well as the poet's response to it, weaves its elegiac patterns throughout the collection, preventing oversimplifications and naïve sentimentality, and softening its experience with tender hues.

The most poignant of the dark sides of life that Heaney illuminates on his autumnal canvass is his mention of Derek Hill in "The Baler", where the speaker's own perception of the beauty of sunset, the "dusk Eldorado" (Heaney 2010:24) in which he revels, is juxtaposed with the old painter's refusal to watch it. "The last time" (thus "evoking the terrible finality of the definite article", Smith 2011), the poet recalls Hill's saying as "he sat at our table, / [that] He could bear no longer to watch/ the sun going down / And asking please to be put/ With his back to the window" (Heaney 2010: 24). In this heart-rending scene, the artist turns away from the world, thus symbolically "abandoning a vital part of himself [...] defeated, [...] subdued by his weaponry, [...] by the weight of metaphor" (Smith 2011). Yet, "through its grief," as Smith further contends, this poem finally "affirms art's power to look at death unblinkingly - to keep a chair facing the window." (Smith 2011)

Incidentally, although this strategy of "facing death squarely and facing it down" (Banville 2010) is deployed in many other elegies of the volume, many poems equally celebrate the victory of life, demonstrating, for instance, as in "A Herbal", that "[e]very where plants / Flourish among graves" (Heaney 2010: 35).

"Loughanure", another *in memoriam*, which "effortlessly mixes dulce with utile [...] tenderness and regret" (Lordan 2011), is dedicated to Collin Middleton, immortalized with his inseparable cigarette. Whenever he visited the Heaneys, he would go and stand in front of the picture he sold them, "[g]azing at it, grunting a bit and nodding" (Heaney 2010:61). In *Human Chain* Heaney looks at his parents and friends, "nodding" and "grunting" their tender farewells and weaves his word magic to enshroud them in their last journey.

Heaney also bids his last respects to Nancy Wynne-Jones who, pictured in "Death of the Painter" as "working to the end", finally transcends like "a mote through a minster door" (Heaney 2010: 60). Such monuments to the meaningful people turn *Human Chain* into Heaney's "sepulchral version of paradise" (Lordan 2011), one, however, which, paradoxically, "reveals his awareness of a certain futility in a man's efforts to contact and conjure up the dead, and to preserve their memory in the form of a putatively immutable and ever-living art". Such is the case with "The door was open and the house was dark", his touching dedicatory piece for another close and dear friend, David Hammond:

The door was open and the house was dark
Wherefore I called his name, although I knew
The answer this time would be silence

That kept me standing listening while it grew
Backwards and down and out into the street
[...]
I felt, for the first time there and then, a stranger,
Intruder almost, wanting to take flight

Yet well aware that here there was no danger,
 Only withdrawal, a not unwelcoming
 Emptiness, as in a midnight hangar

On an overgrown airfield in late summer. (Heaney 2010:82)

Interestingly, the last parting is rendered through the silence and darkness of his friend's now very still house; a silence so profound that it almost "proffer[s] the mystery of a real presence"(JOB 2011). In Heaney's work, this silence turns into a living creature which the speaker sees growing "[b]ackwards and down and out into the street" (Heaney 2010:82), as if Hammond himself wanted to see off his visitor and make him rehearse for his own ultimate journey with no return, a mysterious rite of passage which, in the title poem of the collection, "Human Chain," is defined as "that quick unburdening [...] A letting go which will not come again" (Heaney 2010: 18). Well aware that "there was no danger/ Only withdrawal", (Heaney 2010:82) the passer by experiences the paradox of death viewed as an "absence/presence" and symbolized by the open door, which, in this case, does not stand for life (Fawbert 2010), but which, JOB (2011) argues, also abides in "the invisible reality of words". By such means, Lordan (2011) contends, "a collection of poems over which mortality seems to reign [...] [turns out to be] in fact a book of resurrections," creating the context against which Heaney's affirmation of life takes place.

Amongst the many remembrance poems by Heaney, "The Butts" captures the sense of longing and unbearable loneliness one has to face after the demise of one's beloved parent. Besides adding another vital aspect to Heaney's depiction of the evening of life, the piece registers an unwavering, familial respect for the elderly, as well as the preciousness of human life in general. By promoting the frail and ailing people as gifts to be cherished, "The Butts" reflects the "gentle, unceasing rhythm of caring for his father in his last days," (O'Driscoll 2012) the family's helpful presence when the poet's "old man," frail and underweight, needed to be washed and guided to the bathroom; the presence "[c]loser than anybody liked" (Heaney 2010: 13), "the truest payback" (Heaney 2010:18) which was continued to the very end.

Unlike in "Uncoupled" II, where Heaney learns "the pain of [a temporary] loss" (Heaney 2010: 11), this time the pain is caused by his unshakable certitude that his father is no more. The poem chronicles how, one last time, the poet tries to feel his father's closeness, the need triggered by the sight of his suits still hanging in the wardrobe.

"Delve[ing] past flap and lining / For the forbidden handfuls," (Heaney 2010: 12), the poet pays his last respects to his father when, lovingly, he presses the suit-cloth against his face; but even this last hopeful moment of intimacy brings only a kind of empty-handedness: he only finds some long abandoned cigarette butts. Empty-handed now, the poet realizes how rich he was made by his father's presence all along, especially at his most helpless, when the test of love was most strenuous, learning how:

[...] to reach well in beneath
 Each meager armpit
 To lift and sponge him,
 On either side,
 Feeling his lightness,

Having to dab and work
 Closer than anybody liked
 But having, for all that,
 To keep working. (Heaney 2010:13)

To quote O'Driscoll (2012) again,

The theme of 'father and son' has long infused the question of death with the pathos of mourning by association rather than by direct reference. Heaney understates his own imminent ageing; rather than patronize his reader, he leaves it to us to make the connection that he is now the most vulnerable link in the chain.

Thus, eventually, the imminence of death invariably forces him to realize and accept his own mortality and to look back and rethink the life passed, and furthermore, to look at himself as an old man and consider the mental, as well as physical, processes inherent in aging. Interestingly, even in the works that catalogue the various drawbacks of being an elderly person, Heaney still celebrates life, demonstrating how to fight pessimism and frustration. Having participated in so many, more or less poetic, "wakes", thinking of all those who grew old and passed away (Jollimore 2010), he knows best how to recognize and accept his own limitations.

One of the few illustrations – quite scarce in the volume – of this awareness is provided by his "Chanson d'Aventure":

*Love's mysteries in souls do grow,
 But yet the body is his book*
 I
 Strapped on, wheeled, fork lifted, locked
 In position for the drive,
 Bone-shaken, bumped at speed,
 The nurse a passenger in front you ensconced
 In her vacated corner seat, me flat on my back --
 Our postures all the journey still the same
 Everything and nothing spoken,
 Our eyebeams threaded laser-fast, no transport
 Ever like it until then, in the sunlit cold
 Of a Sunday morning ambulance
 When we might, O my love, have quoted Donne
 On love on hold, body and soul apart (Heaney 2010:14).

The presence of a nurse, the speaker's lying "flat on his back", "bone-shaken," "locked/ In position for the drive" (Heaney 2010: 14) in the ambulance are, in fact, the only grim giveaways of what may have become a passage between life and death. Brutally insinuating itself into the poet's life, the stroke is deliberately steered away from, cleverly sandwiched between references to Donne's "The Ecstasy", which, paradoxically, emphasizes not its harmful impact, but rather the rejuvenating energy it happened to arouse: the love and very electric passion in the two elderly lovers who can easily speak with no words. Cocooned in this armour of caring and elation, the man hardly thinks about his condition, yet, when alone, deprived of his wife's protective, heart-warming company, he admits to the health changes he registers. In section two of the poem, recalling how strong he once was, he realizes that now his hand is no longer "capable" and warm, and that he could not even feel Mary lift and hold it. Nevertheless, he quickly returns to

his love story, preferring to focus on how they “careered at speed through Dungloe, / Glendoan, our gaze ecstatic and bisected/ By a hooked-up drip-feed to the cannula” (Heaney 2010: 15). The healing power of love cushions the discomforts of the recovery and absorbs the poet’s anxiety caused by the numbness of his paralyzed limb.

The closing section (III) of the poem offers yet another way of escaping sickness and mortality, this time enabled through culture and its universalizing perspective, which is achieved when the poet contemplates his companion in misery, a small figurine he once saw of a charioteer from Delphi. Ever so distant, and different, they are united by their effort to “hold one’s own” (Heaney 2010: 16), competing with fate for the prize which, in the poet’s case, is his recovery. This time, the post-stroke reality enters the scene through his efforts put into his convalescence, an almost heroic struggle with his impotence and weakness:

III
 The charioteer at Delphi holds his own
 His six horse and chariot gone,
 His left hand lopped
 From a wrist protruding like an open spout
 Bronze reins a stream in his right, his gaze ahead
 Empty as the space where the team should be,
 His eyes-front, straight-backed posture like my own
 Doing physio in the corridor, holding up
 As if once more I’d found myself in step
 Between two shafts, another’s hand on mine,
 Each slither of the share, each stone it hit
 Registered like a pulse in the timbered grips. (Heaney 2010: 16)

Fighting to be himself, the speaker discreetly allows some details of the hospital reality to emerge, and the presence of the physiotherapist, who, like his father introducing him to the art of ploughing, now teaches an adult how to move. This, by no means painless, exercise brings back the trembling he felt when directing the shaft, “a pulse”, a hopeful sign that he is coming back to life.

The poet’s heightened awareness of his changing condition and the need to slow down his busy life re-emerge as one of the key characteristics of aging in “In the Attic”.

IV
 As I age and blank on names,
 As my uncertainty on stairs
 Is more and more the light-headedness
 Of a cabin boy’s first time on the rigging,
 As the memorable bottoms out
 Into the irretrievable,
 It’s not that I can’t imagine still
 That slight untoward rupture and world-tilt
 As a wind freshened and the anchor weighed. (Heaney 2010: 84)

Focused on merely the most essential symptoms, the speaker mentions forgetfulness, frailty, and lack of movement coordination. However, his equally troubling vertigo appears to have some compensations: by being part and parcel of what might be termed the adventure of lightheadedness, it leads one into the

unknown, especially, when“ the [once] memorable bottoms out / into the irretrievable” (Heaney 2010: 84).

One cannot but admire the effortlessness with which the negative aspects of aging are poeticized and transformed into its assets. Some help in this can be derived from the fact that, as in his other works, Heaney is not the only sufferer in the poem. In section III, a fellow victim grappling with his old age is his grandfather who, living the life of perpetual mistake, and confusing reality and fiction, his “memory of the name a-waver too” (Heaney 2010: 84), fondly invites his grandson to a “ghost footing”.

However, it must be stressed that these relatively slight problems by no means deprive the poet of his energy, creative force, or imagination. Characterized by the poem’s last line, his existence seems stable, and solidly secured (“anchored”) against misadventures. Hence, not afraid, although definitely aware, of “that slight untoward rupture and world-tilt” (Heaney 2010: 84), he simply waits to be freshened by the wind of acceptance, ready to explore again, like Jim Hawkins, his fictional hero from *Treasure Island*. Being so anchored in life, Jollimore argues (2010), he realizes “that an individual life, and thus an individual death, is only one small event of a much larger world, a tiny link in the chain of a myriad of other existences, invited to exist and then be gone”. The wider outlook thus afforded, Smith (2011) posits, “allows [*Human Chain*] to remain buoyant despite its preoccupations and the genuine sorrow it recognized within them”.

3. Conclusion

As has been demonstrated, the poems of *Human Chain* not only offer definitions of old age and death, but they also constitute the vital back drop against which Heaney’s affirmation of life takes place: even if the man’s dwindling potential is registered, together with his aching admittance that he cannot do things properly, he can still strive to make the best of his life’s journey. Coping with his problems can be helped by dipping into “classics” like Stevenson, Virgil, and Dante, or into the ancient Irish monks (for instance, St. Columba) or, indeed, by any change of perspective that can mercifully divert his attention from himself. The distance thus achieved universalizes the experience and, turning life into art, allows for new senses and priorities to emerge, eventually revealing the true significance of things for the first time.

One other way to meaningfully distance oneself from the unpleasantness /infirmities of old age, and/or alleviate the pain of the “uncoupling,” is the rich sacramental context Heaney’s poems evoke. John Montague (2015) calls Heaney “a mystic of the ordinary”, which his works render as extraordinary. Always conscious of the incarnational possibilities of the material world, the poet revels in its beauty which, with his characteristic joy of life, he preserves in words. This naturally encourages one to explore the connection between Heaney’s renewed celebration of old age and his Catholic background which, to my mind, constitutes the fundamental realm of values inherent in his portrayal of the elderly other.

Despite Heaney’s repeated declarations that he may, as JOB (2010) has it, “for all practical purposes be finished with Catholicism, it is far from being finished with him”. Already in the opening sections of *Human Chain*, one comes across St. Columba’s motto that postulates “seek ye first the Kingdom”, (Heaney 2010: 5), its presence also enhanced by the father figure, central not just to this collection, but to all of Heaney’s works. Viewed from this perspective, the poet’s

hunger for his father's closeness is particularly significant, as is the embrace he always regretted not having had the courage to lock round his "old man" and a great artificer in one ("Uncoupled II"). This apart, there is the presence of the creative Holy Spirit, giving Itself as the ecstatic joy of life, and manifested, too, as the wind whose motif opens and closes the book. Described as the "air from another life, and time and, place", the wind symbolically helps to launch the kite for the poet's granddaughter Aibhín, which flies heavenward.

The "windfall" (Heaney 2010: 85), the concluding image of the poem, which combines within itself freedom, hope, and elation, can be perceived as a prophecy of the poet's soaring to the Eldorado of light. Looking up, yet ploughing the fields of words, he demonstrates that fulfillment of the elderly comes from giving oneself to others and caring for them and sharing with them the simple joys of life. Even in his last moments of life he was not thinking of himself; he still had time to text his wife, saying "do not be afraid," *nolitimere*.

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TIME BEING ON TIME: A POSTMODERN TALE

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***Abstract:** Analysing Ruth Ozeki's *A Tale for the Time Being* from the perspective of the established governing principles of postmodernity, the paper addresses both the effects of the paradigm shift on fiction and the consequences of the modification of the dominant medium that accompany the instigation of each new historical age, for the perception of literature, and literacy in general.*

***Keywords:** fractal subject, hyperreality, hypertext, media, postmodernity*

1. Introduction

About a year ago, a fellow literary scholar and friend suggested I read a great new novel by Ruth Ozeki, which was among the finalists for the 2013 Man Booker prize. When I asked what it was about, her attempts to elaborate briefly on the bare facts of the content persistently resulted in the dissolution of the validity of the foundation she was elaborating upon. From what I could gather, the book was about alternative realities, the various modes of existence, Zen Buddhism, the problematics of writing, and quantum mechanics. I asked whether it was some kind of abstract, esoteric postmodernism. She thought about it and replied that the novel actually felt decidedly down to Earth and realistic regardless of its non-linearity and seemingly abstract ways. This paradox, which in the course of my research of postmodern fiction proved to be the primary marker of a work's potential postmodern character, prompted me to immediately type *A Tale for the Time Being* into the search line of my kindle app. In a matter of seconds, the digital simulacrum of what over the last four centuries we have grown to recognize as a novel was safely stored in my e-library.

Implicit in the episode are the two main issues this paper is addressing. The first has to do with the ways of thinking about literature in terms of the radical restructuring of the metaphysical framework governing the social, cultural, economic and political processes which over the last six decades we have come to identify as the onset of the new historical age of postmodernity. The second issue pertains to the implications of the change of the dominant medium, which inexorably accompanies the instigation of each new historical age (Bolter 2001: 22), for literature and literacy in general.

Literature first reacted to the new historical conditions in the early 1980s through literary cyberpunk (cf. Krevel 2012:59-64). Since then, instances of fiction complying with the new metaphysical framework have been on the rise, but confined to genre and experimental writing. Analysing the worlds, protagonists and structural organization of Ozeki's novel in terms of the governing mechanisms of the new epoch, I intend to show that it is one of the first examples of the so-called mainstream fiction – its status corroborated by the type of awards it received or was nominated for – that not only matises the postmodern condition, but is fundamentally defined by it.

2. The author, the book, and their time

Ruth Ozeki is a Canadian-American novelist and filmmaker, as well as a Zen Buddhist priest. *A Tale for the Time Being*, published in 2013, is her third novel. Like the first two, *My Year of Meats* (1998) and *All Over Creation* (2003), it seamlessly combines fiction with factuality, and examines the various relations between Japanese and American traditions, looking at societies and cultures from multiple narrative perspectives. To provide a general idea of the contents, at this point it suffices to say it involves two narrators, sixteen-year-old Nao from Tokyo, and Ruth, an elderly novelist who lives with her husband Oliver on a remote island in British Columbia. One day, during a walk by the sea, Ruth finds a Hello Kitty lunchbox containing Nao's diary and some other documents that have washed up on the shore after the 2011 tsunami. The diary, which Ruth immediately starts to read, takes us into Nao's story. Before committing suicide after having been brutally bullied at school and experiencing problems at home, the girl is determined to document the life of her great-grandmother Jiko, who is a Buddhist nun. Her narration, conveyed as a letter to the reader of the diary, combines the events from her life with those of her great-grandmother. Ruth becomes obsessed with finding out what happened to Nao, and the three women and their stories become inextricably intertwined.

Brief as this summary may be, it makes it clear that the story is primarily anchored within contemporary social and cultural realities. Their underlying governing principles, which will serve as my springboard for establishing the degree of the contemporariness of the novel beyond its mere temporal setting, are best summarized by the concepts and terminology proposed by Jean Baudrillard (cf. Krevel 2006: 74). His notions of hyperreality and the fractal subjects inhabiting it, on the one hand, effectively encapsulate the observations of other major theoreticians of postmodernity. On the other hand, because they conceptually infer non-linearity and fluidity, they also prove suitable tools for a theoretical treatment of postmodern literary phenomena.

Baudrillard perceives postmodern reality as hyperreality, a state in which simulation produces its own reality. Hyperreality is conditioned by the ubiquity of electronic media in contemporary societies, generating information to the degree that renders the verification of their validity impossible. Instead, each new piece of information – at this point merely carrying a possibility of meaning, since “[t]he meaning of information is given by the processes that interpret it” (Fredkin qtd. in Hayles 2014: 216) – is interpreted in terms of its compatibility with the systems of data already received, verified, and assimilated into the hyperreality we perceive as the reality of our daily existence.

The processes governing the transformation of the reality paradigm are largely synonymous with the *modi operandi* of postindustrial capitalism. The rapid development of advertising, media industries and information technologies after WW II instigated a shift in production relations. The objects of consumption were gradually losing their functional value, ultimately acquiring the status of signs, producing meaning in differential relation to other signs (Baudrillard 1981: 66). The shift corroborated the transformation of self-perception of individuals from the Cartesian mode into what Baudrillard describes as a “fractal subject” (Baudrillard 2001: 47). Its formation is consistent with the formation of hyperreality, as postmodern individuals are also essentially fluid, open networks of mediated data. Since we all choose from the same consortium of media products, the postmodern

subject is *a priori* fractal; it is “the subject without other” (Baudrillard 2001: 48), because it is technically an infinite internal differentiation of one and the same subject.

Hyperreality and fractal subjectivity as rhizomatous systems of differential signs that can be arbitrarily manipulated according to one’s inclinations on the conceptual level correspond to the structural logic and functioning of the medium over which most of the communication is performed today, i.e. the hypertext. With that, the proposed metaphysical structuring of the new epoch is provided with a medium that can accommodate its intrinsic principles on the level of communication.

3. Literature as a postmodern medium: theory and practice

In order to establish whether *A Tale for the Time Being* complies with the postmodern paradigm, I will examine the categories of reality and world-building, literary subjectivity, and internal and external structuring in terms of Baudrillard’s concepts, simultaneously applying the findings to Ozeki’s novelistic practice. My methodological vantage point is that the novel is essentially a medium, a generator of information. Within the postmodern paradigm, its representational potential merges with the capacity to partake of the construction of (hyper)reality, effectively disqualifying the reality-fiction binary opposition.

3.1. Postmodern literary reality and world-building

The prerequisite for a literary reality to be postmodern is the compliance of its world-building strategies with the principles of postmodern reality creation. That compliance means that literary worlds are essentially systems of media-generated data. The stability of the literary hyperreal systems relies on their connectivity either with existing hyperreal systems (those which have already become part of our daily experience), or those provided by the media in the book. Keeping in mind that in postmodernity literature has the same role as any other medium – i.e. it generates data which potentially shape the existing hyperreal systems – there is no qualitative difference between the existing and the *literary* hyperreal systems. Each new piece of compatible information provided in the book and by the book upgrades or cancels the existing systems accordingly. The defining features of such worlds are therefore the fluidity, connectivity and interchangeability of all the hyperreal systems involved.

The most obvious characteristic of the realities in *A Tale for the Time Being* is their reliance on the media artefacts that have already become ingrained into our collective memory and experience: the 2011 tsunami, the effects of the dot.com bubbleburst around the turn of the millennium, kinky dress-up cosplay, internet bullying, DIY culture, addiction to the internet, etc. The storylines and the themes are defined by them, while our familiarity with them provides the novel with a realistic feel. On the one hand, Ruth’s reality, Nao’s reality, the reality of Ruth’s dreams, Jiko’s reality, as well as the seemingly factual reality of footnotes and appendices are fundamentally built of information on topographical, historical or cultural localities which have already become an integral part of global hyperrealities. The 2011 tsunami, for example, which sets the story in motion, is an integral part of our media-contingent hyperreal systems as well as of our cultural memory. Our notions of it are practically the same as those of Ruth in the novel and possibly those of Ruth Ozeki, since we have received a similar amount of more

or less the same data on it. As such, the tsunami presents a very stable hyperreal system which can accommodate a large amount of compatible data and data clusters. Our media-conditioned ideas of contemporary Tokyo, Japanese cosplay culture and themed-café, or life in Silicon Valley, function in much the same way. On the other hand, the novel abounds in localities which are mediated by the book, and have no hyperreal reference points as yet. Their stability and veracity relies on their compatibility with systems of data already confirmed in hyperreality. For instance, Nao writes her diary in a French maid café. At some point, she explains that French maid cafés are out and that medical cafés, complete with nurses, are the new fad (Ozeki 2013: 16). French maid cafés indeed exist in Tokyo, so the existence of nurse's cafés is highly probable, for the information is highly compatible with the existing hyperreal systems. As soon as a piece of information is incorporated into a hyperreal system, it becomes part of the individual's hyperreality. Even for those who do not know about the cosplay cafés in Tokyo, and therefore have to verify the information in the novel against other existing hyperreal systems (i.e. google the information), the fact that there are no hits for the nurse's cafés (there is, however, one for a nurse's restaurant) does not mean such cafés do not exist. This is because the high degree of compatibility with the existing hyperreal systems imbues this particular piece of information with an extremely high probability.

Another obvious characteristic of the reality construction in the novel is the seamless interference and merging of individual realities and their respective worlds within one another. It is as if the protagonists and events were the nodes in a multidimensional network, their respective realities merging in points where the information on their realities is compatible. Allow me to illustrate with the most obvious example. In a dream, Ruth places Jiko's son's secret booklet, which he had on him when he kamikazed his plane into the sea during WW II, in a box for Nao to find and ultimately place into the lunchbox where Ruth discovers it a few years later (Ozeki 2013: 353–354). With that, Ruth interferes with and restructures Nao's system of reality, and conditions the course of the rest of the story because Nao's subsequent actions are guided by what was written in the booklet.

3.2. Postmodern literary subjectivities

From the perspective of Baudrillard's fractal nature of postmodern identities, postmodern literary subjectivities should essentially be regarded as networks of mediated data, or, to put it plainly, systems of randomly appropriated but compatible media-transferred characteristics. These comprise advertised product trademarks, from yoghurt and shoes to insurance and detergents, as well as cultural, political and aesthetic preferences, lifestyles, religious beliefs, and so on.

In terms of literature, the fact that our identity construction relies upon a common pool of such characteristics, i.e. we all select the building blocks for our identity from the same assemblage of media products, blurs the traditional demarcation lines between the author, the protagonists, and the reader, as they are all fundamentally facets of one and the same subject. Additionally, the logic of literary character creation is synonymous and simultaneous with the building of any given identity, which means there is no difference between what is real and what is fictional – the building blocks are the same: media-generated information integrated into the hyperreal systems of subjectivity. The character is therefore a

version of the author as appropriated and internalised by the reader, which consequently results in a distinctive autobiographical feel of such narratives.

In the broadest sense, all the characters and their characteristics in the novel are mediated, that is, brought to existence by media-generated information on them, which combines into systems of various literary subjectivities. The data on Nao, Jiko, Jiko's son Haruki I and Nao's father Haruki II are mediated to Ruth through Nao's diary and letters as well as through Ruth's internet searches for them. Ruth, too, exists as a system of mediated information – because she is a character in a novel, which is a medium, and because she herself mediates the information on herself. More importantly, however, the fact that her name is Ruth and that she is a writer inevitably invites comparisons with the novel's author. In the digital world of today, it only takes a few seconds to verify the implied connection and to establish that the Ruth of the novel leads a very similar life to that of Ruth Ozeki. They are both married to Oliver, environmental activist and land-artist, they both live on an island in British Columbia, their (Japanese) mothers suffered from Alzheimer's disease, etc. The similarities involve several details, i.e. in the book Ruth gives a keynote address on the policy of food (Ozeki 2013:270), something Ozeki also gave in Wisconsin the same year. The implied autobiographicality further contributes to Ruth's system of identity with information on Ruth Ozeki.

At some points in the novel Ruth's system of identity merges with that of Nao, as it is impossible to tell whose narrative we are reading. The majority of Ruth's narrative is in the third person, while Nao's narrative is in the first person. In parts where the narrative is in the first person, but lacking Nao's distinctive teenage vernacular, Ruth and Nao momentarily merge, which implies that Nao is possibly a young Ruth (cf. Ozeki 2013: 154, 402). Similarly, the identities of Haruki I and Haruki II merge when their actions are driven by exactly the same motivations, suggesting they might be two versions of the same identity existing at different points in time (Ozeki 2013: 308).

The characters do not only merge among themselves, implying they are versions of the same subject across space and time; their structuring also affects the concepts of author, narrator, character, and reader. Ruth, for example, appears in the role of author of the footnotes (and possibly of the novel, taking into account her rather explicit connections with Ozeki), as the narrator of Ruth's and possibly Nao's stories, as a character in Ozeki's novel, and as a reader and an editor of Nao's story. In the report on the tsunami (Ozeki 2013:196-199), for example, it is impossible to determine whether the text is provided by Ozeki, Ruth or perhaps a third party. It is, therefore, ultimately up to the readers of the novel to construct the author, the narrator and the characters, as well as to establish the relations between them according to their respective systems of identity. Thus, the readers take on the role of authors and narrators. Perhaps the way in which this book is read is best illustrated by Nao's remark after buying a specially crafted diary whose empty pages are framed by the covers of Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*: "The minute I bought the book I wanted to start writing" (Ozeki 2013: 21).

3.3. The novel structure

"Societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication" (McLuhan 2001: 8). Implicit in this famous McLuhan assertion is the fact that the changing of

epochs has always been accompanied by the changing of the dominant medium, the functioning of which corresponded to their respective metaphysical frameworks(cf. Bolter 2001: 22). The writing space over which most of the global communication has been performed over the last twenty years is the hypertext. My use of the term corresponds to Bolter's definition of the hypertext as a model for any kind of electronic writing (2001:xiii-iv). As pointed out at the beginning of this article, on the one hand hypertext corresponds to the structure and the functioning of hyperreality; on the other hand, it literally partakes in its creation.

How do the traditional categories of literature translate into the new medium? For clarity's sake, I will answer this question by relying upon the characteristics of internet novels. In line with McLuhan's quotation, hypertext conditions the way we think and express ourselves. The logic and the functioning of the medium therefore governs expression regardless of how the message is technically transferred, meaning that the characteristics of internet fiction also apply to print or any other medium. As a comprehensive corpus of digital literature is already in existence, the answers are not purely speculative.

The most drastic consequence of employing hypertext as the medium for literary expression is the disappearance of the distinction between author and reader. The meaning is constructed by the so-called "wreaders" (Landow 1994: 14), who, through the selection of links, construct realities as well as identities according to their interests. This is rendered possible with the disappearance of textual anatomy, which constitutes literary worlds as independent, finite and clearly demarcated units. In the internet hypertext, the dividing line between a literary work and its environment dissolves, as the very principle of hypertext functioning enables constant interventions within the work. With that, another traditional category, the concept of fictionality, is relativized, as there is no essential difference between literary and non-literary hypertext environments.

Hypertext, which initially developed as a system for cross-referencing, relies on the links, which can best be described as the nodes in the network of textual units, directing the narrative according to reader's preferences. In order for any text to be hypertextual and thus postmodern in the sense of exhibiting properties intrinsic to the paradigm of postmodernity, the presence of links directing the reading is mandatory.

How is one to write a novel – that is, "a fictitious prose narrative or tale of considerable length [...], in which characters and actions representative of the real life of past or present times are portrayed" (Hawthorn 2001:4) – in a world, where the established concepts of the real as well as those of the present and the past, no longer apply? Ozeki's solution is to move away from the principles of Newtonian physics, which rest upon decidedly Cartesian premises, to the realm of quantum mechanics. She is quite explicit about this: in the last chapter, Oliver offers the quantum-mechanics a many worlds interpretation to explain the curious events (Ozeki 2013: 395). These principles, elaborated upon in the appendices, and related to the corresponding events in the book, anticipate that subatomic particles can be in more places or states at once, that two particles can coordinate their properties across space and time, and that the observation alters the observed (Ozeki 2013: 409). In practical terms, that means that "everything that's possible will happen, or perhaps already has" (Ozeki 2013: 395).

The coexistence and connectedness of everything across space and time, with observation freezing one particular possible arrangement conceptually, corresponds to the "simultaneity of all the functions, without a past, without a

future” (Baudrillard 1999: 78) of hyperreality, in which what is observed as real is just a possible system constructible from media-generated data. In other words, all realities coexist at the same time as a possibility. The implementation of these principles on the narrative level is rendered possible by reliance on the structural logic that corresponds to the logic of the dominant postmodern medium, i.e. the hypertext. In Ozeki’s case, the fluidity of the roles of all the protagonists involved (as discussed in the section on literary subjectivities) corresponds to the hypertext-conditioned abolition of distinctions among the participants involved in the literary act.

The other characteristic of a hypertextual writing space anticipates the blurring of textual boundaries, rendering the differentiation between the spatio-temporal locations in the narrative, as well as between what is fictional and what is real, undeterminable. The latter is implicit in the fluidity, interchangeability and connectivity of literary realities in the novel. The links, which ensure the hypertextual nature of this novel, can be identified on two levels. On the explicit level, they are present in the form of footnotes, some of them further directing the reader to the appendices (cf. Ozeki 2013: 150) or an additional source (cf. Ozeki 2013:149), the bibliography at the end of the novel, as well as the *kanji* and the emojis in the text. All of these facts open up additional planes of information, which can possibly contribute to the existing ones. On the implicit level, the function of links (i.e. directing the reading according to one’s systems of identity and reality) is implemented by the abundance of media-culture artefacts, such as product brands, celebrities and events; one’s familiarity with them conditions the comprehension of what is narrated. For example, the fact that Nao packs the documents into a Hello Kitty lunchbox provides important information on her system of identity to those familiar with the concept of Hello Kitty. The level of familiarity with the phenomenon and its cultural implications conditions the verification of Nao’s actions in relation to the other clusters of information on her provided in the novel.

This openness to and compatibility with other systems of realities is best implemented by readers whose scope of literacy comprises not only print literacy, but digital literacy as well. The change of medium inevitably brings about alterations to the concept of literacy, which affects the ways we tell stories and assign meaning to them. The so-called digital literacy is conditioned by the spread of narrativity across media in digital cultures. Jim Collins (2013: 640) observes that the defining characteristics of digital literacy are the needs for seriality and world-building, which are facilitated by the digital devices that allow for easy navigation across narrative universes, such as e-readers, tablets and laptops. Ruth’s panic at the disappearance of the text in Nao’s diary, which prompts further internet searches and dreams to ensure the continuation of Nao’s story, suggests that Ozeki already associates reading with digital literacy. This is perhaps the reason why reading the e-version of the novel on my tablet, with hyperlinked footnotes and direct access to a web browser, was a much more comprehensive, exciting and informative experience than the subsequent reading of the print version. The quantum mechanics structural principles at work in this novel can actually only come to full effect – and full circle – when read digitally by a digitally literate reader.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of *A Tale for the Time Being* from the perspective of the postmodern conception of reality and identity has shown that the novel indeed

corresponds to the governing principles of postmodern metaphysics. Its realities and worlds conform to the principles of fluidity, connectivity and interchangeability of hyperreal systems of media-generated data, while its literary personae display the fundamentally fractal nature of postmodern identities. The decisively postmodern character of the novel is conditioned by reliance on the principles of quantum mechanics, on the levels of both internal and external structures.

With that, Ozeki's arguably mainstream novel exhibits the same structural characteristics as some of the 1980s and 1990s genre production (e.g. cyberpunk, steampunk) and experimental fiction (e.g. the Avant-Pop). The conflation of literary categories is part and parcel of the postmodern condition, in which any reality is just as real as the next. Today, literary classifications are much less a matter of ontological difference than a marketing strategy. Because for the time being, things run along the lines of old Jiko's assertion: "Up, down, same thing" (Ozeki 2013: 230).

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CONTRADICTIONS OF SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE WILLIAMS' PLAYS

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***Abstract:** The paper examines the picture of society in four of Williams' plays. Even though portrayals of four different periods of the 20th century America, the plays reflect a single, apocalyptic vision of society, whose main determinant is paradox, an intrinsic feature of southern mentality, Williams's personality, and contemporary events.*

***Keywords:** apocalyptic, paradox, society, vision*

1. Introduction

The specific mentality of the South, the once predominantly agricultural area, is marked by paradox. If a Southerner was a hedonist, it was very likely that he was a Puritan, which, for W. J. Cash (1960:58) is a result of "the fundamental split in his psyche [...] a sort of social schizophrenia [...] naive capacity for unreality which was characteristic of him". Without any fear of being condemned, a Southerner could commit violence, support exploitation and propagate the concept of honor and fiery religiosity. "All men should live like brothers" was the slogan that was heard along with the condemnation of the strikers, because to respect the class structure meant to respect the will of God. In the same way, committing violence meant the defense of honour. While propagating mercy, forgiveness and tolerance, the priests supported or tacitly approved of the Ku Klux Klan – "an anti-black, xenophobic, anti-red, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Darwinist, anti-modern, anti-liberal, fundamentalist and militant group that in itself summed up all the fears and hatred of America" (Cash 1960: 336). Alongside the fiction of the superiority of Southern women to all the women of the world, "the lily-pure maid of Astolat", "the pitiful mother of God" inhibited by puritanical education, we are confronted with a nymphomaniac white woman, a prostitute, a woman who can easily surrender to everyone, especially blacks, even for a drink. The process of strengthening the real paternalism in the South went along with the strengthening of the old individualism. The belief in the right of its leaders to order, command, and prescribe the public course of life coexisted with the faith in the full development and expression of individuality, just because every good Southerner identified his/her ego with the South and in each decision of their leaders recognized the strengthening of his/her personal ego, never suspecting that these decisions could be contrary to his/her personal goals and desires (Cash 1960: 113). The contradictory tendencies of the Southerners were even more apparent in recent times, in the moment of transition from the old to the new form of life. In the period of expansion of modern ideologies – biology, mechanistic philosophy and skepticism toward everything that was not firmly established – the most emancipated modern minds and champions of new ideas in the South longed for the old sentimentalism and Puritanism. Instead of class consciousness as a natural reaction to the exploitation of cheap labor, the new spirit brought about hatred, not

of the exploiters, as it was logical to expect, but of the labor unions who, just because they were fighting for basic human rights, were declared traitors to the South and to the southern postulates and therefore equated with the communists, atheists and fighters for social equality with the blacks. Due to the impossibility of adopting the idea of a new era, the Southerners held belief in an ideal past due to the aristocratic virtues that they stressed against the corruption of the new era.

Pretty aware of his own paradoxes on a personal and artistic level, Williams once declared: "I am contradictory, baby" (Savran 1992: 82). His father was a Cavalier and his mother a Puritan. Even though his Puritan heritage marked him for good, he fought against it all his life, calling himself a "rebellious Puritan" (Tischler 1962: 16-17). He spent enormous energy "on the climb to success" (Williams 2006: 92), but it was because of success that he fell into depression realizing one more paradox: that security brings luxury but takes away uncertainty, the need for struggle and conflict that gives you the meaning. In New Orleans, in his quest for satisfying his sensual nature, he was fascinated by "the kind of freedom that [he] had always needed", but "the shock of it against the Puritanism of [his] nature" was the source of his creativity (Tischler 1962: 61). He simultaneously revealed and concealed his homosexuality "configuring [it] in extremely conflicted ways, as a locus of desire and scandal, 'freedom' and 'crime' [making it] both natural and unnatural, allowing it [...] the dual distinction (and penalty) of simultaneously contravening both 'nature' and 'culture', fertility and the law" (Savran 1992: 82). He wanted approval from his audience, even though he despised its conventional taste. He claimed that his place in society was in Bohemia, but he admitted that he cared very much for conventions. In his early plays, he advocated social action, whereas the position of a Bohemian gave him the safety and the choice of being apolitical. Although Williams claimed that the thing he was fighting for was "revolution, personal and artistic" (2006: 238) and insisted that not only his plays, but also all art is essentially revolutionary, he stated with the same conviction that "a man's politics, if the man is an artist, [is not] of particular importance in his work; his degrees of talent and of humanity are what count" (2006: 142). He began his career as a political writer, but very quickly became not only apolitical, but anti-political, as the characters in his last plays fled from life into relationships with other people, or fled from their own causality. Eventually, the paradox that he tried to fight all his life was that of the relationship between life and art: he wanted to escape from life into art, only to find out that art was a confrontation with life, and, even though convinced of the redeeming power of imagination and creation, he tried to come to terms with the idea that "by freezing time, art mimics the death which it is designed to deny" (Bigsby1985: 47).

The apocalyptic vision in Williams' plays involves the paradoxes of a new era: democracy reduced to imperialism, militarism, fascism, totalitarianism, exploitation and inequality of races, sexes and different sexual orientations; the deconstruction of the American dream (promotion of equal chances of success that dooms most people to failure); progress that comes along with the disintegration of personality; the warmth of a madhouse versus the coldness of the human world; the comfort of prison life in contrast to the insecurity of life out of prison; sex presented as a commodity which excludes sexuality; tolerance of deviance in the private world and outrage over it in the public domain; fostering individualism along with the requirements for the inclusion in the inhumane social categories, etc.

2. The radicalism of early plays: *Not About Nightingales*

Similarly to Williams' direct expression of social protest in this play – in October 1938, he wrote: “I am at last being sincerely aroused in my social consciousness” (Hale 1999: 346) –, one of the main protagonists of the play, prisoner Jim, who felt the horrors of crimes in prison, demonstrates his commitment by writing a social message: he is tearing Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale* from the book, because it is “sissy stuff”, wonders how immature writers do not know that there are more important things to write about and advises them “to spend a few years in stir before they select their subjects” (Williams 2000: 149).

At the beginning of the play, Williams confronts us with the paradoxical situation in which brutality in prison is presented as humanity: he shows the false picture of the prison which is presented to the public through the media. Instead of “the door to opportunity” (Williams 2000: 104) and “model institution” (Williams 2000: 100) based on the idea of social rehabilitation, we are faced with “a little suburb of hell” (Williams 2000: 106) where people are “tortured, twisted, driven mad” (Williams 2000: 153). This is the place run by people who think they are gods and who “like to crack heads, make sausage out of human flesh” (Williams 2000: 129), a place where the state sends criminals together with innocent people. Williams's protagonist is made to compromise his beliefs and to praise “the inspirational quality of prison life” (Williams 2000: 104) in order to reduce his sentence. Having lost his dignity, he is called “the canary bird”, a bird that never goes out of the cage. Other prisoners are slowly killed by the rotten, monotonous food, because the real prison food is sold for personal profit. The prison priest, who dares to reveal that since he was there, there had been “too many suicides, several drownings, hangings, so-called accidents” (Williams 2000: 152), gets dismissed and replaced by a new employee, who is instructed to intimidate prisoners by emphasizing three key words: “food”, “heat” and “Klondike”.

The prison is a microcosm of American society - it is a cage in which people are kept until the end of their lives. American society becomes the place selected for the superior white people – fascist Protestants, who persecute other races, religions and sensibilities. In this play we hear the voices of the local Ku Klux Klan, who, in pursuit of one hundred percent Americanism, seek the persecution of Catholics, Jews, immigrants and African Americans. The guard Schultz kicks the Jew and says, “Shapiro, do I have to speak Yiddish to make you understand?” (Williams 2000: 162). And when the prisoners wonder where the black prisoner Oli is, the guard replies: “Who's responsible if some fool nigger takes a notion to butt his own brains out?” Prisoner Queen (Queen), a gay man who is sick with syphilis says: “Because I'm sensitive, I been persecuted all my life” (Williams 2000: 114).

The play contains a number of references to the totalitarian regimes of Japan, Italy and Germany. Jim says that his supervisor is crazy, like Benito Mussolini, Butch refers to Hitler as a “monkey wit' the trick mustache” (Williams 2000: 127), and the supervisor is compared to the fascists. “Klondike” is not just a dramatization of a true news story, but also a prophecy of the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Jewish Shapiro says: “I come of a people that are used to suffer. It is not a new thing. I have it in my blood to suffer persecution, misery, starvation, death” (Williams 2000: 174).

Hell in prison, paradoxical though it may sound, is a real blessing in comparison with the life outside. Despite the fact that she has a university degree,

three-year experience and excellent references, Eva Crane is absolutely delighted to start working as a secretary of the prison warden, because she knows that people outside the prison are literally dying of hunger. Because of hunger, people lose dignity and compromise their beliefs: Eva dares not testify about the prison conditions, as she is afraid of losing her job.

However, Williams' protagonists fight for basic human conditions in prison shouting:

Git us decent livin' conditions! No more overcrowdin', no more bunkin' up with contajus diseaseus; fresh air in the cell-blocks, fumigation, [...] some food that's fit to put in our bellies [...] place where guys are learnt how to make a livin' after they git outa stir [...] where they teach 'em trades an' improve their ejication! (2000:164)

Williams soon disillusion us by sending all the prisoners who are persistent in striking to "Klondike" – a gas chamber where the prisoners are baked alive – showing us that no reform is possible in such a society.

3. The clash of old and new: *A Streetcar Named Desire*

Williams' most famous play, *A Streetcar Named Desire*, was a personal and social work and completely the product of the time. (Londré 1997: 48). In this play, Williams expressed ambivalent attitude of the South both to the past and to the present.

Blanche, a representative of the Old South, is an embodiment of different types of contradictions: although her ideals are "beauty of the mind and richness of the spirit and tenderness of the heart" (Williams 1995: 69) and although she is trying to present herself as the symbol of calmness and kindness, she reveals her snobby sarcasm and an inclination towards violence when she describes Stanley as the "survivor of the stone age", something "subhuman", "ape-like" and his friends as a group of monkeys "grunting [...] and swilling, and gnawing and hulking" (Williams 1995: 54). She shows strong individualism and a need for self-determining action, follows her instincts, flirts and seduces and simultaneously reproaches herself for the group pressure to conformism and the code of conduct by which "a single girl, a girl alone in the world, has got to keep a firm hold on her emotions or she'll be lost" (Williams 1995: 69). Blanche's long-lasting debauchery runs parallel to her public contempt of physicality. Despite the fact that "piece by piece, [her] improvident grand-fathers and fathers and uncles and brothers exchanged the land for their epic fornications" (Williams 1995: 28-29), Blanche has never been able to accept her sexuality as part of her identity, because of the puritanical contempt for the body, which limits the soul in its higher purpose and her faith in the myth of civilization, spirituality, art and culture. Her commitment to romantic idealism is obvious, although she talks about the collapse of romance and admits the brutal truth that "men don't even admit your existence unless they are making love to you" (Williams 1995: 60). She flatters Stanley, praising his simplicity, directness and honesty, admires the artist who paints "strong, bold [...] primary colors" and admits she does not like weak people (Williams 1995: 25). At the same time, she claims that she is one of the weak, that she has discovered love with Alan who owned "softness and tenderness which wasn't like a man's" (Williams 1995: 75) and thanks God for having sent her one so gentle as Mitch, "a cleft in the rock of the world" (Williams 1995: 101) she can hide in. Blanche is trapped in the Southern beauty myth: she strongly believes that the value of a

woman is determined by her physical attractiveness and, on the other hand, denies the value of physical beauty, claiming that physical beauty is fleeting.

The culture of the New South embodied in Stanley is, in Williams' vision, composed of opposing elements. No matter how attractive Stanley is because of his sexuality, without immediate self-destructive puritan guilt, his healthy life, vitality, faith in himself and in prosperity, he is also an expression of the brutality and social banality reduced to positivist tendencies. In his world there is no place for sophistication, nice manners, and speech, for a tendency towards art and higher goals in life. His motto is "Be comfortable". He stirs the admiration of others and manages to function in life because he is the master of his own destiny and not its victim. Even though he believes in himself and shows endurance, Stanley is not capable of real growth or adjustment, because of his psychological traits and values which are too limiting. Stanley's tenderness and submission when he "falls to his knees on the steps and presses his face to [Stella's] belly" (Williams 1995: 44) is contradictory to the exaggerated masculinity Stanley usually adopts and shows (when he, for example, throws the radio out the window, opens a bottle with teeth, hits Stella or mocks). Philip C. Kolin (1997: 454) argues that the papers related to sending Blanche to a madhouse (complaints, testimonies, statements) are the most infamous documents whose main agent is Stanley in alliance with Stella; Blanche could not have been sent to a madhouse if they had not previously complained, testified, and sent for the doctor – the representative of the law. It is a paradox that Stanley uses the law to get rid of his guilt and responsibility for rape. He goes unpunished for the much more serious sin of rape and fraud thanks to the documents that testify to Blanche's madness. We become the witnesses of his fraud. The same law, which was initially so firmly adhered to (Stanley referred to the law of Louisiana, the Napoleon code, which guarantees equal division of property between husband and wife; he asked for the document to confirm Stella's, ie. his ownership of Belle Reve) now gets betrayed. In the end, Kolin (1997: 465) argues, it is paradoxical that Stanley is deconstructed by the same 'paper' tactics, which he initially directed against Blanche.

Ambivalence is also present in Williams' portrayal of New Orleans, a city that at the same time fascinated and disappointed Williams, attracted and irritated him. The place described as "a cosmopolitan city, where there is a relatively warm and easy intermingling of races" (Williams 1995: 1), where you feel the "the warm breath of the brown river [...] redolences of bananas and coffee", hear the piano "played with the infatuated fluency of brown fingers" and feel the spirit of the poor but vital community, is soon revealed as a confluence of distrustful and inhospitable strangers and enemies that will lead to Blanche's mental breakdown. After the rape, Blanche says about the bells of the cathedral: "They are the only pure thing in this neighborhood" (Williams 1995:117). It turns out that New Orleans is as dirty as the other cities where there is no consolation for the weak, and Blanche's departure to a mental institution, a place where she will eventually feel the "kindness of strangers" as opposed to the enemy world inhabited by her closest relatives, is one more paradox of her time.

4. The collapse of the American Dream: *Camino Real*

Camino Real is Williams' allegory of the fifties, the "conception of the time and world" that he lives in (Williams 1964: 419) and a sharp protest against the fascist demagoguery spread throughout the country in the voice of Joseph

McCarthy. Williams explains that the American paranoia of the time is the result of ignorance. In this play, Esmeralda, a gypsy, explains the confusing state of American politics, which does not distinguish between Marxist and linguistic dialectics. When she asks Kilroy, a former American boxing champion, how he feels about class struggle, and when he answers he doesn't take sides, she answers: "Neither do we because of the dialectics [...] Languages with accents, I suppose" (Williams 1964: 552). Esmeralda mixes religious and political figures and repeats her mother's fear that the Pope might be brought to the White House (an allusion to the fear of the Americans that the Pope was plotting to seize the White House). When Kilroy confusingly asks who could do it, she replies: "Oh, the Bolsheviskies, those nasty old things with whiskers! *Whiskers scratch!* But little moustaches tickle" (Williams 1964: 553). The paradox of the situation is that Americans, brought up in the spirit of individualism, accept totalitarian ideologies, but in their ignorance give themselves the right to declare the totalitarian ideology of their own country a lesser evil than other totalitarian ideologies.

Williams said that this play was an expression of the dilemma of an individual caught in a fascist state and that it described the problems that romantic persons have in a dominantly cynical world. In this country there is not a shred of humanity, there are no ideals of truth, loyalty, honor, compassion, love and imagination. Instead, people are divided according to their material wealth, which must be defended with the "martial law" of a police state. Here prostitution is offered in the name of love. In the unforgiving world, people cannot survive without intimacy with their loved ones, but Williams shows us that this most sacred thing is most vulgarized: "For what is a brother to them but someone to get ahead of, to cheat, to lie to, to undersell in the market. Brother, you say to a man whose wife you sleep with" (Williams 1964: 452). Because of it, there is loneliness in the world of single-mindedness that turns every protest to death, to ridicule (Kilroy's initial protest against the tyranny of the politician Gutman was reduced to playing the clown nose), and festivities distract the masses from anarchy: "The Eternal Punchinella! That's exactly what's needed in a time of crisis!" (Williams 1964: 454). The only escape is to the Unknown Country. However, it is an elusive victory that testifies to yet another paradox: freedom, honour and beauty cannot be achieved *among* people in this society, but through dissociation, and withdrawal from the actual world into madness.

5. The elusive victory of racial hegemony: *Kingdom of Earth*

David Savran (1992: 135) highlights the fragmentation of the radical discourse, character, and plot as three basic features of Williams' plays in the sixties. As Savran argues, fragmentation and incoherence in his work is a sign of rebellion, allegorizing civil unrest and political violence. Despite the fact that Williams was not an active member of any movement of the New Left, nor of the movement for gay rights, he made a significant contribution to the new political culture, which was much closer to his aesthetic, social and sexual norms than the politics of the Cold War. And, just as an incomplete sentence breaks the established syntactic hierarchy, the shift of the eccentrics in the focus of drama breaks the hierarchy of conventional society.

The main themes of the 60s in America – racial inequality and the horrors of colonization – were the focus of an extremely social drama, *Kingdom of Earth*. Here Williams clearly expresses the disdain for racism, which he equates with

disease, sterility, and death. It is Williams' only work where a representative of another race plays a major role. At the very beginning of the play, Williams reveals the subordinate position of the blacks in the white repressive culture of rural Mississippi. Fleeing the flood, Chicken's neighbors, the whites, say to him: "Sorry we don't have room for you in our car" (Williams 1976: 125). Chicken's half-brother Lot wants to take his right to property, despite the fact that Chicken is, by birth, the legitimate son of the Ravenstock and had worked hard to deserve that. After many years of exploitation, Lot's mother expels Chicken from the farm, saying to him directly and shamelessly: "Chicken, I don't want my son to be known as half-brother to a nigger" (Williams 1976: 565). The blacks are not allowed to buy alcohol or to have sex with a white woman. Even the local prostitute rejects him with the words: "Nigger, stay in your place" (Williams 1976: 206), and chooses instead to be humiliated by the white man she lives with. From Lot's point of view, the blacks are an inferior race that is not able to understand the meaning of culture and elegance, as valuable things "can only be safely cared for by people that know and love them" (Williams 1976: 206). Chicken is described as an animal: a highly sensual figure, a rough macho man who calls his half-brother a sissy, barbaric and violent. He is aware of the negative impact he leaves as a black man. He submissively talks about injustice: "I work out in the field and Lot just lays in bed" (Williams 1976: 140) and concludes that he lives the "life of a dawg that nobody owns and owns nothing" (Williams 1976: 205).

Williams juxtaposes the picture of the degradation of the blacks with a picture of the squalor of the whites, embodied in Lot and Mrs. Lotti, and soon confronts us with the paradox of the situation: those that were degrading become the degraded ones. Williams demonstrates that hatred and intolerance of another race is much more devastating than Chicken's healthy, emphasized sexuality. Lot is as much eaten up by racial hatred as he is by physical illness. He explicitly says: "I hate and despise him with such a passion that if this place or anything on this place became his property [...] Neither mother or me could rest in peace". (Williams 1976: 178). Ironically, he would rather hand over the property to Myrtle, a failed show star he calls a "whore", than leave the house to a black man. For this goal, he is even ready to kill: he convinces Myrtle to get Chicken drunk, and in case she fails, to "knock him out with a hammer" (Williams 1976: 180). Chicken's physical description defies racial stereotypes. Unlike his feeble, impotent, eccentric half-brother, Chicken is "remarkably good looking with his very light eyes in darker-than-olive skin, and the power and male grace of his body" (Williams 1976: 126). In the end, in the story of the fall of man, it is the blacks who survive before the coming flood: Lot dies wearing his mother's clothes and Chicken stays alive waiting for "a child from an all-white woman" (Williams 1976: 214). As Philip C. Kolin (1993: 144) points out, by initially highlighting all the stereotypes on which the blacks were degraded in the colonial economy, Williams manages to invert each of these individual devastating mythologies or ridicule their values through irony and assault on conventional exclusively white wisdom.

6. Conclusion

Despite the specificities characteristic of four distinct periods of American history, Williams' plays impose a unique, apocalyptic picture of society. In his early social plays, the image of society was coherent, with clearly defined good and evil forces, reflecting the author's faith in the reformation of society. After the war,

Williams' vision becomes darker. Portraying the collapse of the South, Williams portrays the collapse of civilization and culture, disintegration, decadence, lack of purpose, entropy, cataclysm and hysteria. The new, pragmatic world, the crude rationalism of today and brutal directness are seen as not being sympathetic to emotionality, imagination, ambiguity and sophistication of the response. Williams' work evokes images of war, political treason, Nazism, fascism, totalitarianism, colonization and nuclear age. As cohesion is destroyed in the individual, in the family, in the American nation and the world, Williams' work abounds with images of decay. Alienation becomes the only reality and acting the only sign of human existence. The new God of society is the God of the Apocalypse – violent, vindictive and inhumane. Williams' vision thus becomes Spengler's vision.

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CORRUPT CHILDHOOD. DOROTHEA TANNING'S *CHASM: A WEEKEND*

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Abstract: *A celebrated surrealist artist, Dorothea Tanning is also the author of a few literary publications that reveal the constant mirroring between painting and literature in her work. Her only novel, Chasm: A Weekend reflects many of the artist's predilect themes and metaphors, among which childhood stands out as a recurrent artistic obsession. This paper investigates the metamorphoses and mutations of the infantile in Dorothea Tanning's novel, focusing on the particularities of an unusual dialogue between plastic representation and literature.*
Keywords: *avant-garde art, childhood, gothic imagination, the infantile, Surrealism*

1. Introduction

The relatively obvious mirroring between Dorothea Tanning's oeuvre as a painter and her literary work has been noted by the artist herself: "Each of my paintings are steps marked on the same path. I don't see any cuts, any deviations. The same preoccupations are manifest since the beginning. Obsessions come to the surface as marks that can't be erased. My paintings, and lastly my sculptures, are part of the same search, with the same discoveries, the same storms, the same mad laughter, suffering and rebirth" (Tanning 1974, qtd in Carruthers 2011: 134). Prolonging the image/text analogy, Tanning once declared that publishing a story is very close to "the showing of a new picture to friends" with the notable difference that "the looking eyes become the reading eyes" (Tanning qtd. in Conley 2013: 132). This analogy might seem common, yet it is particularly relevant for Tanning's case: her fiction accurately translates the surrealist vision coagulated in her plastic art.

It has been argued that Tanning's fiction has a consistent gothic dimension (Carruthers 2011, Conley 2013), with a special focus on domestic spaces – houses, hallways, rooms – that no longer preserve their traditional role of protection and shelter, but appear dark and threatening, hiding malevolent forces and evil spirits. There is a clear connection between female presences and a domestic environment, one that Tanning dismantles and subversively reinterprets: not only in her painting, but in her literature as well, girls and women take part in the creation of the strange atmosphere of interiors, abandoning their traditional role as agents of order and coherence. The artist's intention to satirize her bourgeois upbringing may be invoked here as well: "gothic fantasy was very influential in my life. It allowed the possibility of creating a new reality, one not dependant on bourgeois values but a way of showing what was actually happening under the tedium of daily life. Of course, I was always thrilled by terror and chaos also." (Tanning 1974, qtd. in Carruthers 2011: 135).

2. Dark childhood

Images of corrupt innocence, violence and trauma inhabit both worlds – painting and literature – and they are rendered with the specific means of each

artistic discourse. One of Tanning's first contacts with Surrealism dates back to 1936, when she visited the *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. It was then that she realized that she was sharing the same interests with other artists, which prompted her to pursue her interests even more actively. Although she followed her surrealist calling well into the later years of her life, the universe of childhood and the infantile are especially predominant in the 1940–1950 years of her career. *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, a painting from 1943, reunites some of the most prominent motifs in Tanning's work. The invocation of infantile imagery is mediated by the presence of young girls on the cusp of adolescence, suggesting a brave and domineering demeanour; they seem to be the masters of unsettling, otherworldly dreamscapes, apparently having just participated in bizarre events, reminding of strange passage rituals; menacing presences (here, a gigantic sunflower) and out of place objects, incongruent with the context (tree branches, broken eggs) contribute to the subtle terror infiltrating the atmosphere. These elements, kept together by an invisible thread of disquietude and eeriness, suggest conflict and violence. Opposing forces seem to try to assert their primacy over the imaginary territory depicted, mimicking an almost human instinct of domination and conquest; the domestic setting is not comforting, but cold and unsettling (large, hotel-like hallways leading to hidden bedrooms, doors opening to baroque, labyrinthine interiors, bourgeois 20th century New York haunted houses), becoming the ideal scene for nightmarish visions of unseen conflicts and metamorphoses. Of this painting Tanning later wrote: "It's [the picture] about confrontation. Everyone believes he/she is his/her drama. While they don't always have giant sunflowers (most aggressive of flowers) to contend with, there are always stairways, hallways, even very private theatres where the suffocations and the finalities are being played out, the blood red carpet or cruel yellows, the attacker, the delighted victim [...]" (Tanning, qtd. in Carruthers 2011: 146).

Childhood has been a constant theme of reflection and artistic creation for Tanning, and the imagination of childhood has been a recurrent point of reference in her work: "In many ways my early paintings always represented a challenge to me. Sometimes they are wicked and full of traps and sometimes they are illustrations, if you like, of childhood fairy tales and fantasies that are of my own making. I still dream about them and get frightened by them, probably because anything, terrifying or joyful, or preferably both, can happen in them" (Tanning qtd. in Carruthers 2011: 140).

Another painting that correlates Tanning's surrealist vision to elements and metaphors belonging to childhood and adolescence is *Interior with Sudden Joy* (1951). Two young girls take the stage, apparently dancing arm in arm in what looks like a classroom (or a school dormitory) and wearing revealing Edwardian undergarments and red high heels. One of them gently touches a big, furry dog's head, while an adult silhouette, ghostlike and menacing, is standing in the doorway, as if she had just interrupted a small, forbidden party. The girls seem to act like typical teenagers, trying to break free from adult authority by adopting subversive behaviours – these young ladies look inebriated, shrouded in an air of decadence and depravity. The grown woman lurking in the shadows is fully dressed, in total contrast with the disheveled appearance of the girls. A fragment from Rimbaud's secret notes is written on the blackboard (Carruthers 2011: 141). But the most genuinely unreal and disturbing presence in this scene is an entity aligned with the two dancing girls, an uncanny presence resembling a large piece of white silk

blowing in the wind, contorted into a shape with multiple horse-like legs. A black child appears to be hugging the massive white body, her head resting below the creature's gigantic red breast.

Children's Games (1942) presents the same duo, consisting of two little girls performing acts of insubordination and revolt. They are tearing off wallpaper, in a gesture of frustration, rebellion and violence, possibly against the bourgeois order Tanning has known firsthand in her traditional Midwest family – there, she said, „nothing happens but the wallpaper” (Tanning 2001: 16), deploring the monotony of her childhood home. The struggle is not without casualties, as the feet of a third little girl, lying on the floor, probably defeated by the invisible enemy the other two are fighting, appear at the bottom of the painting. Katherine Coney sees a gender issue in this act of revolt: “The way these children attack wallpaper serves as a challenge to the conventions society imposes on their bodies, particularly the convention that assumes a correlation between a tidy house and a pure, inviolate feminine body” (Conley 2013: 125)

Palaestra (1947) reunites elements from previous works in an image hinting at a process of metamorphosis and change: a high tower of children's bodies, intermingled in various positions, rises up to the ceiling of a red and white room. Fiery red hairs go up, as if absorbed by an invisible tornado (the same mysterious phenomenon occurs in *Children's Games*), a girl is wearing red boots (red shoes also appear in *Interior with Sudden Joy*), humanoid creatures in the shape of unfurling bolts of silk or linen are looming in the shadows.

However, the painting that seems closest to the unreal universe of Tanning's novel *Chasm* is *The Guest Room* (1950-1952). In this painting, a naked pubescent young girl is standing in the doorway of a bedroom and, despite her apparent vulnerability, her attitude is threatening, suggesting hidden intentions and discontent. Another girl is visible in the background, lying on a bed near a life-size mannequin that eerily resembles her. A dwarfish figure with a hood over his head is standing near a table, giving the impression that he is guarding the nude girl on the threshold.

Chasm: A Weekend (begun in 1943, first published in *Zero* magazine in 1949, re-published in 1977 under the title *Abyss*, and then, in a revised form in 2004 as *Chasm: A Weekned*) might be read as a literary translation of the recurrent metaphors and themes present in Dorothea Tanning's paintings and in some of her sculptures and installations. The novel tells the story of a seven year old girl, Destina Meridian. She lives at Windcote, the Arizona desert manor of Raoul Meridian, an eccentric millionaire whom she calls “Papa”. Meridian is her protector and adoptive father, yet the real relationship between him and the girl is more complicated: Destina is the lovechild of his adoptive daughter, who had committed suicide. Moreover, Destina is the descendant of a long line of strong-willed women spanning across the centuries, all having the same name. An introductory chapter focuses on Destina's unusual, puzzling family tree, contributing to the legend of a name and character that all the Destinias in this family share. After this introductory chapter, the novel unfolds around a weekend at Windcote, where Meridian had invited a handful of select guests from the rich upper class for a few days of partying and exquisite entertainment. Two of them, Nadine Coussay and Albert Exodus would become the protagonists of a dramatic intrigue leading to a tragic denouement of violence and death.

Dorothea Tanning started working on *Chasm* in a period when she and her husband, surrealist artist Max Ernst (whom she had married in 1942), frequently

visited Sedona, a secluded small town in the Arizona desert, where they moved for a longer period in 1946. Sedona's surreal landscape, scorched by a merciless dry heat for long periods of time, has an otherworldly atmosphere that greatly impressed Tanning. The quiet threat of the desert's hidden ghosts is omnipresent in Tanning's imagination in this period, and that is reflected in both her paintings and her literature. She would later write about the time spent there: "Then as now the decibels of nature can crush an artist's brain ... So I lock the door and paint interiors. Great events ... Chilly, secretive paintings that typify my response to the diabolical landscape outside" (Tanning 1986: 82).

Although she is just a child, Destina seems to be able to master "the secretive world of the nursery as well as the vast and magical desert surrounding the house" (Carruthers 2011: 140), having been endowed with magical, shamanistic powers that allow her to strike an unusual friendship with a mountain lion. Given the complex intrigue of *Chasm* and the young girl's cardinal role in accomplishing the novel's masterful moments of aestheticized violence, Destina can be considered the ultimate embodiment of Tanning's enduring fascination with an uncanny, fantastic universe of childhood.

More than the "literary summa" of Tanning's plastic metaphors, *Chasm* is also a surrealist anti-fairytale, a dark tale of decadence and revenge detailing the dangerous secrets of an all-knowing femme-enfant (McAra 2011a,b). Destina is precociously aware of her unusual situation, hence she quickly adapts to the position of ruthless manipulator. Her glowing "aura of whiteness" (Tanning 2004: 17), best visible in the dark, is a strong element of contrast that signals her ambivalence and belonging to a dual regime – that of light and truthfulness (as the young girl is the rightful mistress of Windcote manor) and that of dark forces and untamed instincts, signaled by her friendship with the wild mountain lion.

Considered by Gaby Wood (2004: 7) "a magical Sadean nursery rhyme", *Chasm* can be read as a literary reflector of Tanning's permanent tropes, a well calibrated merger between her trademark surrealist aesthetics and the gothic tonalities of a dark fairytale. It could also be regarded as an ironic, satirical, modern version of a bizarre children's tale, a refined version of children's literature that cannot be properly integrated into its canon. Stylistically oriented towards a baroque expressive refinement, Tanning's narrative is slow, detailed and carefully directed towards a violent, unexpected climax. Once again, the house seems animated by evil spirits, becoming a distinctive character in the plot, with a role of its own. Both the house and Destina make a sudden, bold entrance in the story. Windcote stands alone in the desert, "as shocking as a fallen meteor. Ponderous, tall, defiant and truly alien, it nicks the desert like a weapon." (Tanning 2004: 13) Destina is more subtle, barely visible in the gloomy atmosphere of the dining room. Seated at the head of a large table, she is clenching her fists, tightly squeezing some mysterious matter that "oozes a viscous fluid. It bubbles up between her fingers and spins out thickly on the tablecloth" (Tanning 2004: 17). It would be later revealed that that was a human eye, one that she had probably received as a gift from her friend, the mountain lion. Albert Exodus, a Windcote guest and the protagonist of the unfortunate string of events that would forever change the fate of everyone involved, was the only adult Destina would trust to show her memory box, well hidden in the nursery. She would also watch from a distance the his brutal death and that of his fiancée Nadine.

According to Katherine Conley (2013: 125), "out of the physical heat of the Arizona desert Tanning develops sexual heat manifested as forceful energy

emanating from young girls.” Indeed, there is a great amount of sexual tension in *Chasm*, starting already with the symbolism of the title itself. Destina’s invitation to Exodus to follow her into the nursery signals some prior knowledge regarding communication with adults in social circumstances, others than those obviously familiar to a seven year old girl. Moreover, “there was nowhere anything to suggest that this was the home of a child: no dolls, no toys, no diminutive furniture of the sort that generally delights the heart of a little girl.” (Tanning 2004: 55). A Carrollian Alice-figure, “an Alice with foresight” (McAra 2011a: 19), Destina manipulates and seduces Albert Exodus, although her actions and gestures are not overtly flirtatious. She rather lures the unassuming guest into her mysterious domain by acting like a self-confident adult, a genuine mistress of the house presiding over a hidden world of ghosts and magical creatures. Her memory box, decorated with saccharine details, hiding terrible secrets, is a perverse Pandora’s box that, once opened, frees demons and evils impossible to summon back. Albert’s fate was sealed once the box was opened: “Sitting beside her, the perfume of her presence enveloping him in a haze, he watched her open the box while her words as she prattled came to his ears as unearthly music. That the objects were of a surpassing strangeness affected him not at all. While she reached into the box, pulling out bits fur, the claws and tail of gila monsters, skins of reptiles, spotted eggs, even single eyes preserved in tiny jars, nothing reached him but the eerie silver web of her voice and the superb reality of her nearness” (Tanning 2004: 58). The nursery resembles the “dollhouse architecture” (Mahon 2007: 153) of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, yet it is not the home of an innocent child, but rather that of one possessing unusual knowledge and power.

The weekend at Windcote is meant to be a time of pleasure and seduction. Raoul Meridian, famous for his perverse fetishistic tastes and solitary vices, develops an erotic obsession for Nadine, Albert Exodus’ fiancée. He also has a sadomasochistic relationship with Nelly, Destina’s governess, who is in her turn dominated by Destina, the active mistress of the entire domain and of its inhabitants. The human eyes brought to Destina by her predator friend are a symbolic prediction of the string of violent acts about to begin at Windcote. A jealous Nelly lures Meridian in an erotic game and furiously kills him, in a memorable scene of artistically calibrated violence of great surreal effect. Exodus and Nadine would find their deaths in the canyon, while curiously spying on Destina and her lion friend.

Eager to discover that the little girl’s friendship with the mountain lion was a childish lie Destina has told him just to impress, Albert Exodus takes Nadine on a nighttime walk to the tall surroundings of Windcote. In his blind trust in Destina - “in her he believed he saw his salvation” (Tanning 2004: 116) – the naïve Exodus is led to perdition by the fatal femme-enfant. Destina’s appearance, a glowing surreal ghost floating over the dangerous arid landscape, signals her simultaneously angelic and demonic nature: “So small, white-clad, and clearly feminine, it gleamed like phosphorus in the cool night. She moved slowly, yet with seeming purpose” (Tanning 2004: 126). Accompanied by the powerful wild feline, Destina is a female character who controls her own fate and acts as a revealing agent for the true nature of those around her. The child protagonist is empowered by the author in a fairytale-like manner, yet she does not directly suppress any life, but rather catalyzes the misfortune of those already doomed by their own failures. Jealous of Destina’s ability to captivate Albert’s attention to such great extent, Nadine confronts her fiancé in an outburst of anger and frustration. There’s no trace of

their former romance as they furiously argue while walking near the edge of a precipice, and Albert accidentally falls into it. The scene could be read as a literalization of metaphoric sexual predation: while trying to avoid her hand sprung to slap him, Albert falls into a dark chasm that symbolically resembles a devouring vagina (McAra 2013: 85) and dies impaled on a stump. Wandering alone, in shock, Nadine falls into a crevice, and the sexual predation symbolism reemerges as the mountain lion closes in to devour her. Nadine's encounter with the beast creates an image of great expressivity, once again validating the plastic fluidity of Tanning's prose. Hypnotized by the lion's gaze, Nadine seems to welcome his presence as if he was a domineering secret lover: "Pale-coated in easy pose, he stood just above her, his enormous body swung at right angle to the head, as if he would give her the conscious, classic attitude of his kind, so often carved, so rarely understood" (Tanning 2004: 139). Nadine's final moments are tense and dramatic, as the lion seems to perversely suggest that he might let her live. She hopes the lion would share with her the same intimacy and friendship he shares with Destina: "The animal waited. His yellow gaze fused with her own and ignited the last wing of hope. He seemed to want her to understand. He waited patiently, like a teacher who waits for the toiling child to solve a problem" (138). Whitney Chadwick (1985: 186) concludes that the child/adult conflict is a significant dimension of the narrative in Tanning's novel, therefore "the novel can be read as a kind of revenge of the femme-enfant".

Having fulfilled a kind of terrible rite of passage that gave her new powers over Wincote and its inhabitants, Destina and her magical animal part leave at the break of dawn. The novel's succession of surrealist tableaux ends with the majestic image of child and beast walking together, side by side, on the high slopes of the canyon. The orphan little girl had fulfilled her initiation into becoming a miraculous child: "She was not alone. Beside her and a little behind walked her friend. His glide was all rhythm – of easy, multiply moving pads, proudly conscious of sinew, meek in the poetry of that rarest affinity, beast and human" (Tanning 2004: 141). Once again, in Tanning's vision, the feminine controls hidden fantastic elements: the image of Destina, accompanied by the mountain lion, echoes the artist's emblematic painting *Birthday* (1942). A surrealist portrait of the artist as a young woman, *Birthday* celebrates the beauty and magnificent presence of her imagined alter-ego, accompanied in her domestic labyrinth by a fantastic gryphon.

3. Conclusion

There's a clear confluence between the imagination of childhood and avant-garde art and literature, and, besides a consistent body of artistic creations that prove it, Dorothea Tanning invoked it in her memoir, *Between Lives*: "When I was seven I drew a figure with leaves for hair. Was I a tiny surrealist? Are all children surrealists, visually? Maybe surrealist painters were children with years, playing with the irrational. Maybe they knew that antic imagination is fun" (Tanning 2001: 16). If Philippe Ariès (1962) theorized a cultural "discovery of childhood", the avant-garde, and, implicitly surrealism, have assimilated and adapted the imagination of childhood as an integral part of their project of accessing both ultimate realities and the unreal.

Dorothea Tanning's surrealist project often dwells on the infantile and its tropes, while also operating mutations that allow connections to earlier pre-modern

writers who had represented childhood in non-canonical ways (Lewis Carroll or the Marquis de Sade being often quoted in this regard). By contaminating the imagery and archetypes of childhood with elements pertaining to adult knowledge and control, Dorothea Tanning reveals a hybrid metaphor of transformation and becoming that is strikingly modern and versatile.

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THE BLUE AND THE WHITE VISUAL NARRATIVE IN STEVE ERICKSON'S *DAYS BETWEEN STATIONS*

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Abstract: *In Days Between Stations (1985), Steve Erickson blends intricate love stories across the twentieth century and beyond. His characters emerge from amnesiac dreams and roam in a world which falls apart. Strange natural phenomena occur. Yet it is notsci-fi, but an idiosyncratic literature where one can read minds through landscape and colours. Written in a romantic vein, Erickson's novel deploys a plethora of Pop Art tropes and accommodates García Márquez-like narrative means to build up a political allegory. In my paper I tackle aesthetic and epistemological issues and try to find Steve Erickson's place among contemporary writers.*

Keywords: *American history, colour perception, Pop Art, romanticism, Steve Erickson*

1. Introduction. Writing outside the genres

Nowadays literary culture is obsessed with defining genre, mainly due to marketing reasons. The book has never been such a labeled product. This may explain partially why Steve Erickson fails to build a larger audience. His fiction defies genre. Along with other authors, such as Kathy Acker, William T. Vollmann, and Jonathan Lethem, he has been sometimes associated with the Avant-pop movement (McCaffery 1993, 1995) – i.e. with cutting edge postmodern writers of the digital age (Amerika 1993) – but this tag will turn out as a mere theoretical gimmick. Erickson's writing style proves surprisingly classical. One reviewer once described his prose as “science fiction without the science” (Trucks 2002:41), thus emphasizing the novelist's lack of interest in technology. Although he acknowledges the curious pairing of Philip K. Dick and Gabriel García Márquez as influence, he deftly states (Trucks 2002: 48-49): “It's not fantasy, it's not surrealism, it's not magical realism, it's not mainstream, it's not avant-garde, it's not conventional, and, God Knows, it's not hip”. What is it then?

Steve Erickson is often introduced as Thomas Pynchon's scion. Pynchon wrote the blurbs of Erickson's first books. Yet the Californian writer claims to have read Pynchon only after the publication of his second novel, because people kept comparing him with the author of *V.* (cf. Trucks 2002: 60-61). When asked about how well he knows the man personally, Erickson becomes hesitant and laconic. Erickson's novels look like pocket editions, if one compares them with gargantuan narratives like *Gravity's Rainbow*, *Mason & Dixon* or *Against the Day*. His linguistic inventiveness feels much milder and the plots, albeit labyrinthine, are not so mind-blowing. Erickson's stories commingle in unexpected, yet pretty clear resolutions. William Faulkner rather than Thomas Pynchon is his precursor. From the former he learned how to master different moments in time in a single phrase and to make subplots extremely relevant to the big narrative (Ventura 1986). His characters are misfits unable to connect emotionally, and to describe them as “Pynchonesque” would be appropriate indeed, but the comparison underlines affinities rather than emulation. As

Erickson put it (Lane 1987): “[...] Pynchon is a little like Joyce. His influence is so pervasive these days that you can’t help but be influenced by him”.

Philip K. Dick’s craft of rendering ontological and epistemological issues find in Steve Erickson an artist worthy of the science fiction master. In the hallucinatory world of *Ubik* (1969), where objects regress to the pure Platonic forms from which they spruced and where nobody takes control of her or his own mind, Philip K. Dick makes his characters doubt even the seemingly solid fact that they are still alive. Jonathan Lethem remarks Dick’s ability of isolating tropes of the 1930s Pulp sci-fi, “discarding the uninteresting stuff” and connecting it to “literature, surrealism, film, comic books, rock and roll” (Clarke 2011: 53). Erickson’s devices work in a similar way. He does not endorse a particular medium where he may place his characters comfortably, but confronts us with a reality already distorted by the mind and provides the reader with popular culture tropes to put things in order (only up to a certain point, of course).

The titles of his novels are opaque and quite abstract: *Tours of the Black Clock* (1989), *Arc d’X* (1993), *Amnesiascope* (1996), *The Sea Came in at Midnight* (1999), *Zeroville* (2007). California is the setting. Like Raymond Chandler and Ross MacDonald, Steve Erickson imposed himself as an author of Los Angeles. The narrative time is difficult to measure, because the temporal loops prove spectacular. Past, present and future seem to be ours, yet uncannily alien. Born in 1950, Steve Erickson is not just an L.A. author, but a 70s-80s writer as well. His aesthetics belongs to the Pop ethos: neo-noir conventions, Cold War angst, *Playboy* fantasies, rock music, comics, and movies. However, the core of Erickson’s fiction is late romantic, as I will try to demonstrate.

2. The colour of the sandstorm

Erickson’s debut novel, *Days Between Stations* (1985), comprises all of his favorite motifs: loss, loneliness, breathtaking landscape, chromatic riddles, futuristic L.A. with a retro touch, vintage Paris, synchronic events across space, amnesiac characters with special abilities, strong women, weak men, cold sexuality, unexpected journeys, heartbreaking endings. There are three stories in the book: a couple’s story, a retrieving-memory story, an artist’s story.

Lauren and Jason is a young couple from Kansas. They fell in love when they were still in their teens. She is beautiful and tender, he is handsome and athletic, an ambitious cyclist who trains for the Olympics. The newlyweds move to San Francisco, where they have a child, Jules. It is here that their slow estrangement begins. One day the ever absent husband tells Lauren he has a second child with another woman. After the nine year old Jules dies, Lauren and Jason move again, this time to Los Angeles. The wife’s loneliness becomes acute. Lauren brings a particular skill with her from Kansas to California: she can summon all the cats from the neighborhood, like an enchanted pilgrim in a medieval fable. At about the time when her depression deepens and she becomes entangled in marijuana smoke, she notices her neighbour downstairs, a strange man, who always wears a blue coat and an eyepatch. His name is Michel Sarasan and he is the manager of the nightclub ‘Blue Isosceles’. He had woken up in a room in Paris nine years before, without remembering a iota of his previous life, with only the name “Adrien” resounding in his head, and an American passport in a drawer. He found out that he used to make movies as a student and that he was the nephew of a

Hollywood producer. His uncle has a grudge against him for reasons Michel cannot sort out, because the old man is not very talkative when it comes to family history.

If Lauren and Jason move to the City of Angels only to understand that they have no future together, Michel (or maybe Adrien) arrives in the same place with only future prospects, yet without a past. The three of them meet when the metropolis is being hit by increasingly violent sandstorms, which bury buildings and highways underneath a white, grinding, choking powder for days on end. It is not dirt, as in Christopher Nolan's recent movie *Interstellar*, but pure desert sand, which stops the clocks and causes blackouts.

In fin de siècle Paris, a prostitute rescues an abandoned baby near Pont Neuf and sneaks him to a brothel on Rue de Sacrifice. He is adopted by Lulu, a Tunisian adolescent, the brothel owner's favorite, and raised in a secret chamber. The child grows up in a closed, lavish environment populated by caretaking women, where he wandersthrough all kinds of objects, usually blue hued. He sometimes sees the outside world through a screen-like window, which allows the street lights to diffuse erratically inside. Believing that Lulu is his mother and Janine, a girl three years younger, his sister – actually she is the rich owner's love child with Lulu –, the boy becomes involved in a violent incident and thus, his presence made known, he runs from Rue de Sacrifice and is taken by the military to the Great War. As a soldier, he enters a cinema for the first time and sees D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). At this very moment, the young man understands that the sluggish playing with light in his childhood's secret chamber nurtured a certain sensibility. Movie-making is the art which will prove his true calling.

Adolphe Sarre, this is his name, directs *La Mort de Marat*, his one and only motion picture, the ultimate masterpiece whose final cut nobody has ever seen. For almost one hundred years, critics and cinema aficionados have been talking about it, yet no one could tell how the whole is the sum of its scattered rolls. One cannot help thinking about actual the-greatest-movie-never-made myths, such as Orson Welles' *Don Quixote* or Stanley Kubrick's *Napoleon*. Director Adolphe Sarre's life and his love for Janine might bring back Michel's memory and drive Lauren to radical decisions.

Steve Erickson delves into Romantic iconography: the Promethean quest, the Doppelgänger – not necessarily a malefic double, as in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* or Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, but a haunting twin nevertheless – solitary and fallen heroes whose petty whims cause tragic consequences, exotic places (Lauren leaves behind Paris burning like an apocalyptic winter pyre and reaches Venice, in whose dry canals a bicycle race is set to take place, after a detour to North Africa where she wakes up one day wearing a gold ring around her ankle). Erickson shares Stendhal's aesthetic credo that conflicts of the psyche and politic issues may be interwoven effectively (Erickson 1993). *Days Between Stations* is “a puzzle, a red herring” in the vein of *La Chartreuse de Parme/The Charterhouse of Parma* (Bloom 2000 :153).The romantic passion, love triangles and Napoleonic idealism of Stendhal's 1839 novel are replaced by numbness and erotic anxiety in Ronald Reagan's America.

In his urban poems, Arthur Rimbaud evokes estrangement in the crowded metropolis through noises and lights that oppose the natural order of things, because they turn up as highly artificial. The verses from “Cities I” reverberate – in Paul Schmidt's wonderful translation – with oracular acumen:

Chalets of wood, chalets of crystal
 move along rails on invisible pulleys.
 Ancient craters surrounded by colossi and by coppery palms
 bellow melodious fires (Rimbaud 2008:263)

In American literature, Rimbaud's "formal idioms" touch Hart Crane's poetry (Harold Bloom 2012: 231), but Steve Erickson devises his personal idiom, a highly idiosyncratic one, when he considers that Rimbaud, along with "Baudelaire and Pablo Neruda gave to surrealism the soul that surrealism abandoned later in nihilistic pique, and which rock and roll reclaimed" (Erickson 1993). Erickson's urban scenery renders irrelevant the distinctions between the manifest and latent content of the dreams. Here is Lauren, a lonely silhouette, a Hopper-like figure in the shadow of a high building, afraid that her enchanted cat-calling might not work in San Francisco (Erickson 2005: 39):

Another dusk, and from the window she saw one of the kittens in the street, and ran down the stairs to the front door and stood in the long shadow of the block that touched her feet. In the setting sun the windows of the street gleamed like gold teeth, and first in a low din, ascending to something like sirens, she heard all the cats the way she used to in the fields. She opened her mouth to call them like she used to; she was so alone she couldn't stand it. She opened her mouth again, closed it again. She said nothing, looking up at all the cats watching her. She could see their eyes glimmering between the gold teeth of the buildings; the way they watched her she knew she didn't belong. One flash after another struck her. She stood in the light looking at all the cats far from her. She was terrified that she would call them and none of them would answer. After a while the cats turned from their posts and disappeared, leaving her there in the doorway.

Famous for its architectural *mélange*, where neoclassical and colonial styles meet Latin American heritage (Şerban 2006: 263), San Francisco is a melancholic city. This is the place Alfred Hitchcock chose as the setting for *Vertigo* (1958), his highly aestheticized thriller about lost loves and missed opportunities. In Hitchcock's San Francisco, all exits lead to death (Şerban 2006: 263). In Erickson's San Francisco, Jules dies and streets disappear. If this city is spooky, Los Angeles will turn out even more unreliable. Erickson defines Los Angeles in interviews "as an extension of America" (Lane 1987), where people come and wind up lost, because, unlike New York, it does not favor urban identity (Ventura 1987).

The state of things in *Days Between Stations* are mainly equivalents of the characters' states of mind. Whereas science fiction writers usually conjure up visionary spaces, Steve Erickson reconfigures the present in a futuristic fashion, yet his visual narrative illustrates thinking and moods mostly. The protagonists act like dreamy automata trying to shake off numbness. They are not able to cope with hard decisions. Thus colours, light, sandstorms, fires, buildings, recursive images, and misplaced film rolls verge toward the abstract. Facts fall into places, but not necessarily as consequences of the causal chain, as if Erickson had followed Heraclitus' adagio: "Unapparent connection is better than apparent" (Barnes 2001: 51). Sometimes the reader may feel the writer's obvious intention and rush – characters meet too conveniently, enthusiast film producers appear out of the blue when one needs them, elliptic style conceals some coherence flaws. However the novel never turns out predictable or plain.

As soon as he starts to recover his memory, after meeting director Adolphe Sarre in Paris, Michel ages faster. His eyes look deadly tired and his hair turns white. Michel's walk down the memory lane has time travel consequences. After Lauren has chosen Jason a second time, Michel goes to Wyndeaux, the village where *La Mort de Marat* was filmed and, while wandering among the family tombstones, he disappears from the book. At the end, Lauren is back in Kansas, now an old woman taking care of autistic children. She helps them enhance their special abilities. The European affair and even Jason's death in a terrorist attack in Los Angeles seem fuzzy at best. Over decades of sandstorms Kansas has become a white desert. Vegetation lacks colour, except for some "dark and brilliant blue leaves", which cling to Lauren's ankles (Erickson 2005: 250):

For several days the leaves would continue to arrive, and then gather in a swarm to the west of her house, where her porch faced, and they disappeared, perhaps turning at the wall and circling south and returning to wherever they came from. Then she would be left only to surmise the empty expanse and guess at its loneliness, counting to herself the very small white hills, no larger than earthen mounds really, that filled the dead fields. It was several autumns before she actually walked out to one of the small hills, and just turning over a few handfuls of dirt she found the rail of a small bridge, and recognized it as a moon-bridge, like the ones that were in California years and years before.

This episode relates uncannily with Ludwig Wittgenstein's opinion that knowledge of colour is a private sensation, despite our ability to recognize colour while playing various language games. When it comes to remembering colour accurately, we find ourselves at the mercy of our memory. "But can't we sometimes speak of a darkening (for example) of our memory image?" (Wittgenstein 2009: 32) Hereof Wittgenstein speaks about "the indestructibility of color" as a sensation, yet he makes us pay attention to the possibility that we would not be able to use a specific colour in language games if we forgot its name. The "blue" in *Days Between Stations* is not always the same. It is Adolphe's blue, Michel's blue, and Lauren's blue. No picture or movie could render them rightly. It is the reader's task to correlate chromatic hues with emotional tones.

Although Michel's features might well look like a dim memory, the reader knows that Lauren thinks about her lover, because the blue and the white we have learned to associate him with prove indestructible. The landscape deploys not so much outside, but works mainly as a prop to Lauren's longing. One can say that Michel's appearance is the landscape. In his later notes, known as *Remarks on Color*, Wittgenstein reflects rather amusingly that "people often use tinted lenses in their eye-glasses in order to see clearly, but never cloudy lenses" (Wittgenstein 2007: 15). There is no need for blue and white lenses in order to read *Days Between Stations*, but we must not forget that in the novel colours are sensations and emotions. A few adjustments to our habit of reading descriptions might turn out necessary.

Rubicon Beach (1986), Steve Erickson's second book, enhances the same technique by rendering even human interaction and face recognition problematic. Catherine, the main character, an Indian girl who runs away from the Amazon rainforest and reaches Los Angeles – a synecdoche city she calls "America" because this is the only place she associates the United States with – is a difficult ontological riddle. Depending on the time when she appears and the men who see her, Catherine has the charisma of the lethal *femme fatale* or the mimetic

camouflage of a wild creature. She is either hypnotically visible, or dangerously invisible. Her long hair arrests the deep night, her burning eyes on the beach help sailors fight sea storms and her presence among people ignites revolutionary protests. Erickson described Catherine (Trucks 2002: 52) both as an embodiment of a male dream – unlike the more humane Lauren – and as “a sort of a last American” (Ventura 1986), since her freedom and self-knowledge would be frightening in today’s America. Erickson’s heroine is his version of Remedios the Beauty, García Márquez’s seductress unaware of her enchanted powers, as his never-ending storms of *Days Between Stations* draw imaginatively on the “four years, eleven months, and two days” (García Márquez 2007: 320) of heavy rains that hit Macondo in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*.

3. Conclusion: a refreshing of political allegory

Speaking about the 1980s Erickson ponders (Ventura 1986) the meanings his contemporaries ascribe to failure: taking risks is one of the main principles of capitalism, but one cannot apply the same tenet to culture as the Reagan Administration did, when it redefined the American Dream in terms of purchasing power and economic prosperity. Erickson finds the idea of a pure, triumphalist culture distasteful. It is the means a culture finds to cope with a dark past that gives its true value. Between November 22, 1963 and June 6, 1968, that is the days of the assassinations of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and of his brother Robert, respectively, America “looked for redemption” (Ventura 1986). However, it took another course, following disasters with still unpredictable consequences that provide the brooding objects of Erickson’s novels. Despite the futuristic shades his prose displays, the stories are character based. These characters foreground a particular ethos: insecure women and men, not overtly narcissistic, but insensible and inane. Their inability to discern faces is a symptom of emotional deficiencies. In *Days Between Stations*, a pair of blue eyes in a bottle works as narrative decoy (it is difficult to place it in the story, because either its meaning proves extremely rich, or it turns out as just an artistic banana peel), whereas in *Rubicon Beach*, only a few take the courage to look Catherine straight in the eyes. Both Lauren and Catherine are emotional catalysts. They do not have political agendas. They are intelligent and beautiful survivors, free in a way others are not anymore. At the same time, their presence and deeds cause changes of mentality, with social consequences.

Rubicon Beach is more politically charged. People speak there about America One and America Two – that is the America envisioned by the Fathers of the Revolution and a dystopic allegory meant to chronicle the real America of the ’80s. In *Days Between Stations*, ecological catastrophe and the long making of a movie about the French Revolution soften the political subtext. Yet both books – as Erickson has always been eager to boast (Ventura 1986) – deplore the perverted idea that the original dream has been fulfilled and that being an American should be easy. Crafty and enigmatic, Steve Erickson’s novels enchant the mind’s eye and face it against moral issues. Christopher Hitchens (2009: 140) wrote that the American Revolution “remains the only revolution that still retains any power to inspire”, despite its betrayals and contradictions. In the cultural history of America, Steve Erickson’s fiction is certainly one of the stations where the reader may test the cogency of this remark.

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***CHALLENGING FRONTIERS
AND
GHOSTS OF EVIL***

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIOSITY FROM A CO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN THE 1950^S AND 60^S

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Abstract: *Co-cultural discourse proves fruitful in delineating African American response to white challenges even in the context of religion. The paper attempts to map the nature of the response on the basis of one aspect of this intercultural communication theory, i.e., the communication tactics of assimilation, in speeches and sermons of leaders of the Black Church and the Nation of Islam.*

Keywords: *assimilation, Black Church, Black Muslims, co-cultural, communication*

1. Introduction

Embedded in all-pervasive religio-cultural discourses, the two decades of the Civil Rights Movement reached thoroughgoing political and societal changes. In the process, though, the African American self was articulated in various ways that witnessed both the reenlivening of the African American cultural subject and the struggle to communicate the African American self in an effective way. The paper forms one part of a larger study in which I attempt to give account of the communication practices of assimilation, accommodation, and separation in the sermons and speeches of some of the most relevant religious leaders, Christian and Black Muslim, namely, Martin Luther King, Jr., Vernon Johns, Malcolm X, and Elijah Muhammad, from a co-cultural point of view. Here, I will map aspects of assimilation as a communication practice to show the intricacies of in-betweenness as these leaders are members of the African American community and interfaces with the white community.

2. Religio-cultural identity and the question of assimilation

For any leader to play overtly on assimilationist notes could mean that s/he does not represent his/her cultural group well. A call for assimilation can then be countereffective in defining the cultural group and threatens to unleash its disintegration. From the point of view of negotiating a position, assimilation can also be vulnerable, as it leaves the ingroup entirely defenseless against the outgroup, into which it seeks inclusion, and it can also suffer attacks from within the ingroup, by oppositional or sectarian subgroups. The latter case is articulated as demeaning criticism on the part of Black Muslims against Black Christians. Accusations of otherworldliness, Uncle Tomism, and Samboism belong primarily to the repertoire and appear to seek to destabilize the status of Black Christians within the African American community and thereby also to fester their ties with the white community. In the 1961 interview with Eleanor Fischer, Malcolm X, for example, attacks the black middle class lining up with King's nonviolent movement: "Then you have the upper class Negroes who are the modern day Uncle Toms or the 20th century Uncle Toms. They don't wear a handkerchief anymore. They wear top hats. They're called Doctor, they're called Reverend, but they play the same role today that Uncle Tom played on the plantation." The same reappears

in Muhammad's thought referring to Black Christians as "Stool Pigeons" for the fact that they "always say, preach, teach, pray, sing and act in a way which pleases the slave-master of their fathers and his children" (1965b: 282). It must be noted, though, that Black Muslim rhetoric against Black Christians is also strategically deployed. In a talk with Coretta Scott King, while King is in prison in Selma in 1965, the then Sunni Muslim Malcolm X confesses that "I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult, I really did come thinking that I could make it easier. If the white people realize what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King" (King 1969: 256). Malcolm X's good cop/bad cop approach reveals a shrewd political tactics, which aim at softening intragroup opposition toward him.

His gestures are never overtly acknowledged by King. In fact they only meet once, allegedly by chance, in the Capitol hallway, when the Civil Rights Act is debated and King responds to him in a spirit of "kindness and reconciliation" (qtd. in Baldwin 2002: 307). It may be a tactical response by King in order not to be associated with a radical group, yet his wife also reveals that he shares some of the values represented by Black Muslims:

He shared with Malcolm the fierce desire that the black American reclaims his racial pride, his joy in himself and his race— in a physical, a cultural, and a spiritual rebirth. He shared with the nationalists the sure knowledge that 'black is beautiful' and that, in so many respects, the quality of the black people's scale of values was far superior to that of the white culture. (King 1969: 256)

The shared identity segments show that, beyond mere racial solidarity, there exists a core that provides for African American intragroup cohesion.

One might argue that assimilation does not necessarily pertain to becoming like whites – accepting white middle-class values – as, for example, middle-class blacks are sometimes charged with; but much rather assimilation involves accepting the categorization by white society as the dominant group and converging to that categorization. In terms of communication tactics, it corresponds to Orbe's (1998: 61) aggressive assimilation, whereby co-cultural group members primarily employ mirroring or passing "to make their co-cultural identities less visible (or totally invisible) and adopt those behaviors and images of the dominant culture" (1998: 60) as well as strategic distancing, i.e., "avoiding any contacts" (1998: 75) with the co-cultural group. In this hierarchical deployment, it is only possible to refer to assimilation inasmuch as African Americans accept their minority position with its limiting and inhibiting constraints, which then are not seen as such. Naturalized into race, African Americans would, in this scenario, embrace and even foster cultural (self)identification with all its social and political ramifications. As Marilyn B. Brewer (2010: 29) points out, "Members of distinctive minority groups, however, by virtue of self-categorization or categorization by others, are vulnerable to single dominant group identity where alternative sources of social identity (religion, politics, occupation) converge with or are subordinated to their ethnic/cultural group membership". Roles available in the function of ascribed values serve to maintain the status quo and to keep African Americans as co-cultural group members in place.

Much as the identification of blacks was often the practice in the South, any negative attribution can be utilized to facilitate change and to renegotiate identity. King (1957: par.8), for example, admonishes his congregation in "Loving Your

Enemies” that “we must face the fact that an individual might dislike us because of something that we’ve done deep down in the past, some personality attribute that we possess, something that we’ve done deep down in the past and we’ve forgotten about it; but it was that something that aroused the hate response within the individual”. Even though far from embracing a view of African Americans as a community with synchronized members, he yet relies on cultural conceptualizations clad in a religious coat that, on the one hand, testify about theological repercussions, but, on the other, may reminisce with former white explanations justifying slavery. Importantly, however, King uses this background to seek to implement change in his audience. Censoring the self here implies sacrificing an identity segment to realize a strategic goal.

Assimilationist tendencies can primarily be pinpointed regarding certain identity segments such as religion, American national identity, or linguistically. Linguistic assimilation pertains to the avoidance of the use of African American vernacular when addressing whites, even if certain characteristics and patterns of African American sermons remain penetrating. Pushing the African American vernacular into the background reveals the urge to get within the gates, i.e., to achieve mutual-face upgrade through developing positive face; but, at the same time, it also sheds light on the self-effacing conceptualizations of the vernacular as class-specific and stereotypical.

A significant move that depicts assimilationist tendencies is intergroup networking, whereby alliance is sought with subgroups within the white community. In his “The Drum Major Instinct”, King (2009: 20) at one point, with intended irony, though, refers to such possibilities in a mock address of the white working class: “You ought to be marching with us. [laughter] You’re just as poor as Negroes.’ [...] you fail to see that the same forces that oppress Negroes in American society oppress poor white people. (Yes) [...]”. Emphasizing commonalities can serve in a similar manner to refer well beyond assimilation: the communication tactics shows distinctive self-face softened to become acceptable for some outgroup and blends into an overall strategy that is not assimilationist.

The emphasis on certain similarities, directly or indirectly, and the claim that these similarities were acknowledged serve as the critical minimum to start negotiations. It marks the first stage of negotiations, where the minimum requirement of acceptance is pursued through assertive and non-assertive practices attributed to assimilation such as emphasizing commonalities, averting controversies, or extensive preparation. The idea is to be listened to, and the possibilities include that the respective speaker either attracts the audience or seriously alienates it.

3. Inter/Intragroup networking: humanity, genealogy, and *agape*

Much as Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X are primarily considered to give hate speeches, unknowingly perhaps, these Black Muslim leaders acknowledge that there is a common denominator with the white community, in relation to which they position themselves: the emphasis on general humanity and shared history. One aspect is provided by the urge to reestablish a genuine African American genealogy, which is realized in Muhammad’s speeches as a racist manifesto of contesting white history by suturing a preceding black history: “We, the tribe of Shabazz, says Allah (God), were the first to discover the best part our planet to live on: The rich Nile Valley of Egypt and the present seat of the Holy City, Mecca,

Arabia” (1965a: 31). Muhammad’s straightforward intention is to employ a strategy by “using myth to counter myth” (Clegg 1998: par.10) and thus to create distance and not assimilation; as Claude A. Clegg (1998: par.9) reminds us, Muhammad urges “the listener to suspend judgment about who he/she believed African Americans to be in order to allow Muhammad to redefine the terms of the black experience in America”. His strategy, nevertheless, is pulled through positioning black history in relation to white history and, subverting as this move is, the fact that he identifies a common source of origin establishes a common bond: namely, human agency. Muhammad thereby reveals the “collective programming of the mind” (Hofstede2010: 6). In Geert Hofstede’s scheme, culture and personality rest upon human nature comprising basic needs and abilities as commonly inherited characteristics of all humans. For Muhammad to acknowledge this basic bond means to break the dehumanizing commodification of African Americans.

It is not by chance that the emphasis on humanity as a basic commonality hits the first level of intercultural communication in all the leaders. The trauma of slavery and contemporary social injustices has instilled in them a horizon of expectations, which foresees the initial orientation toward African Americans in any interaction. The fight for subjectivation and the recognition as human subjects go thus further than the realization of civil rights. Malcolm X’s striving to bring the case of African Americans before the UN as a human rights issue is a testimony of it. As he declares at the founding rally of the Afro-American Unity in 1964: “We declare our right on this earth...to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society” (Malcolm X 2010: 274). In a coercive way he claims the basic attribution that enables any further discussions to be carried on.

The same sentiment appears in King’s speeches and sermons too. In “The American Dream”, he echoes in a visionary way that “one day all men everywhere will recognize that out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth” and that “that truth will reign supreme and all of God’s children will respect the dignity and worth of human personality” (King 1965: par.32). In an inclusive and not estranging way, but similarly to Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X, King hits the notes of common humanity to be allotted to African Americans on a nominal basis. The appeal to humanity as a claim of rights is given here theological grounding, which is meant as an instance of intergroup networking through establishing a common ground.

A part of the emphasis of commonalities is provided by demonstrating positive face when, in the enlisting of white achievements performed by white culture heroes, black contribution is sutured. This move is uncharacteristic for the Black Muslim leaders as it would demonstrate direct juxtaposition of the two cultural groups, their overt political objectives substantiates African American identity by way of contrast. In the Black Christian rhetoric, however, the treatment of human conduct, both black and white, serves the religious purpose of studying human nature. It is applied, for example, to demonstrate human shortcomings. Vernon Johns addresses this issue in his “Inherent Difficulties in a Dichotomous Existence” while cross-referencing throughout human history from biblical to modern times: “The Incarnation must be read against the Kenosis to be properly grasped. The race of Adam had read life and honor in terms of acquisitive-fulfillment, which forgot the supreme value of naked personality shorn of substance” (Johns 1977a: 12). Compressing theological and cultural interpretations

of the (racialized) body into one single image, he reminds the “human family” (1977a: 8) of falling short of divine expectations and rebukes them as “The chosen people missed the meaning of the Incarnation. It was made to restore the likeness of God in man – to achieve the perfection of persons so that they would live together in a Divine Society” (1977a: 11).

Furthermore, Christian leaders readily incorporate black contribution to American culture to show the similarity of black output and its relevance to American culture. This is the case with King’s 1967 sermon, “Why Jesus Called a Man a Fool”, in which he goes into lengthy enumerations of how African Americans contributed to the building of the American nation. The tactics prevails in Johns’s speeches and sermons too. In his “What Ails the World?”, for example, he provides a long list of human technological achievement and historical action in a way characteristic for the black sermonic tradition; however, his examples are primarily taken from European history, but he also relies on world history and biblical examples. Often thus, without any direct reference to African Americans, he sutures himself as a black subject into the discourse primarily through language use and the presentation of his sources. The eloquent style he employs is undergirded by extensive reliance on plays, poets, writers, musicians of European descent, and European historical events. In all this, Johns emerges as an insider with insider knowledge, who through its extensive display, on the one hand, averts controversies and, on the other, negotiates acceptance through extensive preparation – both tactics of assimilation in a co-cultural discourse. As a member of a group then, he is able to voice criticism in a subtle way. The problem of vileness – the topic of the sermon – is treated as one of the “Savior-Race” (Johns 1977c: 83), which for him stands for the human race yet to fulfill its divine calling. Addressing thus a problem of one group with black and white group members, he foresees deliverance from the “bondage of corruption” (1977c: 81). When he claims that “Peace has vexations that add up large. It can be worse than war: for peace may but mean that the underling has been crushed or bled beyond the strength to resist” (1977c: 80), he uses Tennyson, a significant member of British, but also of white American literary memory, to illustrate reality and to envision revolutionary change as “the viler, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword” (qtd. in Johns [1977c: 80]), which shows unrest beneath apparent order and holds the promise that “it is out of travail that new life comes” (1977c: 81).

Signs of intragroup assimilation between the two religious groups emerge from the shared political cause. The common enemy of racism (not white society, though) moves the later King and the later, then Sunni Muslim, Malcolm X toward the position of the other camp. With a very distinct cultural identity, though, in a 1965 speech, Malcolm X seeks to build an alliance with African Americans of other faiths and ideological stands, as well as to appease outgroup members that he had previously notoriously antagonized in (anti-Semitic) hate speeches: “I am a Muslim. [. . .] Those of you who are Christians probably believe in the same God, because I think you believe in the God who created the universe. [. . .] The Jews call him Jehovah. If you could understand Hebrew, you’d probably call him Jehovah too. If you could understand Arabic, you’d probably call him Allah” (2003: 144). Relying on the same religion-informed framework that black Christians have insisted on, he identifies a common religious background, which should in a similar way grant him acceptance, or at least soften his alienation. As a clear attempt of convergence, it shows strivings to develop a positive face through

emphasizing commonalities and, at the same time, through averting controversies by straightforwardly denouncing stereotypes about himself.

As for King, he does not publicly deal with Black Muslims, but is known to have said that “when he listened to Malcolm speak, even he got angry” (Blake 2010: par.43). The shared cause and common experience seems to reverberate in the African American soul of the time. As Louis E. Lomax (1963: 87) responds to Black Muslims after the events in Birmingham in 1963: “The Negro has always privately talked loud and bitterly about the American white man. The Black Muslims brought that talk into the open [. . .]. The Black Muslims were a catharsis for us, purging our innards of the bile brought on by slavery and segregation”. The rhetoric and the ideological stand may be different, but the sentiment expressed shows the ground on which intragroup convergence could unfold. The picture of a common enemy indeed urges even Elijah Muhammad to unite with the black Christian leadership, as his letter to King of July 6, 1966 testifies: “Since all of us who love our people are walking toward one goal: freedom, justice, and equality from the common enemy—let us realize that in unity there is strength” (1966: par. 2). Disregarding differences of ideological and religious alignment, Muhammad insists on a common denominator that binds all African Americans together and that by maintaining a sharp contrast toward white America. Obliterating differences of face, he thus negotiates an identity which supports dual face movement.

Whereas for Black Muslims religion crystalizes as the communicative tool to perform divergence, for black Christians it is the means to achieve convergence both in their ingroup and the outgroup. Religion plays a role in intragroup networking, as it diminishes differences and substantiates belongingness. Furthermore, the “old time religion” follows up on an African American genealogy that leads back to the peculiar institution; thus religion and the biblical parallels of slavery become the carriers of African American trauma and cultural memory. As for the communication with the white outgroup, for both Johns and King Christianity is the all-inclusive framework that enables them to show similarity and to attack from within gates, i.e., to speak to the conscience of America in a language that they understand and share. The idea of belonging to the same spiritual community comes markedly to the foreground in his “I Have a Dream” speech, but it gains poignant expression in his philosophical writing as well. Beyond the spiritual unity, there is scientific evidence that all humans are biologically related: “Paul’s declaration that God ‘hath made of one blood’ all nations of the world is more anthropological fact than religious poetry” (King 1986: 121). The same tactics of illuminating commonalities appears throughout Johns’s sermons as well, as when he preaches about bravery and devotion to God in a chastising way: “And one must live dependably in the presence of the Invisible to remain sensitive to the spirited demand for justice, equality, reverence and the other amenities which are so easily forgotten [...]” (Johns 1977b: 37). Enticing mindfulness in his audience, he urges blacks to be steadfast in their demands and whites to act according to the faith that characterized them when claiming their own.

It is ultimately the love concept that both King and Johns use to downplay differences and, transcending the social and race issue, they seek to build a mutual face-concern attitude. King (2012: 343) reminds us in his “A Time to Break Silence”, basing his insight on the concept of God as love, in 1. John 4 that “Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality”. Love, however, does not only signify Christian love, but it is a means to reach

reconciliation that results in constructing a beloved community: “But the end is reconciliation; the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved community. It is this type of spirit and this type of love that can transform opposers into friends” (King 1985: 563). As Fredrik Sunnemark (2004: 77) points out, the utopist notion refers simultaneously to God’s kingdom and to “the integrated and equalitarian United States”. However, beyond the strategic objectives, the communicative goal is gaining the ear of the audience; and relying on a familiar frame can grant the legitimacy of the speaker. From a somewhat different angle, Sunnemark’s remark also supports this view: “since this strategy also rests on ideals that are part of the general hegemonic structure, it is restricted to speaking of the necessity to fulfill a promise rather than speaking of something new. Underneath its challenge lies an agreement that was shaped through the centuries and ultimately signified by its biblical origins” (Sunnemark 2004: 77). Echoing the agreement is thus a source of legitimation, and from the point of view of a co-cultural discourse then, the striving for reconciliation is not meant as a challenge but the conscientization of a familiar frame.

4. Conclusion

Assimilation does not prove the preferred outcome in the overall strategy detectable in the speeches and sermons. However, as a partial goal to engage the attention of the audience, to emphasize the common struggle, and thus to gain acceptance, practices of assimilation do emerge as significant communicative tools in both inter- and intra-group communication. Especially black Christian leaders rely extensively on the common ground of the Christian religion with white America – an effective framework for convergence, as it also underlies American national identity. Emphasizing commonalities, averting controversies, as well as extensive preparation are thus employed to upgrade their mutual face-concern attitude to enable the speakers to maintain their identities without losing face or hurting the face of outgroup members.

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THE PLAYS OF EUGENE O'NEILL ON THE SLOVENE STAGE: CONTEXTS AND CONDITIONS

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Abstract: After the initial fiasco of O'Neill's plays *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms* in interbellum Slovenia, the post-war years brought the author a critical and public rehabilitation. However, O'Neill's sudden popularity proved a double-edged sword. The subject-matter of his plays was abused for the promotion of socialist realism and the establishment of the post-war communist regime. Stage directors were compelled to distort the artistic truth and present the idea of each play according to the requirements of the current political agenda. The paper discusses and explains the critical and public reception of these plays in the light of the political, social and literary conditions in Slovenia between the years 1926 and 1963.

Keywords: *Anna Christie*, communist regime, *Desire under the Elms*, Eugene O'Neill, reception in Slovene theatres, socialist realism

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, the reception of Eugene O'Neill's plays in Slovenia has not been a particularly favourable one. While the reasons for this are manifold, this paper will concentrate chiefly on the circumstances accompanying the two most frequently produced plays, *Anna Christie* (1921) and *Desire under the Elms* (1924). The frequency of their productions, especially in comparison with the modest staging of the author's other plays, may indeed be due to their relative popularity with theatregoers and/or critics, but in the background lurked the tendency of the post-WWII communist regime to twist the plays' communication potential and thus strengthen its own authority in the state. The other plays by Eugene O'Neill produced in the Slovene professional theatres were *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1957, 1984, 1999); *A Moon for the Misbegotten* (1959); *A Touch of the Poet* (1961); *Hughie* (1963); and *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1967).

The dominant political ideology was imposed on the presentation of the plays so efficiently and with such perfidy that audiences could not help enjoying themselves while watching this dramatic farce. Stage directors would, either of their own accord, or under pressure, distort the artistic truth and present the idea of each play according to the requirements of the current political agenda.

2. *Anna Christie* and *Desire under the Elms* between WWI and WWII

Before WWII, when these two plays were first introduced on the Slovene stage, the political, social and cultural circumstances were considerably different, which should have allowed more manoeuvring space in terms of dramatic representation. Nevertheless, stage directors were faced with difficulties stemming from the Slovene critical and public prejudices. *Anna Christie* was in fact the first American play to have entered Slovene theatres and was thus expected to pave the way for a different dramatic experience. *Anna Christie* was premiered at the

Slovene National Theatre in Ljubljana on 13 February 1926. It was characteristic of the Slovene theatres in the interbellum period that their repertoires would not extend over the boundaries of Europe (Moravec 1980: 115). Although O'Neill's central orientation was based on the European tradition – Strindberg, Ibsen, and some others –, the Slovene *Anna Christie* apparently failed to carry out its mission, since the reviews were almost unanimously scathing, but also confusing. Some of them recognised in the play a typical “American signature”, drawing on the sentimental play between “golden hearts and a jovially moving ending” (Zarnik 1926: 2), while others searched in vain for any representative American elements in it: what they observed instead was an American attempt to grapple with the elementary issues of human existence which, in the European perception, proved naïve (Koblar 1926: 7).

Trying to determine the reasons for the play's fiasco, several things need to be taken into consideration. There had been a decades-long habit among Slovene theatre producers and stage directors to use a cut-up technique or implement severe changes, adaptations and other forms of textual modification: in our case this would be the introduction of a *suicide scene* – Mat wrenching a revolver from Anna's hand because she was apparently going to kill herself. The critics (Govekar 1926: 4; Zarnik 1926: 2) tended to interpret this scene – if the play had consisted of four acts (sic!), as they put it, – as an implication of Anna's definite return to her former indecent profession. Ironically, the play does consist of four acts, but the Slovene staging reduced it to only three.

In addition, the Slovene production of *Anna Christie*, its text translated from the German by Oton Župančič, completely neglected a vital aspect of O'Neill's dramatic language, manifested in his skilful employment of racial and cultural dialects, by which he prevents the speech of his time from becoming artificial, dead or unreal. In order to achieve the rhythm and diction of common speech, O'Neill introduces in this play a Swedish dialect of English spoken by Chris, the Irish brogue spoken by Mat, and Anna's variety of colloquial American English. The Slovene version of the text, replacing all these language nuances by common standard Slovene, thus lacked the initial and, indeed, principal dimension of any play – a direct verbal contact with the reader – or spectator – even before the actual performance.

Eugene O'Neill was notoriously pedantic about the choice of theatre design, stage setting, character cast, etc. In this respect, the Slovene productions of his play were definitely more negligent, refusing to follow even the most obvious stage directions. In the 1946 production of *Anna Christie*, for example, the leading actress, Ema Starčeva, was already over forty when she appeared on the stage as “a tall, blond, fully-developed girl of twenty, handsome after a large, Viking-daughter fashion ...” (O'Neill 1967: 13).

One of the leading Slovene stage directors of that time, Bratko Kreft, who was bold and progressive enough to introduce *Desire Under the Elms*, feverishly responded to the negative reception of *Anna Christie* by reproaching Slovene theatres and audiences with entrenched conservatism. He particularly alluded to their fascination with cheap and maudlin plays of the French boulevard adapted for the Slovene stage, which led to the spectators' reluctance to show proper respect for a play by a more serious author. Furthermore, he included a telling remark concerning the habit of cutting texts, which implies that interbellum stage directors extensively revised the texts of foreign playwright (Kreft 1965: 31-46).

Given all these circumstances, it is easy to understand why the first Slovene production of *Anna Christie* ran for only eight performances and then practically fell into oblivion as far as this period was concerned. The only exception was the year 1929, when a well-known Czech theatre group on a tour stopped in Ljubljana to give a performance of this play. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain any significant information on this apparently very successful event or to determine how and to what extent the Czech staging managed to warm up the Slovene audience.

As anticipated by the stage director Bratko Kreft, the 1932 production of *Desire Under the Elms* by the same theatre house met a fate similar to that of *Anna Christie*. The staging was found inadequate in many respects. It apparently either overemphasised the naturalistically pathetic tone of the play, unduly promoting a “relentlessly explicit and vulgar speech, entirely beyond the Slovene taste” (Koblar 1932: 2), or it was criticised because of the director’s failure to present the events and characters on the stage with realistic persuasiveness (Kozak 1932: 13). The reviewer Vladimir Bartol, the internationally acclaimed author of the novel *Alamut* (1938), recognised in the allegedly vulgar elements of speech vague poetic metaphors, remote from ordinary language (Bartol 1932/33: 125-126). As it was definitely not part of O’Neill’s concept to provide his characters with some sort of artificial language, but rather the opposite, reasons for the critic’s impression ought to be tracked down to the translator’s/stage director’s inadequate approach to O’Neill’s dramatic language. It is noteworthy that the Slovene translations of both *Anna Christie* (trans. Oton Župančič) and *Desire under the Elms* (trans. Fran Albreht) were made on the basis of the already inaccurate German translations (Lewis 1984).

The productions of O’Neill’s plays thus gradually became an ideological battle-ground for those who advocated pure and standard dramatic expression and those who were inclined towards a more lively and down-to-earth stage speech. Since the interbellum Slovene theatre was generally perceived as a place reserved for cultivating people’s cultural and linguistic taste, it was not difficult to foresee the winner of this battle. The fate of O’Neill’s plays, which heavily rely for their effect on the non-standard, true-to-life and sometimes juicy linguistic expressiveness of their characters, was thus sealed, as far as Slovene theatres were concerned.

The Slovene stage directors of this time were growing increasingly inclined towards European realism and especially naturalism, and thus perceived the staging of Eugene O’Neill’s early plays as an ideal opportunity to promote their literary worldviews. The problem was that the Slovene audiences were not prepared to accept this new approach, all the more because the stagings were, according to the reviews, somewhat ambiguous: they either exaggerated the realistic note or they were excessively naturalistic. But they failed to bring out that inherently O’Neillian touch, which makes his early plays classic American dramas, unrivalled as yet and worthy of continuing revival time around the world theatres: an essentially realistic portrayal of the world, with an undercurrent of symbolism. While one may speculate why and how the Slovene theatregoers must have been repelled by such inconsistent handling of O’Neill’s novel dramaturgy, the fact remains that the theatre directors who were trying to introduce a new wave into the Slovene theatre simply ignored the possibility that the audience was not ready for change or that the change was not ready for the audience.

3. *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms* after WWII

The presentation of Eugene O'Neill's plays certainly underwent a change, but it was not the kind of change anyone had hoped for. It all began with the post-WWII revival of *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms*. The political situation in the country promoted the so-called socialist construction both in the field of economics and of culture. The dominant cultural discourse was that sphere of social commitment which was perceived by the political authorities as instrumental in securing power. Never before or since has cultural activity received so much attention or significance as during the affirmation of socialist ideas in the aftermath of World War II. In view of the general tendency to approach life as realistically as possible, O'Neill's drama, on the surface dealing with the life of the lower classes, served as an ideal opportunity to interpret his plays in a stereotypical manner, that is, as a plain conflict between good and evil, or to be precise, as a conflict between revolutionary and reactionary forces. Above all, the Slovene theatre was supposed to cater for the needs of the working class, where O'Neill again proved convenient, even though the preferred repertory favoured Slovene plays, followed by Yugoslav and Slavonic pieces, while the world's classic and modern drama came last (Albrecht 1973: 197).

The main elements extrapolated by the post-war theatre and critical reception from *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms* served either as incentives to promulgate O'Neill's drama, or, paradoxically, to ban it completely from the Slovene stage. These elements may be summed up in the following way: both plays, but especially *Anna Christie*, which was at one point pronounced a representative of the so-called social drama, provided an ideal opportunity to discard the belated prejudices of the bourgeoisie, and replace them with "the unspoiled and crystal-clear proletarian soul" (Grün 1951/52: 6-8). The theatre reviews of the two plays were often confusing. On the one hand, there were critics and stage directors who made every possible effort to justify the inclusion of Eugene O'Neill in the repertory of Slovene theatres. One of them, France Filipič, wrote in his review of the 1946 production of *Desire Under the Elms*: "We are absolutely obliged to show this play in our present-day situation, since we find in it an attack upon the kulaks who have demonstrated a desperate craving for the land, and, on the other hand, experience the healthy attitude towards the land, which elevates the modern man" (Filipič 1946: 6). At the other end were critics who firmly believed that *Desire Under the Elms* was detrimental to the implementation of the agrarian reform on account of its, as one of them put it, "promoting a rapacious thirst for soil, which is foreign to the soul of any Slovene peasant" (Fakin 1947: 3). This was the 1947 production, which the same reviewer found fairly uneven, now realistic now naturalistic, then suddenly symbolically enhanced. To judge by the reviewer's reproach, the stage director, Fran Žižek, apparently came very close to the core of the play, but unfortunately, at the wrong time and in the wrong place.

Anna Christie as well as *Desire Under the Elms* were subjected to severe theatrical and textual modifications such as cutting, expansion, alteration, linguistic and stylistic deviation, and the like. Such a tendency may be, at least to some extent, acceptable for some of O'Neill's plays that are extraordinarily long (e.g., *Mourning Becomes Electra*), but when it comes to such plays as *Anna Christie* or *Desire Under the Elms*, this approach is intolerable, all the more so if it concerns parts indispensable for a deeper understanding of the play. To point out just one

example: the note on which *Anna Christie* ends has been the subject of endless critical speculation along the lines: “Is the ending tragic or happy?” The crucial words seem to be those uttered by Chris just before the fall of the curtain: “Dat ole davil, sea!” (O’Neill 1967: 78) The final iconography, with Chris in close-up and the two lovers embracing in the background, intensifies the premonition. The Slovene staging, however, entirely neglected the play’s open-endedness, since Chris’s prophetic words were simply eliminated and replaced by his toast to the forthcoming marriage between his daughter and Mat: “Skoal!” Evidently, the stage director’s endeavour to bring the play closer to the theatergoer backfired – Anna Christie was received as an epitome of American soap drama.

In comparison with cutting, expansion occurred far more rarely in the Slovene productions of these plays. Nevertheless, I may cite two cases which clearly reflect a tendentious representation of the original propositional content. The first one concerns the aforementioned *suicide scene* towards the end of *Anna Christie*, which is not to be found in the original. While O’Neill’s Anna threatens Mat with a revolver, only to be eventually overwhelmed by his grief and resignation, the Slovene Anna actually uses the revolver to shoot herself in the presence of her lover and father. Thanks to Mat’s brisk reaction she misses, but her attempt at suicide becomes her key to Mat’s heart in that he takes her resolution as sufficient proof of her true love for him and her sincere repentance for having led a disgraceful life. Once again, in an attempt to capture and emphasise the essence of the so-called *American signature*, the Slovene staging resorted to an exaggerated presentation of the *revolver scene*, and thus alienated a considerable number of critics and audiences.

The second case involves an interpolated exclamation by Old Ephraim before the curtain falls: “My farm!”, in place of the less straightforward words uttered by the sheriff: “It’s a jim-dandy farm, no denyin’. Wished I owned it!” (O’Neill 1959: 58). This way of ending the play was characteristic of the post-WWII productions of *Desire Under the Elms*, as it was in perfect tune with the communist propaganda, justifying the implementation of the agrarian reform.

4. Conclusion

The 1950s and early 1960s brought a considerable progress towards grasping Eugene O’Neill’s dramatic genius. The communist authorities relaxed their ideological supervision, which gave stage directors more leeway in presenting *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms* in accordance with their intrinsic artistic potential. Moreover, the stagings were no longer obsessed with tracking down some nebulous characteristics of American dramaturgy, which had admittedly never been among O’Neill’s priorities, but rather attempted to explore the plays’ generic proportions that might stimulate the viewer’s concretisation of the issues dealt with. The result was a considerably better response from the critics as well as the audiences. However, these two decades, mainly due to the rising Modernism in Slovenia, also witnessed a loss of interest in *Anna Christie* and *Desire Under the Elms*, since their last productions on the Slovene stage took place in 1954 and 1963, respectively.

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GOING PLACES, BLENDING SPACES

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***Abstract:** The paper analyses Paul Auster's main characters, his doubles, as they have been called by critics along the years, and examines how they react in different situations. In this sense, it looks at their behavior inside and outside social norms, their adaptation to the surrounding environment, as well as their perception of space and their quest for identity. The paper focuses on the way in which the interior collides with the exterior and this collision affects the characters in Auster's novels.*

***Keywords:** identity, space, time*

1. Introduction

There is no mistake in stating that the most recurrent themes in Paul Auster's novels are bound to time and space perceptions and their effect on the creation of his characters' identities. Obviously, space and time have their own history and roles. For a long period they were seen as empty areas or just mathematical concepts, but Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, and many others along the years have directed the readers' attention to their social component, and have thus shown that they are as much a social product as they are a mental one. To look at them outside of the relations they engender is to strip them of meaning. It results that there is a multitude of spaces and times that overlap or contain each other; in order to delineate them, it is necessary to see the social and the mental interlaced therein. As Lefebvre (1991: 8) puts it, "When we evoke 'space', we must immediately indicate what occupies that space and how it does so. [...] When we evoke 'time', we must immediately say what it is that moves or changes therein."

To define these components, Foucault talked about human sites as being mirrored utopias, i.e. spaces linked to all other spaces and yet contradicting them. He called these mirrored heterotopias and classified them according to their decisive social component (Foucault 1986: 69). Clearly, what his theory states is that space and time can take various forms, according to individuals and society. From among these forms, readers of fiction are most familiarized with the enclosed, described, projected, and dreamt of private or social types. Each precise ensemble offers its own peculiar space and time. Normally, different literary genres are constructed around only one type of heterotopia. Science-fiction literature, for example, is centered either on heterotopias of deviation or on heterotopias of crisis. Yet, throughout the Auster cannon, readers can come upon any of Foucault's particular heterotopias.

2. The room and the city

Were we to think of Austerian spaces, we would end up with a list of spaces – large or small, yet always mysterious, incomprehensible, and, at times, hostile towards the characters. Be they the metropolis, New York, Paris, or Dublin, or, on

the contrary, very intimate spaces, such as one's room, one's body, or one's mind, all these spaces are known to the readers, because they are creations of the self. In this sense, Auster's narratives underline the fact that individuals cannot live outside space. Indeed, his stories, in their majority, show how interior and exterior spaces collide, only to secure the process of identity construction. Hence, for Auster's characters, the discovery and creation of the self is attained either through physical or mental confinement, or else by escaping into the exterior world and vanishing forever at one point in the narrative. To make this clearer, I will refer to only two of Paul Auster's novels, namely to *Travels in the Scriptorium* (2006), in which the author uses the room as a suffocating, out of time and space place that becomes a metaphor for searching one's identity, and then, to *In the Country of Last Things* (1987), a novel that presents the city as the main space in which the self is attained.

From his very first works of fiction, the author has been fond of deciphering what happens to individuals in enclosed spaces and locked rooms; thus the effect of spatial freedom and mental confinement haunts Auster's novels. With most of his works, readers wander between hermetic spaces and open spaces, while his characters experience the influence of space and time on their psyche. As reflections of the author, whether main or secondary, the characters in Auster's narratives undergo various types of confinement, only to reach their consciousness and identify themselves. As a result, when he refers to rooms, Auster conceives them as a refuge from the violent exterior which forces the individuals into inward retreat.

A sanctuary of the self, the room is the space in which past and present intermingle, and the process of self-examination is possible. When it comes to it, Auster's characters are shown as being trapped in a room from which they have to escape, but not before finding themselves. The room is, in these cases, small and serves the main purpose of sheltering the individual from the cruel outside world. It becomes the space from which the characters can observe the world without fear or temptation. This particular space is like a cocoon that allows interchange only at the level of the senses; one can perceive the surroundings, can feel and process their meaning. In other words, the room stands for a bridge between the social space and the private one.

In *Travels in the Scriptorium* (2006), Mr. Blank's room, is described as a confined space imposed from the outside, which he will never be able to understand, partly because he is an old man, and partly because he is presented as mentally disabled. The room isolates him from the outside world, and Mr. Blank is filled with a sense of confusion each time he gets in contact with agents of the exterior. For him, the room is the space in which his self struggles to resurface. Thus, this precise space seems to him unlike any other he can think of. The room, in his case, is not exactly a prison, but not entirely normal either. It is constructed in such a way as to give the character the opportunity to seek the outside world. It has a window, the door has a knob, there are plenty of things on the desk for him to read, and there is also a telephone he can use. Human contact is scarce, yet present. People come and go, still Mr. Blank lives in a constant state of uncertainty. He accepts his confinement, because he needs to define his self, until there is nothing left for him to discover with regards to his identity. At the end of the novel, he refuses it and "*pounds his fist on the desk and says in a loud voice: When is this nonsense going to end?*" (Auster 2006: 129).

Another constant in Auster's fiction, is the city – a space in which most of the narrative action takes place. With each new novel, Auster gets his readers

accustomed to cities of illusion that mimic the rapid and unstoppable flow of time. The cities he presents us with are all labyrinthine spaces, in which characters can lose themselves and at the same time survive. The author has made it clear that he was not interested in cities unless they were incomprehensible and definitely unfit for a living. His attention has always been caught by old, vanishing cities that provide a shelter for those running away from life. In his cities, characters get lost and discover a better world, or disappear without a trace. The city Auster tries to map is usually a representation of one's struggle to discover one's self. It offers his characters the possibility of being completely anonymous and yet keeping their individuality intact. The city of Auster's novels is a space divided according to Lefebvre's conception: there is an empirical, rational space, usually perceived as a void that must be filled up, and there is an effective space, which is emotionally charged. With respect to this, the metropolis is depicted mostly via the spatial loci the characters pivot in. This means that sometimes the city may reflect the characters' estrangement, manifested through a lack of geographical orientation, and at other times, the city is a well-read map, that characters know by heart.

In *the Country of Last Things*' (1987) main character, Anna Blume, finds herself in a vanishing city, in which she has to stay alive against all odds. She has entered a new world, quite different from hers, in the hope of finding her brother, a young journalist sent to investigate strange happenings in an unnamed city. From the first lines of the novel, Auster emphasizes the difficulty of keeping intact the mental and physical states of his characters, showing that, since the scenery is in a continuous change, they have no point of reference and lose their humanity and notion of the self, only to reach imponderability. The readers are made to step, with this novel, into a ghost like city as well as a metropolis. Never seen in its totality, yet always there, as a background onto which the public life of Auster's characters unfolds, the urban space in *Travel into the Scriptorium* (2006) mirrors the true cities of America. Whether presented during day time or at night, the city is a place of madness, in which individuals are all painfully trying to go about their daily routines and tend to lose themselves in the process. Events are left at the mercy of chance and feelings of alienation and in-betweenness trouble everyone, irrespective of age or sex. The city is, in this narrative, a labyrinth in which one is forced to steal and kill in order to find his or her way out. As Auster puts it,

That is the dilemma. On one hand, you want to survive, to adapt, to make the best of things as they are. But, on the other hand, to accomplish this seems to entail killing all those things that once made you think of yourself as human. [...] In order to live, you must make yourself die. (1987: 20)

Though she adapts herself to her surroundings by becoming a scavenger, Anna's character struggles to oppose change at the level of identity. She tries to keep her humanity and walks the borderline between the inner and the outer worlds. Nonetheless, the outside forces down her, and the city is transformed into an unbearable space for her. Anna is faced with painful events that turn her into a debilitated person who barely survives her journey into the unknown. She escapes rape by killing, she fights death while losing her unborn child, and manages to still give faith to others, even when she has nothing to look forward to. Her hope is the only thing left that keeps her going on. The need to escape the monstrous city she is trapped in allows Anna to reiterate her identity. Nevertheless, the city is overpowering and, at the end of her story, Anna decides to write a letter to an

anonymous person and disappears. Her action gives away the character's never-ending struggle to keep her identity alive, even after her presupposed death.

3. Conclusion

In Auster's novels, the room and the city are imaginary spaces of the margins in which characters lose track of time and strive to pin down space as the supreme reference point. As a result, according to Foucault (1986), space can be regarded as a site that is embedded in features and stages of the individuals' lives, which it mirrors and distorts or inverts. Space becomes thus localizable and helps characters to recreate their identities. Lefebvre's (1991: 33, 38-9) perceived, conceived and lived spaces support and establish the characters' social connections and construct mechanisms of protection against the outside world. While the perceived space is ambiguous and the lived one is cruel, the conceived space give shape and maintains the individuals' identities alive. In the end, interior and exterior worlds intermingle and give birth to spaces of survival.

The two novels signed by American writer Paul Auster portray space as a recurrent element, and underline the idea that exterior and interior spaces inevitably collide and mix, giving birth to new spaces and, thus, to new identities.

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RETRACING LIMINAL EPISTEMOLOGY IN JAMAICA KINCAID'S BILDUNGSROMAN

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Abstract: *Jamaica Kincaid's eponymous protagonists Annie John and Lucy negotiate between multiple knowledge currents that join the archipelagic and the diasporic Caribbean via routes stretching across the Black Atlantic. Their maturation in-between grand narratives is determined by the insular version of the epistemic condition of the borderlands that is loaded with meanings both heavy and charged. In Kincaid's imagery, they acquaint the reader with the intersectional reach of producers of knowledge that are ultimately dismantled by the protagonists that seek to inhabit a world without polarities.*

Keywords: *archipelagic consciousness, borderwomen, Jamaica Kincaid, liminal epistemology, novels of transformation*

1. Introduction

Due to the perplexity of the archipelagic reality that produces the protagonists of Caribbean novels of transformation, interpreting Jamaica Kincaid's semi-autobiographical narratives calls for a device similar to Gloria Anzaldúa's *New Mestiza* (1987). Taken from the context of materialised and policing borders in continental Americas and transferred to the imaginary frontiers of the Caribbean, the now archipelagic borderwomen zealously carve out liminal spaces in the example of their Chicana sisters. In their journey to adulthood, Kincaid's heroines in *Annie John* (1985) and *Lucy* (1990) have to negotiate myriad influences that the winds have carried to their home islands across what Paul Gilroy (1993) has named the Black Atlantic. Through encompassing the many multidirectional currents witnessed in time, from the abominable uprooting of peoples, the inward and outward migration, trade, and neo-colonialism, this marine realm persistently moulds its inhabitants' archipelagic identity. Hence, as Daniel Maximin (2006: 89, trans. Odile Ferly) explains, Caribbean consciousness is that of "open insularity", comprising multiracial, multicultural, multireligious and multilinguistic routes.

The fictional reality in *Annie John* and *Lucy* illuminates the synthesis of oppressions that has been meticulously mapped in social sciences by Kimberlé Crenshaw as the theory of intersectionality, which in practice also reflects the creative energy of hybridity. It is without a doubt a framework that provides valuable insight into kaleidoscopic influences that inform the experience of a young Caribbean woman during the middle part of the 20th century in Kincaid's imagination. Such limitless *métissage* governs the nomadic protagonist's lived experience and makes her a subject to currents of knowledge that move indefinitely in a cyclic manner, disrupting linearity and creating a tidalectical continuum, to rely on Kamau Brathwaite's notion of Caribbean tidalectics elaborated in the poet's interview with Nathaniel Mackey (1991). Its rhythmic movement connects the islands and the sea, which paradoxically disperses and separates them, via organic links to the creole protagonist, whose fluid and oceanic view of the world is free from binary thinking.

Ultimately, Kincaid's *Annie John* and *Lucy* negotiate the dichotomies of colonialism, its vestiges, and neo-colonialism and syncretise the topical concepts of travel, diaspora, exile (ex-isle), and home. In doing so, her texts strive to dismantle rigid, essentialist, and regulatory concepts of division and distinction that are favoured and disseminated in European grand narratives. In "pivoting the centre", to use Bettina Aptheker's (1989: 28) concept, the marginal moves from the periphery to the centre and subjugated knowledge surfaces. More precisely, Édouard Glissant's *Le Vécu*, the live dexperience at once affirmed and questioned, is the foundation of Caribbean epistemology that comprises knowledge situated in the tradition of womanism and African derived matrifocality and is translated and creolised through the dual mother tongue during the exposure to the global reach of imperial education and Western feminist ideas. Therefore, *Annie John*, that is set on the isle and concludes with the now early teen protagonist's departure to pursue her studies in the United Kingdom, and *Lucy*, that gives an account of the life of a young woman working as a live-in babysitter in the United States carve out new literary territories for polyphonic, yet unisonant dialogue on the positionality of the Caribbean protagonist.

2. Forging harmony between discourses

Creole language, that has been given credit as "a uniquely female creation", is the epitome for the matrifocal experience that is central to Jamaica Kincaid's narratives (Ippolito 2000: 25). The concept of "mother mystery" that J. Brooks Bouson (2005: 2) has attributed to Kincaid's writing encompasses the multifaceted dimensions of motherhood in the Caribbean novels of transformation. Themes like the idealisation of the mother figure and the feeling of romantic longing for the unreachable and unattainable mother; mothering as a site of contest and jealousy, including the power struggle within a mother-daughter knot; and the fear of the inevitability of becoming one's mother are synthesised through the "real but erased mother tongue", the Creole (Ippolito 2000: 92). Here lies the "doubled articulation of *motherhood* as both colonial and biological", referred to by Moira Ferguson (1994: 2), whose approach to Kincaid's texts centres on the disruption of the unity with the mother through the introduction of a symbolic, colonial language. This is where Creole steps in as an imaginary and matrilineal means of mediation that, although based on the language of the coloniser, is an alternative device for communicating matrifocal knowledge that is considered subaltern inside hegemonic discourse. Similarly, Emilia Ippolito (2000: 5) analyses the dual relationship with the biological mother that dominates Afro-Caribbean Bildungsroman, focusing on the plight of the mothers, "caught both between cultures and generations", when attempting to transmit amalgamated value systems to their daughters while staying true to the other mothering principle, even though it is mediated in a language that echoes the remnants of colonialism, which rule the symbolic realm.

Therefore, the traditionally Lacanian dynamics undergoes transformation in order to constitute the literary realities described by Caribbean writers like Jamaica Kincaid in their novels of transformation. Its protagonists embark on an archipelagic journey from the Imaginary to the Symbolic through the reminiscence of the pre-Oedipal coexistence with the mother. For example, in *Annie John* the reader is invited to join the daughter and the mother that take a remedial voyage to the seaside, after spending their Sunday morning in the church. Such strengthening dive, which is very likely a suggestion by the local obeah woman, amalgamates

with the preceding Anglican routine and is said to be “not a picnic”, as to make a significant reference to the everydayness of commonwealth practices (Kincaid 1985: 42). Kincaid elegantly conveys the revered mother figure and the almost magical union between the two, when making the reader privy to the young protagonists’ oceanic dream:

My mother was a superior swimmer. When she plunged into the seawater, it was as if she had always lived there. She would go far out if it was safe to do so, and she could tell just by looking at the waves beat if it was safe to do so. She could tell if a shark was nearby, and she had never been stung by a jellyfish. (Kincaid 1985: 42)

She continues with a description of a significantly less confident Annie, clasping her mother’s back in the fearsomely murky waters:

When we swam around in this way, I would think how much we were like the pictures of sea mammals I had seen, my mother and I, naked in the seawater, my mother sometimes singing to me a song in a French patois I did not yet understand, or sometimes not saying anything at all. I would place my ear against her neck, and it was as if I was listening to a giant shell, for all the sounds around me—the sea, the wind, the birds screeching – would seem as if they came from inside her, the way the sounds of the sea are in a seashell. (id.: 42-43)

In the paragraph, Kincaid reproduces an archipelagic setting, which is imbued with a multitude of meanings conveyed by water that is a powerful metaphor of creolisation, symbolising fertility, growth, and purification (Ferly 2012: 7). The idealised mother figure is presented as an earth mother, an emblematic creature rather than a human of flesh and blood. Moreover, Kincaid refers to the same mystical quality of motherhood in *Lucy*, describing the protagonist’s mother Annie as someone from “an ancient book”, so unlike other mothers that were ordinary people (1990: 150). The transfer of dyadic wisdom is accomplished in the gesture of Annie pressing her ear against her mother’s neck – like a seashell with the sound of gushing waves – thus unveiling a form of transcendental knowledge that the mother and the daughter share. Their connectedness echoes the works of the metaphoric umbilical cord that channels language which cannot be put into words in a conventional sense. The language of the mother country has been disrupted by patois, the language of the motherland, but neither of these signifying systems has succeeded in devouring Annie. It is the un-discursive silence, the state of “not yet understanding” that speaks volumes inside the imaginary union with the mother. Paradoxically, as Mary Jacobus (1986: 147) asserts, maternity itself becomes a site of division, “the process of separation which gives rise both to the subject and to the language”. Therefore, the paragraph under scrutiny describes the exact moment in the novel that maps the origin of the self and language. Following this revelation, Kincaid shifts the focus from matrifocal to colonial to deliver the full extent of the liminality that constructs Caribbean identities. She continues:

One day, in the midst of watching my mother swim and dive, I heard a commotion far out at sea. It was three ships going by, and they were filled with people. They must have been celebrating something, for the ships would blow their horns and the people would cheer in response. After they passed out of view, I turned back to look at my mother, but I could not see her. My eyes searched the small area of water where she should have been, but I couldn’t find her. I stood up and started to call out her name, but no sound would come out of my throat. A huge black space then

opened up in front of me and I fell inside it. I couldn't see what was in front of me and I couldn't hear anything around me. I couldn't think of anything except that my mother was no longer near me. (Kincaid 1985: 44)

The moment of rupture described here impairs Annie completely. She falls into nothingness and is robbed of all her senses. Until that point, the young protagonist has known just a world where existence without her mother is unthinkable. Annie now experiences a debilitating pre-Oedipal drama that results in the physical separation from her mother and a poetically articulated loss of mythical innocence that can even be read in the given context as a departure from the pre-colonial paradise. The mother-daughter bond that is symbolically expressed as a celebratory unity of wild creatures in the yet untouched waters of Antigua is traumatically broken by the arrival of three ships, echoing Columbus' "discovery" of islands that he would name Antigua and Barbuda in 1493. There are abundant references to the Columbian era, in general, in Kincaid's Bildungsroman, suggesting the constant alertness to the factors that led the region to colonialism. *Lucy*, for example, contains a critique of Columbus' practice of naming the islands he passes by in the Caribbean waters, when Lucy ridicules the man and his preoccupation with a task that "would have killed a thoughtful person but he went on to live a very long life" (Kincaid 1990: 135). *Annie John*, additionally, concentrates on the celebration of the depiction of Columbus in chains, a jovial recognition of a "great man [that] cannot get up and go" (Kincaid 1985: 78). Therefore, following the entry of the intruder in the shape of Columbus, the colonial subject-to-be is introduced to a symbolic world that later gives rise to the colonist's language, the Anglican Church, and the praise of the "civilising mission". As the mother is the measure of the emerging subjectivity in the world of language, it becomes clear that "[m]others may have ensured their daughters' physical survival, but at the high cost of their emotional destruction" during the striving for personhood in the negotiations with the dually positioned mother figure (Hill Collins 2000: 183).

3. Route to ultimate amalgamation

What consequently follows is the initiation of both the mother and the daughter in a heteronormative order with proliferating colonial markings. This leads to the protagonist's scrutiny of feminist and particularly womanist ideas, to consider Alice Walker's (1983) conceptualisation of the direction of thought that adds to the celebration of women a cultural and spiritual dimension shared by peoples of African descent. The clash between Western feminism and Walker's womanism, a term proposed as a more all-encompassing alternative to second wave feminist approach, exemplifies the inbound conflict between organic authority and conquering gesture that has shown a tendency to "blanket" with false identity, language, and culture in commonwealth education (Lang-Peralta 2006: 36). While the wisdom transmitted through other mothering practice relies on African-derived matrifocality, which leads to power being experienced as internal, the type of epistemology springing from colonial sources perceives power as external. Obeah, as an expression of creolised counter-hegemonic belief, serves as an alternative epistemology that undermines the Commonwealth qualities of Antigua and the economic realities that are conditioned by the governing "matrix of domination" (Hill Collins 2000: 23). It adds another "worldsense", a holistic and pluralistic consciousness inspired by labyrinthine folk groundings, such as spoken

word, proverbial sayings, tales, songs, poems, and oral histories, that initiate an alternative intellectual trajectory, also known as “third sight”, which links its holders across time and space (Oyewumi 1997: 3; John 2003: 205).

The protagonist is thus subject to multiple manifestations of history, first History with a capital letter, the legitimised colonial narrative that is considered a norm, secondly, from the point of intersectionality and negotiations between feminism and womanism, the protagonistis faced with a masculinist discourse operated through his-story, and ultimately her being is informed by the Caribbean lived experience that moves in a cyclical manner in contrast to the linearity of the European discourse. As Kincaid’s texts show, the implications of race and gender that are compounded by questions of power and economy add to Annie’s and Lucy’s experience. Kincaid elaborates on the conflicting epistemologies in *Lucy* in the following paragraph:

She spoke of women in society, women in history, women in culture, women everywhere. But I couldn’t speak, so I couldn’t tell her that my mother was my mother and that society and history and culture and other women in general were something else altogether.

[...]

“Woman? Very simple, say the fanciers of simple formulas: she is a womb, an ovary, she is female – this word is sufficient to define her.” I had to stop. Mariah had completely misinterpreted my situation. My life could not really be explained by this thick book that made my hands hurt as I tried to keep it open. My life was at once something more simple and more complicated than that: for ten of my twenty years, half of my life, I had been mourning the end of a love affair, perhaps the only true love in my life I would ever know. (1990: 131-132)

The writer continues to highlight the issues of mother mystery that stands outside the traditionally accepted symbolic discourse of grand narratives of history, society, and accepted knowledge. The misconception about integrating Western feminism into a more comprehensive – after all Walker (1983: 12) says that “womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender” – womanist approach that shapes Lucy’s vision of the world results in the protagonist’s acceptance of liminal epistemology, where paradoxically “more simple, more complicated” currents defy a unidimensional understanding of the condition of a woman (Kincaid 1990: 132). Lucy’s comprehension of the loaded meanings that the thick book, Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*, holds inside depends on her adaptation to what Glissant (1997) refers to as Relation, in which, in the present case, she can read the situation in a language that is neither English nor French patois, as Kincaid remarks, but female.

Furthermore, Kincaid makes references to similar loss in translation when tackling the issue of commonwealth education in the Caribbean. She expands on the image of the daffodil:

She said, “Have you ever seen daffodils pushing their way up out of the ground? And when they’re in bloom and all massed together, a breeze comes along and makes them to do curtsy to the lawn stretching out in front of them. Have you even seen that? When I see that, I feel so glad to be alive.”

[...]

I remembered an old poem I had been made to memorize when I was ten years old a pupil at Queen Victoria Girls’ School. I had been made to memorize it, verse after verse, and then had recited the whole poem to an auditorium full of parents,

teachers, and my fellow pupils. After I was done, everybody stood up and applauded with an enthusiasm that surprised me, and later they told me how nicely I had pronounced every word, how I had placed just the right amount of special emphasis in places where that was needed, and how proud the poet, now long dead, would have been to hear his words ringing out of my mouth. I was then at the height of my two-facedness: that is, outside I seemed one way, inside I was another; outside false, inside true. And so I made pleasant little noises that showed both modesty and appreciation, but inside I was making a vow to erase from my mind, line by line, every word of that poem. The night after I had recited the poem, I dreamt, continuously it seemed, that I was being chased down a narrow cobbled street by bunches and bunches of those same daffodils that I had vowed to forget, and when finally I fell down from exhaustion they all piled on top of me, until I was buried deep underneath then and was never seen again. (Kincaid 1990: 17-18)

The writer then comes back to the issue to conclude:

“Mariah, do you realise that at ten years of age I had to learn by heart a long poem about some flowers I would not see in real life until I was nineteen?”
As soon as I said this, I felt sorry that I had cast her beloved daffodils in a scene she had never considered, a scene of conquered and conquests; a scene of brutes masquerading as angels and angels portrayed as brutes. (id.: 30)

In these paragraphs, Kincaid expertly immerses the reader in imperial references, referring to the strangeness of signifiers that characterise even the surrounding space. She mentions loaded terms like “curtsy”, “lawn”, and “cobbled”, which carry meanings related to seasons, vegetation, practices, and atmosphere, so foreign to the setting in question. Hence, Wordsworth’s beloved classic fails to generate an exhilarating response from Lucy. In fact, the protagonist is offended by Mariah’s pettiness to be made alive by a simple flower pushing itself to the ground. The latter, on the other hand, is blissfully unaware of the background of the image that Lucy has grown to detest so much. Additionally, the current paragraph addresses the educational expectations that Kincaid often criticises in her *Bildungsroman*. The reader learns about the admiration of “lady-like” behaviour and “young lady business”, to use vocabulary from *Annie John*, that compromises girls’ individuality in the Anglican schools operating in the Caribbean isles. Imitation and mimicking at the high cost of girls’ fragile, still developing self-image are valued and rewarded with praise. However, it becomes clear that such conflict is the prerequisite for comprehending and working through hybrid exchanges between “Euro-science” and “high science” in later life, as *Lucy* proves (Page 2011: 74). The task to merge the maternal and the tutelary helps to validate knowledge claims considering the following: “[r]eason was not to be separated from emotion and intuition; reason was to be synthesized with emotion and intuition” (T’Shaka 1995: 96). It leads to the pivotal argument of the present critical enquiry: the lived experience of the heroines of the Caribbean novels of transformation equips them with the sensibility to successfully negotiate at the crossroads and embrace their liminal subjectivity.

4. Conclusion

Jamaica Kincaid’s testimonial-like representation of Antigua provides a fascinating example of borderland sensibility and archipelagic consciousness that forms in the course of her heroines’ coming-of-age journey. The Caribbean protagonist is born from the location that hosts scattered dialogic exchanges. It is a

personhood determined by historical implications that have been interwoven and ruptured in the ever-productive collision of the Western and the non-Western. Hence, Kincaid's literary imagery of spaces on the both sides of the Atlantic is imbued with entangled and bundled poetic, aesthetic, philosophical and spiritual currents informed by history and the multiple facets of creolisation. Given such conditions, it becomes clear that her heroines construct their standpoint at the intersection of knowledge claims. They respond to the external forces that seek to determine their maturing subjectivity with validation and subsequent acceptance or rejection. Ultimately, the protagonists in *Annie John* and *Lucy* are endowed with a holistic form of consciousness that illuminates the dynamics of human experience in connected worlds, at once African, European, Carib Indian, altogether Caribbean, an amalgamation.

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MEDITERRANEAN GOTHIC: M. G. SANCHEZ'S GIBRALTAR FICTION IN ITS CONTEXTS

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Abstract: Until the present millennium, very little creative literary writing in either English or Spanish had been published in the British colonial enclave of Gibraltar. In the course of the past decade, however, an expatriate Gibraltarian, M. G. [Mark Gerard] Sanchez, has produced a growing body of fiction and non-fiction aimed at constructing the foundations of a new literary tradition. The present article explores the connections between two significant aspects of his fiction: a located identity and the post/colonial gothic.

Keywords: gothic, hybrid, late-colonial, mashup, unbelonging

1. Introduction

The resilience of Gibraltar as a self-ruling economic and political entity has been demonstrated on a number of occasions in recent times, when referenda in 1967 and 2002 (and, more controversially, in 2006, on the new Constitution Order) demonstrated the reluctance of its multi-ethnic population of some 30,000 to dilute its political and economic difference from Spain. Despite their self-evident interdependence, Gibraltarians and their immediate neighbours in the considerably larger Spanish communities of La Línea de la Concepción, across the land-frontier to the north, and Algeciras, to the west, a few kilometres across the Bahía de Algeciras/Bay of Gibraltar, remain separated by a common history that extends well beyond the formal acquisition of the colony by Britain as a result of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. An even older significant aspect of that shared difference (as I have remarked elsewhere; see Stotesbury 2014) has been the proliferation of sieges of the Rock, including an iconic series of some fourteen blockades that commenced in the early 14th century and culminated in the Great Siege of the British military colony from June 1779 to February 1783. The prominence and geopolitical location of Gibraltar and its Rock have evidently endowed it with a susceptibility to besiegement, and it can well be argued that the full and partial economic blockades that have continued into recent times¹ have paid more than lip-service to that communal experience of hardship and suffering.

Given its three centuries of exposure to British influence of all kinds, it would appear to be inevitable that literary expression of local cultural identity would have emerged, especially in the now 70 years of the post-Second World War period, with the return of most of Gibraltar's wartime civilian evacuees and the entrenchment of an education system founded on the metropolitan English model (its two main secondary schools are based on the UK comprehensive model of the 1970s) and on the English language² as the principal medium of instruction. This has not, however, been the case. Writing in 2010, albeit with somewhat dated

¹In 1969, the Franco régime in Spain imposed a total blockade of Gibraltar that was not lifted in its entirety until 1985, ten years after Franco's death.

²For a detailed historical and contemporary linguistic account of the language situation in Gibraltar, see, e.g., David Levey (2008). Greater attention is nowadays also placed educationally on Castilian Spanish, although the largely oral Llanito dialect (consisting of frequent code-switching between

references, the Spanish scholar César Domínguez (2010: 114) refers to the opinion of the poet Trino Cruz Seruya that “Gibraltarian literature is a literature *nonata* (not yet born)”. Crucially, he concurs with Seruya’s suggestion when he states that the relative absence of a local Gibraltarian literary culture has been the result of its having become “lost within itself or moving in circles”. (ibid)

That Seruya’s reading – which I would regard as largely accurate – dates back to as recent a date as 2004 underlines the apparent significance of more recent literary activity in the colony, where since 2005 a growing number of fiction titles by native Gibraltarians have been published – not only by Sanchez, but also Sam Benady and Mary Chiappe (who, in addition to individual titles, collaborated in 2010-2015 on their seven-volume “Bresciano” crime series set around 1800), and Francisco Javier Oliva (with his short story collection titled *The Night Gibraltar Disappeared and Other Stories*, 2008). Even now, it would be difficult to argue that a “national” Gibraltarian literature has been established: it is simply too sparse. Nevertheless, a tiny handful of writers has started – as one of them, Mark Sanchez, has asserted in interview with the Italian scholar Esterino Adami – to respond to the challenge that Gibraltarians “need to have our own representative voice – and not just let ourselves be represented by outsiders” (Adami 2014). Elsewhere, Sanchez (2015a) has suggested that his writing is primarily concerned with “giving Gibraltarians a linguistic and cultural space for themselves. [...] [I]f we don’t start writing about ourselves, we run the risk of being presented to the world solely through the prism of others’ perceptions”. It is this literary-cultural ideal that I plan to explore in this overview of Sanchez’s own writing.

2. Writing the Rock: Sanchez’s exploration of a colonial past

Since 2006, Sanchez’s writing, most of it self-published, has become both substantial and varied, consisting of two volumes of short fiction, several novels, an anthology of allusions to Gibraltar made by literary “outsiders”, and an array of cultural and historical essays; in brief, Sanchez’s endeavour is self-evidently to supply a solid foundation for both his own and other Gibraltarians’ literary work, an assertion of place, language, history: rootedness. Sanchez is, then, an undoubtedly ambitious writer. His vision and style can be readily defined as “literary” rather than “popular,” “commercial,” or “mass-market.” His writing could even be said to strive for literary “effect”; for example, his first (self-)published fiction, *Rock Black 0-10* (2006), consists of eleven more or less interconnected fictional vignettes of various length, largely realist in style, set within the Gibraltarian community as it was in his own youth in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Subtitled *A Gibraltar Fiction*, and described in the cover blurb as a “debut novel”, the volume is presented as an experimentally composite “fiction” that attempts to construct a view of the community, whose constraints, by the time of its writing, Sanchez himself had left behind, having lived for some time in India and settling in the East of England.

By 2008, however, Sanchez had shifted to a more constrained approach to the craft of fiction, and re-published the volume under the title and format of *Rock Black: Ten Gibraltarian Stories*. In either of the two versions, which differ from each other in relatively minor ways, the stories depict the British colony in transition, its military and naval importance in fast decline, and its younger native

Andalusian Spanish, English, and other constituent Mediterranean languages) is widely used domestically and in informal street communications.

inhabitants in particular suffering from the “boredom” of not knowing, or comprehending, their own identity. The story “Timeshare”, for example, presents the dialogue of two young local men as they attempt to make sense of their violent exclusion from a members-only night-club – the symbolism of their outsider status is obvious, but their dialogue functions effectively as a vehicle to convey their teenage Gibraltarian status:

“Do you know,” Taffy rasped out as soon as we sat down, “three weeks ago we’d have been arrested just for being here” [Taffy and his friend Peter Rodriguez have climbed at night into the Trafalgar Cemetery].

“No, I didn’t know – why’s that?”

“We were in ‘Rock Red’ back then because of all those Royal Navy ships,” he replied, taking a sip of brandy. “The highest security state laid out by Gibraltar Fortress HQ. When that happens, there’s all sorts of intelligence guys checking out places like this. You know, just in case of a terrorist bomb. [...]”

I raised an eyebrow in amusement – not only because some of the worst acts of drunken hooliganism I had ever seen had been perpetrated by Royal Navy sailors during this “Rock Red” period, but also because of the secretive, almost *film noir* tone Taffy had used to relate his anecdote. To stop myself laughing out loud, I quickly asked him how many different security states there were.

“Three, of course,” he answered with an extremely deadpan expression. “*Rock Red* – which means maximum alert, *Rock Yellow* – which means a state of increased vigilance, and *Rock Black* – which means the same old shit as always.”

“And in which one are we now?”

“Now?” he paused for a second with the flask against his lips. “*Rock Black*, I’d imagine.” (“Timeshare”, 50-51)

Taffy and the narrator, Peter Rodriguez, sense that they are not Spanish, nor do they accept post-Franco Spanishness, but at the same time they are unaccepted by the English as “English” or “British,” and display no clear comprehension of their amorphous (“post-colonial”?) Gibraltarian-ness. The outcomes, in Sanchez’s literary vision, are varied.

Also in 2008, Sanchez published a new collection, *Diary of a Victorian Colonial, and Other Tales*, whose title story, a novella in form and focus, chronicles the suffering of Charles Bestman, a colonial Gibraltarian whose existence is seemingly shaped entirely by the inequities of his parents’ diverse origins in the early 19th century:

My father was a case in point. The son of a low-born Tetouanese Jew who made his way over to Gibraltar after the infamous pogrom of 1822, Jamiel Chaviv had spent had spent all his youthful energies trying to get rich, and then, having reached this last objective, trying to dissociate himself from his humble origins. (21)

To improve his proto-Gibraltarian fortunes, Jamiel firstly “changed his name from Jamiel Chaviv Benyunes to John Charles Bestman. Then about a year later, he disowned the faith of his fathers and converted to the Anglican Church” (22) – to which the dying narrator, his son Charles Bestman, adds the ironizing coda: “(Catholicism, for all its attractions, was simply too Spanish an option)” (22). Thirdly – perhaps with intentional literary irony, given the name and national background that Charles’s mother shares with Molly Bloom – his father succeeds in marrying into the Empire:

his eye fell upon Molly O’Callaghan, the daughter of a hard-up Irish ex-police sergeant who had been discharged from his duties for embezzling colonial government funds. Molly may not have been a true daughter of Albion and her religion may have been only of the papistical variety, but [...] she looked, for all intents and purposes, Anglo-Saxon; she had an English-sounding name; [...] and more important than any of all that, she spoke that brand of rough, cockneyfied English so beloved by obsessively anglophilic colonials like my father. (23)

Significant, too, apart from the inexorable progress of the narrator to his own death from starvation, disease, and rejection by both England also his native Gibraltar community, is a two-page “Editor’s note”, appended as an epilogue to the novella by a (fictional) 21st century researcher at the University of Strathclyde, who, with commendable scholarly caution, in turn cites a fictionalised publisher to suggest: “Isn’t it about time that we Gibraltarians, who celebrate a version of Gibraltar history in which our ancestors seldom appear, should start to acknowledge and read about our own past instead?” (124).

To summarize at this point: Sanchez’s literary writing represents a complex attempt to tell the Gibraltar story from an authentically Gibraltarian perspective. His dissatisfaction with his earliest attempt at writing a novel is interesting as it appears to be symptomatic of a parallel preoccupation with the (re-)construction of a colonial past that happens – in the case of Gibraltar – to extend to the present moment. Evidently, this has led Sanchez to experiment with narrative forms capable of conveying his sense of the conflicted colonial subject, located within a setting that has undergone repeated transformations. Typically, Sanchez’s second and third novels, *The Escape Artist* (2013) and *Solitude House* (2015), narrativize an environment populated by intensely isolated individuals characterized by their ability to form manipulative relationships, undertake amoral decision-making, indulge their sexual appetites, and suffer the apparent consequences of social failure, all set within the diminutive geopolitical context of the “British Overseas Territory” of Gibraltar in the present and recent past. (At the moment of writing this, it remains to be seen whether a fourth novel, *Jonathan Gallardo* (forthcoming) will continue in similar vein.)

3. *Solitude House*

As a reader of *Solitude House* prior to its publication in early 2015, I was struck by its potential relationship with the familiar trope in colonial and postcolonial writing of the house and home. Naipaul’s *A House for Mr Biswas* (1969) was an immediate point of reference, succeeded by many others. In a relatively modest article concerned with V. S. Naipaul’s deployment of the trope in several of his novels, Robert Balfour (2010: 18) suggests that “[i]n literary forms the house is most often a function of home [or vice-versa, rather?], and it is for this reason that houses abandoned, ruined, or destroyed have come to stand in the literature as markers of the absence of civilisation, or its decay”. More persuasively, Julie Hakim Azzam, in her 2007 doctoral dissertation, points out that

[p]ostcolonial gothic is interested in home as a concept (notions of kinship, belonging, and the idea of home) and dwelling (houses, other habitations, and localities) but doubles the signification of home to function as both a cipher for the private sphere and an allegory for a nation as “home country” [...] or territory [...]. In the postcolonial gothic, homes and dwellings are the geographic sites in which larger political, historical, and national allegories are cast. [...] In the postcolonial

gothic, homes, territories, and nations are represented as *heimlich* sites that screen the unhomey, foreign, and threatening nature from sight. (4)

Further, Azzam suggests that gothic fiction “engages with ‘old’ modes of narrative (the romance), displaces its distinctly historical concerns in a geographic in a geographic locality elsewhere, dwells in the historical past, and identifies the presence of the past in the present” (7). As Tabish Khair (2009: 22) also suggests, “literary criticism has been rather blind to the presence of these ghosts from the empire in Gothic fiction” – it could, indeed, be argued, as I will attempt here, that Sanchez’s *Solitude House* represents a concerted effort to deploy this familiar range of conventions present in colonial and postcolonial gothic fiction, but at the same time the novel seeks to interrogate and subvert their very nature.

Thus, *Solitude House* may be more than a simple adherent to a literary convention of some two centuries’ standing. As Esterino Adami has emphasised in an initial draft of his online review of the novel, the story opens with the “autodiegetic narrator”, John Seracino, a Maltese general practitioner working for the Gibraltar health service, who describes his presentation with a pen as a retirement gift. Seracino’s reaction to the presentation pen, which is tellingly “engraved in cursive *gothic* script along the barrel” (p. 1, my italics), is initially one of contempt. Towards the end of this increasingly gothic narrative, however, Seracino, in acute fear of losing his life at the hands of long-dead, zombified patients, whose treatment over the years he has apparently skimped and neglected, takes up the self-same pen to produce a chronicle of the life that he has led prior to this dire moment. When he does so, his narratorial role assumes a metafictional dimension: where will he, this doomed gothic protagonist, start his life-narrative? The alternatives are innumerable, but his choice is decisive: “there was [he tells his putative readers – us?] something rather clever about starting a story by describing the pen that will *go on to write the actual thing*, wasn’t there? Something apt and really fitting. Postmodern, almost. (Or whatever word one uses when one is trying to be clever about something)” (270, original italics).

This tale told by Sanchez/Seracino aspires to be read as more than the postcolonial allegory that it might at times appear to be. Rather, it consists not only of formal metafictional devices, but also of bawdy comedy, resembling a latter-day comical pastiche of sexual farce movies, such as *Carry on Doctor* (1967) or *Doctor in the House* (1954). Seracino’s comedy is, however, a precisely located post-colonial one, in which the womanising non-Gibraltarian doctor – in traditional literary terms, very much a “lothario” – exploits a perceived contrast between the women of the colony and those inhabiting the cross-border city of La Línea de la Concepción:

La Línea’s women were much freer and more sexually liberated than their notoriously abstemious and prudish Gibraltarian sisters. To the untrained foreign eye, yes, they both shared a range of quintessentially Latin feminine attributes. Coquettish demeanour, a love of fashion and make-up, a slightly standoffish way of holding themselves in public. But there is, I believe, a fundamental difference between them: the *linense* woman dolls herself up to please her admirers first and to flatter her own vanity second; with the Gibraltarian dames, I’m afraid, it is usually the other way around. (35)

The first half of the novel consists not only of Seracino’s description of his misogynistic sexual pursuits, but also of his search on both sides of the frontier for

a house – a home (echoing the postcolonial fictional motif) – in which he might pursue his solitary womanising in peace. It is this aspect of the novel that permits the reader to engage in a shifting, amoral “discussion” with the protagonist concerning the contemporary cross-border dualities of Gibraltar/La Línea and late-imperial Britain/post-Franco Spain. The impact of Seracino’s perspective on the reader is seductive, persuasive, “postmodern”. Depending on the success or failure of his sexual exploits, he shifts from dissatisfaction with Gibraltar (despite its Britishness, which he admires) to the brash declaration that he “overcame many of my initial apprehensions about Castilian culture and slowly grew to love Spain” (44) – but reverting later to the assertion that “[t]he more Gibraltarian women I went through, the more anti-Spanish my outlook became” (87).

A major motivation for Seracino’s original migration from Malta to Gibraltar has been his perception that, in the wake of its independence in 1964, Malta had started on a process that he abhorred: a visible process of decolonisation. Gibraltar, in contrast, bore – and still bears – numerous remnants of its colonial Britishness that enable Seracino to construct a fossilized image of the UK – “Old-style pubs. Fish and chip shops. Bobbies in black helmets. Red pillar boxes. Good old-fashioned sterling. A natural respect for traffic lights and queues and zebra crossings” (21). In turn, this quasi-colonialist mind-set enables him to search for a solitude that will permit him to isolate himself from the evolving dual community of Gibraltar/La Línea that he has stalked/haunted throughout his working life. Thus, when, after retirement, he eventually acquires Solitude House, a colonial bungalow constructed in the early years of the 20th century on an almost inaccessible, precipitous site, alongside its ruined “twin” structure, an abandoned religious building in the grounds that functions as a shrine memorialising a long-forgotten Roman Catholic community, Seracino assumes the role of a ghost inhabiting a lost Empire, abandoning his womanising and shunning the living, transforming community of Gibraltar.

At this stage of the narrative, we are persuaded – as logical and presumably sane readers of Seracino’s narrative – to regard his solitude with concern. Seracino, as narrator, involves us intimately in his increasingly desperate quest for a diagnosis of his dilemma. Is his physical and psychological solitude, in which he begins to perceive his besiegement by a growing number of “angry zombies” (257), a “by-product of de decolonisation” (179)? Perhaps he is merely suffering from the symptoms of sexual deprivation: “You can’t expect a man to go without sex for almost three months without some kind of craziness occurring, can you?” (181). Or “[i]f the faces had no otherworldly aetiology, then clearly I was losing my marbles[...]. Maybe, come to think of it, maybe I was suffering from the first stages of dementia”: in sum, a constructed “diagnosis of exclusion” that he permits himself to make as a medical practitioner (184). Alternatively, in contemplating the shrine that stands a short distance from his renovated house, he considers two possibilities: “either the ruin was haunted or I was going stark raving mad” (186); or perhaps his “madness” is a “psychosis” stimulated by alcohol abuse, with his recurrent vision of zombie-like faces in the windows of the shrine produced by “no more than some kind of exteriorisation of the feelings of persecution which I, as an adopted Gibraltarian, carried inside?” (200). In his despair, Seracino, although a lapsed believer, even persuades the Roman Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar – an amusingly rational sceptic, who doubts both the reality of any haunting and also the efficacy of exorcism – to perform a perfunctory ritualistic purging of the site, although at this moment Seracino himself senses that “[s]imply put, there was

nothing there. The place was empty and bare." (243-244, original italics). All to no avail: after the Bishop's departure for the sanity of the city and its community, the zombies reappear in increased numbers and commence their slow, shuffling march on Seracino's home. Facing probable death, he resolves, in the remaining hours of the night, to "write your story and hide the pages somewhere, [...] so that one day your tragic tale will be known to the world" (269).

The narrative has turned full circle: the metafictional struggles confessed by the narrator, concerning his "postmodern" quest to escape modernity, still require an appropriate conclusion – or none at all. Thus, with the doctor encircled by the recognizable faces and figures of his dead patients, the reader – on Seracino's behalf – is confronted by the unpredictability of the final request uttered by one of them in Llanito, the domestic dialect of authentic Gibraltarians: "Can you gih'me something for my *hemorroides*, doctor, plis, *que* they're all swollen y *picanque no vea?*" (original italics).³

4. Conclusion: contexts and subtexts

The ostensible banality of the concluding lines of *Solitude House* is somewhat bewildering. The tension of the zombie gothic in the preceding narrative has all tended towards a standard, if incomplete, conclusion where the fate of the narrating protagonist would be determined primarily by the reader's familiarity with the run of the standard tale of horror. Here, however, Seracino, is unexpectedly permitted to revert to his original character role, that of medical practitioner – albeit in relation to a character identifiable within the scope of a cinematic or literary fantasy tale. The impact is indeterminate.

At the same time, *Solitude House* resembles in certain respects the short-lived popular subgenre of "mashup" classic British and American novels that appeared a few years ago, such as Seth Graham-Smith's *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* (2009) and W. Bill Czolgosz's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn and Zombie Jim* (2009), where comical effect is achieved by the juxtaposition and interweaving of the classic text with identifiable features of a typical zombie narrative. A significant aspect of the mashup novel is its reliance on the disjunctive linking of discrete narrative types that we "normally" relate to their own chronological periods: in a sense, the classic realist novel of the 19th century and the zombie horror movie of the first half of the 20th century have time-travelled into the 21st century, where their collision in the hybrid mashup both horrifies and entertains its readers.

In the case of Sanchez's narrative, however, the subversive collision is that of the familiar zombie tale not with an equally familiar classic novel, but with the familiar modern tale of post-colonial deracination and homelessness. In the course of the novel, the *heimlich* realism of the post-colonial protagonist is subverted by a culturally familiar – and hence "credible" – focus on the *unheimlich* collision of a traditionally realist protagonist (Seracino) and the high fantasy of the zombie modern gothic. Not content with this, however, Sanchez then stages the auto-destruction of his subversive hybrid model by restoring a parody of the original relationship between doctor and patient. The narrative impact is devastatingly

³"Can you please give me something for my haemorrhoids, doctor, please, 'cos they're all swollen and itchy as hell." I must boast that I had a minor influence on this final utterance in the novel, since Sanchez's original intention was to have a slightly different version expressed entirely in Llanito.

banal; the author's message appears to demand that the reader trust nothing of the preceding narrative of the novel in its entirety. The thing, we as readers must assume, is a fantasy, a literary construct, and one that requires reassessment from start to finish. The thing has all the illogical absurdity of a nightmare!

As I have already indicated, a constant trope in Sanchez's writing is that of exclusion. On a simple, diurnal level, in the story "Timeshare", Taffy and Peter Rodriguez have been excluded by their youthfulness from a members-only nightclub that they have been confident of entering as a result of their local, Gibraltarian identity. But they fail to gain admittance and resort instead to intruding into an icon of the imperial past of the colony, the Trafalgar Cemetery, where they speculate on the unpredictable security of their home territory.

Far more devastatingly, in *Diary of a Victorian Colonial*, Charles Bestman suffers from the existential exclusion occasioned by his concealed Jewishness and his unconcealable colonial identity, and he does so within the very confines of the territory within which he has been born and raised: colonial Gibraltar. His account of the final period of his terminal physical and psychological suffering is relentlessly brutal, and utterly credible.

It remains, then, to suggest that, in most respects, *Solitude House* matches this exploration of the power of exclusion within a colonial/postcolonial context. John Seracino's post-Maltese, post-colonial life has been barren, containing an extensive series of seductions and copulations that have borne no fruit, other than the idiosyncratic desire for solitude, or self-exclusion. His home, a domestic "island", like Robinson Crusoe's, becomes a constructed territory of fear that paradoxically acquires a population of its own – in Crusoe's case, the Western fantasy of the cannibal; in Seracino's case, the relentless march of the "undead", the zombies.

Indeed, it may be thought that Sanchez's authorial intention has been to subvert the very notion of the narrative of Gibraltar as a Mediterranean late-colony on the cusp of post-coloniality: the colonial past will, perhaps, always remain to haunt the brave new world of a free territory, where exclusion – from the Iberian hinterland, the Mediterranean, (post-)modernity – will no longer constitute the primary dilemma of the Gibraltarian. One might, indeed, suggest that Sanchez's writing is motivated and permeated by a sense of exclusion – *unbelonging* – as a Gibraltarian that is overwhelmingly colonial in its historically and culturally constructed narrative origins. The Gibraltarian present is haunted by the constructed gothicness of its colonial past, a tale (to borrow from *Macbeth*) that can perhaps be told best by a man in a state of idiocy (as Seracino becomes), full of sound and fury, but ultimately signifying "nothing".

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EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR ACHIEVING FREEDOM: THE CASES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND TOPSY

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***Abstract:** It almost goes without saying that slaves were supposed to be as uneducated as possible, yet few rules are without exceptions. In my paper I shall look at two cases. The first (Douglass) will focus on how education was sought with a clear purpose in mind: freedom. The second (Topsy) will offer a new perspective: education was offered without ever being wished.*

***Keywords:** education, emotions, freedom, literacy, love, slavery*

1. Introduction

Even with all the obstacles that existed to prevent slaves from having even a basic education, it was not possible to prevent all slaves from learning how to read and write. By achieving even a rudimentary form of literacy, some slaves managed to cross an essential abstract boundary: grasping the right of self-ownership and refusing internally to continue being someone else's property. This paper is not trying to postulate that knowing how to read and write is a mandatory condition for someone to be able to affirm his human nature and refuse to be treated as an object. However, such knowledge could offer a different kind of voice to those living in a time when slaves were supposed to be silent in most circumstances and illiterate in all. It could offer escaped slaves the chance to tell their story, in their own words, in printed format. Some managed to reach this level and make a name for themselves. The most prominent of them was Frederick Douglass, whose case will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

The concept of education is a very broad one and we must not have the false impression that the only type of education that mattered was the literary one. Around the middle of the 19th c., sentimental fiction was highly influential in the United States. Thus, a book that also included the topic of sentimental education could certainly appeal strongly to the feelings of the nation. If, moreover, such a text would bring forth anti-slavery arguments, then the abolitionist cause could certainly benefit from this. A novel that without a doubt accomplished this task was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Among the many sub-plots present in the novel, one could also find the story of Topsy, which brings forth the idea that love can cause a dramatic shift in the fate of a slave and even open an abused child's mind and heart toward education. Due to the importance of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the period when it was published, another segment of this paper will focus on Topsy's story and the role of sentimental education.

Together, the two following parts of this research will elaborate on how important education, in more than one form, can be in a slave's path toward emancipation. Direct influence was only one of the possibilities available. This paper will also implicitly bring forth the idea that the conflict between abolitionism and slavery was not waged only with political or economic arguments, but literary ones as well. Novels, autobiographies and short-stories were used to contradict the justifications of one side and defend the arguments of the other.

2. Literary education as catalyst toward freedom (Frederick Douglass)

In a few years after escaping slavery, Douglass managed to attain a certain amount of fame as a speaker for the abolitionist cause. As during his talks he was often asked to describe the evils of the institution of slavery, Douglass had to irrefutably prove that he had been a former slave. Many wondered if he had really lived on a plantation because Douglass' speeches were very eloquent, far beyond what many imagined a former slave could be capable of. Thus Douglass had to clarify how he had managed to obtain an education and he decided to give the details in writing (McDowell and Rampersad 1989: 7). As a consequence of these reasons, and probably of others as well, his first autobiography was written.

Douglass' level of eloquence influenced the manner in which he wrote. This, together with his ambition and desire to be free, shaped the form of his *Narrative*. In Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s words (qtd. in McDowell 2009: xxxv), Douglass' first autobiography is "the clearest example of the will to power as the will to write". This "will to power" can be seen in the way Douglass presents himself as a character of heroic or even epic proportions. According to Deborah E. McDowell (2009: xiii), this was the reason behind the initial appeal of the text.

In addition to what was quoted before, I believe that the *Narrative* also served a dual purpose: to construct (the image of Douglass as a free man) and to deconstruct (the institution of slavery). Moreover, by having his story in a published form authored by himself, Douglass also opened himself to criticism. Some, like Houston Baker (1980: 80), claimed this was not the authentic voice of black American slavery, for that existed only in oral form. On the other hand, others like Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1987: x), claimed that all slave narratives were necessary and meant to serve a higher purpose.

Even though one of the motivations for writing his first autobiography was to show how he had learned how to read and write, the text begins by mentioning his lack of knowledge in more ways than one. Douglass mentions that his father was a white man, but that he does not know the identity of his parent. Moreover, he also states that he cannot mention the exact date of his birth, because this kind of information was usually not made available to slaves (Douglass 2009: 15). Thus "his story opens in the limbo of bondage, the anonymity of the slave" (Matlack 1979: 21). As the *Narrative* begins with Douglass as a child and ends with him as a young adult, the text can also be interpreted as a Bildungsroman. However, for Douglass, the growing up process implied two elements, not one. The first and most common of the two were his search for and achievement of maturity as we would understand it today. The second implied a different kind of maturity. As even adult slaves were considered similar to children and in need of a master's guidance and supervision, the maturity which Douglass wanted to affirm needed to be asserted in a twofold way (del Mar Gallego Duran 1994: 122-124).

Yet, in the case of Frederick Douglass, that maturity was reached despite the fact that slaves were supposed to be illiterate so as not to be inspired toward freedom. He will clearly explain how the slavery system feared what the ability to read and write might instill. However, from the moment Douglass starts doing that, the autobiography's style changes from simply describing slavery to telling a story of the effort needed for one's psychological release. From that moment on, the *Narrative* no longer details conditions of entrapment, but presents a personal quest oriented towards escape. It all began in this manner:

Very soon after I went to live with Mr. and Mrs. Auld, she very kindly commenced to teach me the ABC. After I had learned this, she assisted me in learning to spell words of three or four letters. Just at this point of my progress, Mr. Auld found what was going on, and at once forbade Mrs. Auld to instruct me further, telling her, among other things, that it was unlawful, as well as unsafe, to teach a slave to read. To use his own words, further, he said, "If you give a nigger an inch, he will take an ell. A nigger should know nothing but to obey his master – to do as he is told to do. Learning would spoil the best nigger in the world. Now," said he, "if you teach that nigger (speaking of myself) how to read, there would be no keeping him. It would forever unfit him to be a slave. He would at once become unmanageable, and of no value to his master. As to himself, it would do him not good, but a great deal of harm. It would make him discontented and unhappy". (Douglass 2009: 38-39)

Such words, spoken where Douglass could hear them, were not without consequence, for they left a deep mark. The slave-owner sounded very sure of himself and thus Douglass started to believe that there was truth behind them and that he should be in total opposition to his owner, because the latter was an antagonist in his quest for freedom. Thus, first and foremost, Douglass decided that he would learn how to read. Ironically, because of his gesture, the autobiography bestows the same merit upon Mr. Auld as upon Mrs. Auld in his decision to attain an education. The initial benevolence of the mistress had the same weight as the harshness of the master (Douglass 2009: 39-43). The process, however, was a very slow one.

The only way to learn how to read was without raising the awareness of his owner. Thus Douglass learned from poor white boys whenever he was sent on an errand. He always tried to finish whatever he was sent out to do as quickly as possible and also took bread and a book with him. Obviously, the book had to be hidden. In exchange for bread, poor white children helped him learn how to read one letter at a time. Learning how to write proved more difficult, but this obstacle was also surpassed afterwards, when he was left alone and Mrs. Auld forgot her child's copybook around the house (Douglass 2009: 43-47).

Yet achieving literacy was not a final goal. It was rather a means to an end, a resource that would prove its utility more than once. A clear example is the influence two texts had on Douglass' mind. The first text was a fictional dialogue between a master and his slave, after the latter tried to escape three times. The second text was one of Sheridan's speeches about Catholic emancipation, a process that reduced the majority of the restrictions that were imposed previously on Roman Catholics in Great Britain. Both texts left a strong mark, because they were not only about the nature and meaning of freedom, but also about ideals of equality and other key ideas of the American Revolution (McDowell 2009: xix). The ideals that Douglass read about, though, were rather overturned by history and in the real world there was a clear contradiction between ideal and fact. He points out this contradiction openly in the title of his first autobiography: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. The two words, 'American' and 'slave', were supposed to be opposites, as no American citizen was also a slave.

Mr. Auld's warning was true and Douglass began more and more to understand the condition he was in, after reading texts like those I mentioned previously. Another important moment in his life was bound to happen and Douglass was clear about what was to follow in the *Narrative*: "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man". In this sentence, Douglass introduces a new contradiction: that between 'man' and 'slave'

(McDowell 2009: xx). The key moment that allowed for the shift from 'slave' to 'man' to happen, according to Douglass' perspective, appears in Chapter 10 of the autobiography. A few details: Douglass was lent for a year to an overseer called Covey, who had the reputation of being a slave-breaker. This means that Covey was somewhat famous for breaking a slave's spirit. During that year, Covey wanted to whip Douglass, but Douglass decided to fight back. Covey was surprised to find himself challenged like this and also to realize that he could not win the battle. For Douglass, this meant that he wanted freedom even at the cost of his life, if it ever came to that, only it did not (Douglass 2009: 63-68). He took the decision to never let go of his inner freedom:

The battle with Mr. Covey was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again with a determination to be free. The gratification afforded by the triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even death itself. (Douglass 2009: 68)

After this event, Douglass remained a slave in name only for about four more years, as inside he felt free. The overseer Covey did not try to attack him again and also did not report the event, for fear of losing his reputation. Even if he hadn't stood up to Covey, Douglass would still be educated, but would not feel he had turned from 'slave' to 'man', as he called it. Moreover, without literacy, he would not have been able to read those texts and his understanding of his situation would have been different. He might not have fought back and ultimately he might not have decided to run away. Thus, I believe that even though education did not guarantee freedom, in the case of Frederick Douglass it served as a catalyst.

3. The need for sentimental education as a step forward (Topsy)

Topsy is introduced to the reader as a new slave bought by Augustine St. Clare for a specific purpose: to test the claim made by his cousin Miss Ophelia that the same form of education, like that given in the North, with the same methods, would bring about significant results among slaves as well and also in a way to "prove the shortsightedness of Ophelia's indictments against slavery" (Tang 2011: 445). She was unprepared to deal with a child who knew nothing of herself, the world around her or religion, for Topsy was not capable of answering even the most common of questions. Miss Ophelia was not surprised that Topsy did not know who her mother or father was, because that was not necessarily unusual for slaves. What shocked her, though, was that Topsy affirmed she had never been born. Even though at first Ophelia believed the child was joking, the truth became all too clear when Topsy said: "'Never was born', reiterated the creature, more emphatically; 'never had no father, nor mother, nor nothing. I was raised by a speculator with lots of others. Old Aunt Sue used to take care of us'" (Stowe 2002: 223-224).

By writing in this manner, Stowe created a character that had no personal narrative in the traditional sense. Topsy's lack of knowledge went beyond her own person. Ophelia began to think that the child had no notion of time and that she had no idea of the existence of God. Due to the fact that Ophelia grew up in the Northern states, where slavery was illegal, and was also educated in a religious manner, all she saw in Topsy was new to her. This feeling of novelty, though, went both ways. Before being bought by St. Clare, Topsy had had a harsh life, as her

previous owners had seen her as nothing more than a commodity. After being raised in such an extreme environment, when she was brought to the St. Clare estate, she appeared to be unable to fathom anything that was different from her previous life. The consequence was that Miss Ophelia's efforts had no effect. Seeing no improvement, Ophelia had no alternative but tell St. Clare that nothing could be done (O'Laughlin 2005: 580).

Miss Ophelia's hope was that she would be able to help Topsy improve and turn her life around. Her methods, though, proved to be insufficient for the task. The discussion with St. Clare, as could have been easily anticipated, becomes a debate about slavery in general and slave children in particular. However, to the reality existing around them they can envision no solution. Overcome by the lack of results, Ophelia asks what is to be done, but St. Clare turns the dilemma back to Ophelia. Faced directly with the problem, Ophelia has no answer. Unable to find a solution, she blames slavery, arguing that in the absence of such an institution there would be no children similar to Topsy. St. Clare agrees, but once again takes the discussion away from abstract ideas into the real world: "I know it, but they are made – they exist – and what is to be done with them?" (Stowe 2002: 229).

In the eyes of St. Clare, Northern educational methods are ineffective if applied to slave children. The anti-slavery educational theories of his Northern cousin have failed the practical test. It can be argued that Stowe was also trying to show this, but only up to a point. What the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* wanted to reveal was that the basic anti-slavery approach was incomplete. It was too cold, too impersonal, and, without truly caring for those children who were abused by the system, progress would continue to be out of reach.

Stowe's suggested solution to the dilemma is also present in the novel and will lead to a significant twist for the character Topsy. The change will not be caused by Miss Ophelia; she too will realize that she has much to learn when a new kind of teacher enters the picture: the daughter of Augustine St. Clare. The child Eva will achieve more, because she will use a different approach. Ophelia tries to maintain a gap between herself and slavery and she goes as far as to thank God that her knowledge of slavery is not vast. Eva, on the other hand, states that she must not only understand more of slavery, but also feel more (Grant 1998: 441). If Ophelia had had the same attitude, the attempt to educate Topsy might have turned out differently. Initially, though, the dialogue between Eva and Topsy begins pretty much in the same way as that between Ophelia and Topsy, with questions and answers. Eva states that Topsy refuses to be good, because she does not love anyone, and Topsy can only reply that she knows nothing of love and that she does not have anyone who loves her (Stowe 2002: 261-262). In the key moment of this dialogue, Stowe's opinion of the faults of the Northern educational method when it comes to slave children is made clear. Eva tells Topsy that she will be loved by Ophelia if she is good, but Topsy has just one reply, which Eva can only counter with "an abrupt change of register" (Carabine 2002: XI-XII):

'No; she can't bear me, cause I'm a nigger! – she's 's soon have a toad touch her! There can't nobody love niggers, and niggers can't do nothin! I don't care,' said Topsy, beginning to whistle.

'O, Topsy, poor child, I love you!' said Eva with a sudden burst of feeling and laying her little thin, white hands on Topsy's shoulder; 'I love you because you haven't had any father, or mother, or friends – because you've been a poor, abused child! I love you, and I want you to be good' (Stowe 2002: 261).

Stowe's reference to Northern racism is fairly obvious. Her approach was new for her time because of the way she wrote about a slave child (O'Laughlin 2000: 581). Something that needs to be known about the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is that she was very religious. As such, Topsy's change takes place after she hears of Jesus Christ:

'Poor Topsy!', said Eva, 'don't you know that Jesus loves all alike? He is just as willing to love you as me. He loves you just as I do, only more, because he is better. He will help you to be good; and you can go to Heaven at last, and be an angel forever, just as much as if you were white. Only think of it, Topsy, *you* can be one of those spirits bright Uncle Tom sings about'.

'O dear Miss Eva, dear Miss Eva!' said the child. 'I will try! I never did care nothin' about it before'. (Stowe 2002: 262)

It was so simple for St. Clare's child to realize what was lacking, yet for Ophelia it was so complicated, that she could not do it on her own. She learned from Eva that being too distant was wrong. The dialogue between the two children was observed without their knowledge by both Ophelia and Augustine St. Clare, and after hearing Eva's words, Ophelia was transformed as well, but in a different manner. She understood that as an adult she must accomplish what a child could not (Grant 1998: 442-443; O'Laughlin 2000: 580).

Ophelia was aware that slavery was not something one automatically escapes from after receiving an education. That was evident in a system that did not even allow someone to teach a slave how to read. What she does is to expressly ask St. Clare to give her ownership of Topsy, to which he, surprised, responds by pointing out that the Abolition Society might not approve of Ophelia's actions. She, however, does not relent, and argues that her sole wish is to free Topsy. In order to truly understand Ophelia's action, we must be aware that it happened soon after Eva got sick and died. As a consequence of this event, Ophelia knew that someone had to take Eva's place or else everything that was achieved with Topsy could be reversed. Therefore, Ophelia also tells Topsy that she will love her from now on (Stowe 2002: 286-287, 277). The impact of Ophelia's decision to acquire Topsy is seen not long afterwards, because Augustine St. Clare gets stabbed in a bar and dies. Soon all of his slaves are auctioned, yet Topsy was not sent away, because legally she had a different owner. In the absence of both Eva and Augustine St. Clare, Ophelia cannot find additional assistance for her abolitionist ideals. Even though she may have hoped to cause a more extensive change, in the end she can only manage to save one slave and this simply because she agreed to somehow be a part of the system by becoming a slave-owner herself (Grant 1998: 433).

While the novel is not clear on what happens to Topsy and Ophelia after these events, it is implied that Topsy was taken north and emancipated. Thus her story leads to a different kind of release. Initially Topsy was enslaved mentally as well as legally. Obviously the mental chains were of a metaphorical nature, yet there was some form of entrapment there, because of the way she was raised and treated before being brought to the St. Clare estate. She was only released from her symbolic cage after the dialogue with Eva, yet this had no influence on her legal status. Topsy's release later on is implied to have happened within the boundaries of the law, because she did not run away. Thus, the idea of love somehow released

Topsy from her past, yet freedom from a legal standpoint happened because she was emancipated by Ophelia.

4. Conclusion

The general rule of the slavery system observed in the Southern part of the United States was that slaves were supposed to be kept illiterate, and yet, as it sometimes happens, loopholes could be found even in the harshest restrictions. The efforts of the institution of slavery to enforce the said rule minimized the chances of slaves to break it and attain some form of literacy. Nonetheless, rare but notable exceptions happened.

Frederick Douglass was born a slave, but, due to special circumstances, he became aware of the importance of basic literary education and as such he decided to act. Ultimately this proved beneficial to his future, to say the least. Step by step, as he gradually learned to read and write, he also started to understand his own situation. As a consequence, his desire for freedom and self-ownership also grew alongside his ambition to better himself. When the opportunity presented itself, Douglass ran away and thus became free from his master, but not according to Southern legislation, according to which he was a runaway slave. Douglass did not achieve his freedom automatically, as a result of his education, though it can be claimed that without literacy, his life might have been dramatically different.

Topsy too was born a slave and was abused both physically and mentally by her initial owners. While still a child, she was bought by Augustine St. Clare and brought to his estate, because he planned to test a theory about Northern education, to see whether it was effective in the case of slaves. After all the twists in the story, described in the previous section, it can be asserted that for Topsy the opportunity to be free was not the result of her own free will, as in the case of Frederick Douglass. Topsy did not even think about what it would mean to be free and thus she did not act in order to attain freedom. Still, we are led to believe that she was emancipated, though this evolution in her story was caused by more than one factor, the main one being the effect of emotional education on both her and Miss Ophelia.

Topsy's escape was not something she wished for or even struggled to achieve. It can even be said that at first she could not even understand what freedom was and that is why she made no effort towards it. However, we can assume that she was emancipated and that the reason was not only education, but a combination of education, love, and duty, where the central, catalyst role can be attributed to love. In the case of Frederick Douglass, the central role was played by education, because it certainly manifested itself as a catalyst in his quest for freedom and prompted him to act decisively. Even though learning how to read and write did by no means ensure his freedom, it instilled in him strong feelings, like ambition and determination. These, when the opportunity arose, drove him to run away and leave his slave life behind.

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POST 9/11 AMERICA: IN SEARCH OF A NARRATIVE

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Abstract: *Post 9/11 America was a nation in search of a narrative that could help it rebuild the threads that had been severed by the trauma of the attacks. The paper explores the different ways in which this shattered narrative had been reconstructed in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of World Trade Centre.*

Keywords: *identity, narrative, representation, trauma*

1. Introduction

For Žižek, in *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 came to shatter the illusory haze in which many of the Americans were living. This illusion was artificially maintained by the capitalist doctrine of progress and prosperity and by the fake premise of safety from history's horrors that took place beyond the borders of America in the grim reality, in the desert of the Real of the Third World. America's "holiday from history" (Žižek 2002: 56), its apparent peace and equilibrium were an illusion built on all the catastrophes, the battles and the wars that were fought elsewhere. This *elsewhere* became a fictional land from where the ignoble face of war and evil appeared from time to time on the screens of the privileged, sheltered world of the dominant power. The evil was external, projected on the outskirts of the Real. The superpower had learnt to fight its wars in this barren space, in this historical wasteland that had no possible connection with the Virtual Reality of the Empire. The war was kept far away from the homeland haven, locked, entrapped inside the protective television screen. The terrorist attacks in the morning of September 11, broke the TV screen and penetrated the Virtual Reality of the pampered power. The threat of war was no longer an attribute of that *elsewhere*, of the chaotic Third World, it was now fought in America's backyard; war, history, and the Real had finally pervaded the sheltered Virtual Reality of the dominant power. The world that had been locked up inside the TV screen had burst free and had entrapped the Empire inside the confines of the screen. The dominant power had exchanged places with the desert of the Third World and moved on from watching the news to being the news.

The Americans believed in the American image they had constructed – of wealth, righteousness, exceptionalism and moral superiority on the global stage. Slowly this image became a virtual identity many adopted. Dulled by their success stories and wrapped in their affluence, the American society descended into the aseptic realm of Virtual Reality. Cocooned in a semblance of "real life deprived of the weight and inertia of materiality" (Žižek 2002: 14) they withdrew from the Real so much so that they failed to recognize it as such when history had finally forced itself on them:

Virtual Reality simply generalizes this procedure of offering a product deprived of its substance, of the hard resistant kernel of the Real. Virtual Reality is experienced as reality without being so. What happens at the end of this process of virtualization,

however, is that we begin to experience the “real reality” itself as a virtual entity. For the great majority of the public, the WTC explosions were events on the TV screen, and when we watched the oft-repeated shot of frightened people running towards the camera ahead of the giant cloud of dust from the collapsing tower, was not the framing of the shot itself reminiscent of spectacular shots in catastrophe movies, a special effect which outdid all others, since reality is the best appearance of itself? (Žižek 2002: 11)

The gap between the way in which they viewed themselves internally and the way in which they were perceived from the outside became wider and wider. These two utterly incompatible images clashed in the morning of September 11. America was blown away by the sheer magnitude of the hatred directed against it. The wound inflicted by the terrorist attack was also the wound of one that unexpectedly and brutally is confronted with its own image in the mirror.

2. 9/11 and the virus of terrorism

Until the terrorist attacks on September 11, Baudrillard had characterized the contemporary era as being an era of “weak events”, one that is depleted of “symbolic events that represent a setback for globalization itself” (Baudrillard 2002: 3). In the middle of this historical stagnation when events had been “on strike”, the attacks on the World Trade Center represent an “absolute event, the ‘mother’ of all events, the pure event uniting within itself all the events that have never taken place” (Baudrillard 2002: 4). The event constitutes a severe blow on the relation between history and power as well as on the society’s abilities of analysis. All that has been said and written in connection to the attacks, all the emotional violence that has emanated worldwide as a response to the attacks are part of the “gigantic abreaction both to the event itself and to the fascination it exerts” (Baudrillard 2002: 4).

For Baudrillard, the demonization of terrorism, the moral stance adopted as a reaction to it, the alliance that was formed against it and the subconscious, almost visceral “jubilation” at the possibility of seeing this global superpower defeated, humiliated or destroyed are the two sides of the same coin. The world’s fascination at witnessing the collapse of this superpower stems from the secret belief that it is precisely this superpower, which now has been humbled, that has engendered all this pandemic violence that has infected the world with the terrorist disease. Terrorism is the face of the new found “evil” humanity has set itself the task of exorcising. It is pervading, permeating the layers of society, the “everywhere” and “everything” of our world like an “obscure object of desire” (Baudrillard 2002: 6); it is the new threat that unifies and coalesces the contemporary world, reinforcing the boundaries between *us* and *them*, between *our world*, and *their world*, between *the civilized* and *the barbaric*.

There is a complicity of evil that goes beyond the anger “the disinherited and the exploited who have ended up on the wrong side of the global order” (Baudrillard 2002: 6) feel towards the superpower. This complicity of evil and hatred is shared even by those that rejoice in the same advantages as the global superpower, because there is a universal reaction of contestation and insubordination in relation to any pre-established or well-established order or power; there is a perverse will to destroy, to destabilize a power that is hegemonic and global, to “reject any system growing all the stronger as it approaches perfection or omnipotence” (Baudrillard 2002: 7). The world recoils its guilt,

completely setting itself apart morally and linguistically from the immoral violence of terrorism, but Baudrillard is merciless in his analysis stating that “we can say that they *did it*, but we *wished for it*” (Baudrillard 2002: 5).

The fact that we have dreamt of this event that everyone without exception has dreamt of it – because no one can avoid dreaming of the destruction of any power that has become hegemonic to this degree – is unacceptable to the Western moral conscience. (Baudrillard 2002: 5)

Terrorism is what “haunts every world order, all hegemonic domination, *for it is the world, the globe itself, which resists globalization*” (Baudrillard, 2002: 12). Baudrillard sees it as inherent and inseparable from the dominant system of power springing from within its very essence. This would imply, what history has struggled to teach us all along, that every hegemonic, totalitarian, imperial system contains within itself the germs of its destruction.

This is not, then a clash of civilizations or religions, and it reaches far beyond Islam and America, on which efforts are being made to focus the conflict in order to create the delusion of a visible confrontation and a solution based on force. There is, indeed, a fundamental antagonism here, but one which points past the specter of America (which is perhaps, the epicenter, but in no sense the sole embodiment, of globalization) and the specter of Islam (which is not the embodiment of terrorism either), to *triumphant globalization battling against itself*. (Baudrillard 2002: 11)

Terrorism stems from the vulnerability of a system that, in its desperate struggle to gain power, has become blind to the individual responses concerning its excesses of power. Globalization strives to concentrate the power in the hands of one that stands above and in complete aloofness to species, individuals, cultures and values that are not aiding the proper functioning of the machinery created. The “*terroristic situational transfer*” (Baudrillard 2002: 9) of the 9/11 attacks was the revenge of the individual against the stifling globalization which allows no alternative form of thinking, no entrance into its game of power for the other, for the outsider. For Baudrillard (2002: 9), terrorism represents “terror against terror”. The terror imposed by the system of radicalizing the world through force is countered by the terror of terrorism that aims to radicalize the world by sacrifice.

Terrorism is a virus that lurks in the shadows of any system of domination waiting for its seeds to ripen in order to launch its infection on the world; it is the evil twin of the dominant power, growing in its shadow, waiting for the right moment to destabilize and take over the system; this symbolic image of the evil twin, of the double that mimics in an upside-down reflection the appearance and the values of the dominant power it secretly seeks to destroy, is strengthened by the allegory Borges created in *Fauna of Mirrors* in the story of the mirror people who were defeated and exiled into the mirrors, punished for their audacity to fight against the Empire and forced to reflect the image of the conquerors. The defeated were “stripped of their power and of their forms and reduced to mere slavish reflections” (Borges 1974: 68). However, the entrapment in the mirror is not eternal. A day will come when the mirror people will look less and less like us; they will no longer reflect our faces and our actions; they will no longer imitate us; the barriers of glass and metal of their mirror prisons will be shattered and they will attack the Empire again.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 have given rise to a “fourth world war” waged against the excesses of power of an arrogant hegemony and against the reality of an imperial global capitalism that was becoming more and more threatening to other realities and which was casting a colonial monopoly on everyday life. Terrorism was the evil that infiltrated the world the moment the balance of power was upset. With the decline of Communism after the end of the Cold War, there was virtually no other force that could counter the rapid and sole ascension of the supremacy of the positive power. During the Cold War, the two superpowers that became symbolic exponents of Good and Evil had constantly functioned as a counter force for the other, maintaining in this way the equilibrium between the terror exerted and a constant balance of powers. The global triumph of liberal power gave birth to a “ghostly enemy, infiltrating itself throughout the whole planet, slipping in everywhere like a virus, welling up from all the interstices of power: Islam” (Baudrillard 2002: 15).

The 9/11 attacks come to represent a new kind of terrorism, one that has found the vulnerable spot of the system and has learned how to use it against it. Terrorists learned all the rules of the game and how to defeat the system by using its own weapons. They created a spectacle of horror using the modern technology of computer networks, airplanes, media and all the weapons associated with the democratic, capitalist Western world, and succeeded in disrupting the system from within, creating the horror of an attack that was broadcasted globally. The spectre of the “live” attack traumatized a global audience creating the feeling that the entire Western culture and capitalism as well as the globalization system itself were under assault. Not only did they become immersed in the capitalist culture they were seeking to destroy, they also succeeded in turning “their own deaths into an absolute weapon against a system that operates on the basis of the exclusion of death, a system whose ideal is an ideal of zero deaths” (Baudrillard 2002: 16). Using their own deaths as the supreme weapon in the battle against a world that has made continuous attempts at shielding itself against pain and death, the terrorists inverted the relationship between the dominant and the dominated, between master and slave. In the past, the master was the keeper of death, the slave was the one that seemed forever doomed to life and labor. The terrorist attacks have brought a change in that relation of power, exposing our vulnerability in relation to death. Those who use death as an ultimate weapon in the war against power, those who do not make survival their sole aim of living are, symbolically, the new masters.

The world-wide media coverage of the event gave it a global, universal scale. This global spectacle of horror arrested the image of the event, multiplying it on thousands of screens around the world; the excessive repetition of the surrealist moment of the impact revealed the trauma that had engulfed the psyche of a terrified audience that watched in disbelief as the Twin Towers collapsed in on themselves in a symbolic act, which for Baudrillard is suggestive of the system’s internal fragility and which resembles a suicide of the entire system of the dominant power.

3. 9/11 – In search of a narrative

Traumatic incidents often leave traumatized individuals and communities at a loss for words, incapable of representing linguistically the horror they have experienced. The linguistic void augments the numbness experienced by the traumatized and the panic of not being able to comprehend the nature of the wound

that had maimed them. Everyone that was watching the attacks on the World Trade Center seemed engulfed by this “linguistic paralysis or void of meaning” (Morgan 2009: 26). One of the dominant features of the discourse of World Trade Center survivors was confusion. Although, the moment the second plane hit the South Tower, it became evident that the massive attack that had killed thousands of people was deliberate, most observers failed to grasp the meaning of the events in terms of how it was going to affect the future of the country. Uncertainty and confusion were also prevalent in the discourse offered by the media on the morning of September 11; uncertainty concerning the reasons for such an attack; uncertainty regarding the identity of the attackers; uncertainty and panic not knowing what to expect next, whether or not there were going to be more attacks. The uncertainty and the paranoia of an imminent attack that could strike anywhere and at any given moment took hold of the nation. America was a nation in search of a narrative that could help it rebuild the threads that kept it united.

It was this collective silence and this linguistic void that began to be filled with the discourse and the narrative articulated by the administration. President Bush, who had the authority to speak on behalf of the nation, began to construct a specific interpretation of the events, which soon acquired a dominant position and became the narrative that was politically and socially accepted when talking about what had occurred on 9/11: who the attackers were, why they had done it, what would happen in the future and what would be the response of the country.

Initially, the attacks on World Trade Center had been characterized as “acts of murder” (Bush 2001a), only to be recast as “acts of war” (Bush 2001b) and a “new Pearl Harbor” (Bush 2001b) the following day, justifying linguistically a war-based or military response. The day itself was constructed from a discursive point of view as a moment of temporal and historical rupture, being described as a “day like no other, the day the world changed or the beginning of a new age of terror” (Jarvis 2008: 254). The exceptional quality of the attack and the horror of its brutality constituted the main features that were responsible for creating the subnarrative that was going to promote new ways of dealing with this new kind of enemy, arguing that the old rules and approaches used so far were no longer relevant when having to face the new threat of terrorism. At the same time the attacks were also viewed as part of a historical continuity, since the country had been attacked by totalitarian enemies before, especially during the Second World War and the Cold War. The administration tapped on the American history to request the same collective, joint effort from the nation in order to defeat the new enemy.

Another thread that played an important part in the narrative America was offered, spoke of a massive, global terrorist threat. This terrorist menace endangered not only America, but the entire civilized world, its democracy and freedom, the fundamental human rights and “our entire way of life” (Bush 2001a). The terrorist paranoia was further enhanced and supported by the administration that attested the existence of thousands of fanatical, ruthless, barbaric, well-resourced terrorist killers waiting for an opportunity to strike again. Terrorist cells were reported in countries all over the world, further attacks were imminent and in addition to this there seemed that terrorists had every intention to use weapons of mass destruction in American cities. The threat of acquiring and using weapons of mass destruction became an extremely sensitive issue in the developing of the dominant narrative. Iraq and other members of what became known as the “axis of evil” (Bush 2002) was identified as the main supporter of terrorists and fear

became to be formulated that Iraq could provide them with the weapons of mass destruction. The political importance of the discourse that identified Iraq as another possible enemy was tremendous, since it refocused the threat that was jeopardizing the national stability and well-being of America, from an amorphous and more or less anonymous group of individuals to a territory with well defined borders that could be attacked using traditional military means.

The terrorist paranoia took new proportions when the new enemy was also identified as the enemy within. This subnarrative of the “enemy within” (Bush 2002) of the terrorist cells that were “living in our communities” (Bush 2002), that were “ticking time-bombs” (Bush 2002) just waiting to go off was a very important part of the narrative orchestrated by the US administration, meant to create distrust, fear and suspicion among the members of the community; having this threat in mind, the citizens were much easier to manipulate into accepting the new measures the government put forth, which restricted civil liberties, increased the surveillance on US citizens and immigrants and which lead to a further militarization of the American society. All these measures were accepted by the nation as part of the actions necessary to counter the threat of this enemy within.

Another image, which surfaced from the narrative that became the dominant narrative concerning the 9/11 attacks, was the image creating the profile of the enemy. The rhetoric of the enemy is a cognitive and linguistic construct which generates a stereotype portrait of the enemy that embodies all that is in sharp contradiction with the national identity of a state and its values. The schema of the enemy is predominantly negative and fighting against the danger of this new-found evil that threatened the American way of life helped to create a sense of cohesion and a shared identity among the citizens of America. The enemy is often perceived as a “moral threat to freedom, a germ infecting the body politic, a plague upon the liberty of humankind, and a barbarian intent upon destroying civilization” (Morgan 2009: 54).

For nearly half a century, America had found its enemy in the representation of the red menace embodied by the Soviet Union. The end of the Second World War represented a shift from the threats to territorial integrity America had faced to threats that endangered America’s ideology and way of life. The Soviet Union represented a threat to democracy and capitalism. For nearly 40 years, the United States’ foreign policy was involved in the ideological battle of preventing the spread of communism to other parts of the world. The political rhetoric focused on building a discourse that had as its purpose identifying the Soviet Union and communism as the arch enemy of the United States. This narrative was unquestioned by the American people. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the rhetoric of the enemy lost the prominence it once had in the American political discourse, and the slot which had previously been filled by the communist other remained vacant. The portrait of the red enemy had united the American society in their fight against a common enemy, the Soviet Union and communism. United against a common threat, the United States developed a powerful national identity that was in antithesis to anything the Soviet Union stood for. The Americans believed in individual rights and freedoms, in private property and the free market, promoting less involvement of the government in the lives of the individuals.

The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11, 2001 rekindled the enemy rhetoric and finally attributed it the face of radical Islamic terrorism. Many of the stereotypes that had once been part of the discourse against the red enemy were reactivated. The administration’s discourse characterized

terrorists as “evil, savage, cruel, cowardly, inhuman, hate-filled, perverted, alien” (Morgan 2009: 27) and the reason for their actions lay within their barbaric character, prone to evil and destruction, and not in any rational, historical or political motives. Later on, terrorists became part of a more elaborate construction that threatened the civilized world. They became part of “radical Islam” (Bush 2005) or “Islamism” (Bush 2005) or “Islamofascism” (Bush 2005). Americans were described as the victims of “evil and despicable acts of terror” (Bush 2001a) and their portrait was in sharp contrast to the portrait of the terrorist other. Americans were “innocent, good, heroic, decent, and united” (Morgan 2009: 28). These attributes were in direct correlation to many of the cultural elements that have described the American society, like the “cult of innocence” (Morgan 2009: 28), the religious notions of good and evil, hero-worship, militarized patriotism, which formed some of the Western world’s metanarratives, like the eternal struggle between good and evil and between civilization and barbarism.

The narrative that filled the linguistic vacuum and the collective silence of the people following the attacks on World Trade Center prepared the nation for war. It had become obvious that America’s response to the attack was going to be a “war on terror” (Bush 2001c), as the only possible and legitimate answer to these “acts of war” (Bush 2001b). America had to once again rise up to the task and respond to its “historic calling as an exceptional nation” (Morgan 2009: 28) to protect the free, civilized, democratic world from totalitarianism. In this way, the war on terror continued the line of action established by the United States in the Second World War and the Cold War. The war was a defensive war, a war of last resort and a completely winnable war. The fact that it was also a “new and different war” (Bush, 2001c) suggested that it should be supported by new means and by a new mentality and that it should include measures such as the preemptive attack on Iraq, the handing over of prisoners to countries where torture is allowed, the Guantanamo detention camp, the use of “enhanced interrogation techniques or torture” (Morgan 2009: 28).

The narrative presented by the administration became very soon the dominant and unanimously accepted interpretation of the events. It became part of the political and cultural life in America and was embedded into its social and political institutions. Although subsequent information revealed a manipulation of the intelligence leading up to the Iraq war and massive controversy regarding the discovery of measures of torture and rendition, the administration official narrative still remained the dominant and widely accepted discourse.

4. Conclusion

Now that America has finally been confronted with its illusion of being an island safe in its distance from the violence of war and terror, Žižek talks about the importance of its response and about the immorality of adopting the rhetoric of the victim. He considers that America was given the opportunity to break out from its highly hypocritical protective bubble that has blinded it in connection to the world and should risk

stepping through the fantasmatic screen that separates it from the Outside World, accepting its arrival in the Real World, making the long-overdue move from ‘A thing like this shouldn’t happen *here!*’ to ‘A thing like this should not happen *anywhere!*’ (Žižek 2002: 49)

The only way to make sure that the horror of the 9/11 attacks will never happen again in America is to make sure that such horror and destruction will not happen anywhere else in the world. America should learn the lesson of humility and should accept that it is part of the world that has produced the background which gave birth to the 9/11 violence, and, therefore, that it is vulnerable. The response should not be the furious and aggressive retaliation that we have witnessed in Afghanistan and Iraq, nor the “forceful reassertion of the exceptional role of the USA as a global policemen” (Žižek 2002: 49) since the resentment against America had stemmed precisely from this abuse of power and not from the lack of it.

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THE (IM)POSSIBILITY OF FORGETTING IN JENNA BLUM'S NOVEL *THOSE WHO SAVE US*

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Abstract: *Relying on trauma and memory studies, the article discusses to what extent it is (im)possible to forget traumatic experience. It looks at how this issue is represented in Jenna Blum's novel *Those Who Save Us* (2004) that is about Anna who used to live in Weimar at the time of the Holocaust and help camp prisoners. After WWII she moves to the United States and has never spoken about the past since then. Thus, her forgetting becomes possible through denial and refusal to speak about it. Nevertheless, her daughter is affected by the Holocaust.*

Keywords: *Holocaust, remembering and forgetting, trauma, trauma fiction, WWII*

1. Introduction

Remembering and forgetting have always been some of the key issues in studies on trauma and traumatic experience, since one hardly exists without the other. On the one hand, the traumatised feel a need to forget their unpleasant and painful past, but on the other hand, they have to tell about it in order to work it through. Telling is not possible without remembering, but something that is repressed cannot be remembered, put into one's narrative and integrated into the self. Therefore, it seems that the issue of remembering and forgetting is similar to a vicious circle. In trauma and memory studies, various specialists (such as Cathy Caruth (1995), Nicola King (2003), Roget Luckhurst (2008), Anne Whitehead (2011) and others) address this issue, therefore, their insights will be reviewed and later applied in the analysis of Jenna Blum's novel *Those Who Save Us* (2004) in which remembering and forgetting can be seen as a central theme.

2. On trauma, remembering and forgetting

Trauma, remembering and forgetting are very interrelated phenomena. In trauma studies it is assumed that if trauma is not fully experienced when it happens, it cannot be described at any time, but it haunts the traumatised as a memory that is repeated again and again and thus is experienced later than at the instance of the traumatic event (Whitehead 2011: 5). Nicola King refers to this phenomenon as "rememory" that is "a cyclical return to an earlier traumatic moment which is remembered in the present, in greater detail and with greater affect at each recurrence" (King 2003: 21). In other words, trauma does not stay in the past and constantly reminds about itself in various ways in the present. Moreover, according to Gabriele Schwab (Schwab 2010: 42), there is neither life nor history without trauma, since trauma as such symbolises a deep history crisis, because "[t]he traumatized [...] carry an impossible history within them, or they themselves become the symptom of the history that they cannot entirely possess" (Caruth 1995: 5) and reflect on. Therefore, Kirby Farrell (1998: 5) suggests that it

is possible to claim that experience of every generation is potentially traumatic, since all generations face situations that are related to death or other unpleasant traumatic events. Similarly, in *Writings on Psychoanalysis*, Louis Althusser (1996: 22) states that all people can be called witnesses and victims of various events that they do not remember due to constant forgetting in the battle between life and death, because those who do not die are marked by such experience forever, and although their traumatic experiences may not be accessible in memories of the past, they can reveal themselves through health problems (Bonanno 2004: 24) or particular behaviour (Caruth 1995: viii). This behaviour can demonstrate that trauma has indeed been experienced, but probably because of the prolonged latency period that, according to Roger Luckhurst (2008: 8), “psychoanalyst Jean Laplanche has translated [...] as ‘afterwardness’,” trauma is not remembered. Cathy Caruth (1995: viii) acknowledges that it is difficult to understand what it means to remember traumatic experiences and how to recognise traumas, because remembering traumatic experiences is related to forgetting or even refusal to remember. Thus, the link between remembering and forgetting is evident.

Very often traumatic experience is so painful that the traumatised avoid remembering and speaking about it. To be more precise, “many [trauma] survivors are struck between the natural release of unrepressed memory and the unimaginable pain of remembering” (Sanchez-Pardo 2010: 46). As a result, it is difficult to tell what actually happened, because “some events cannot be fully reconstructed or integrated into a coherent story,” since “something in them will always resist recovery or ‘passing on’” (King 2003: 24). Hyden White (White 1980: 6) claims that “the absence of narrative capacity or refusal of narrative indicates an absence or refusal of meaning itself” as well. Consequently, even though it is thought impossible to tell about trauma because of the horror of a particular experience, it may happen, as White suggests, that it is not impossible, but only becomes impossible because of the refusal to understand the meaning of it. For example, in *Moral Blindness: The Loss of Sensitivity in Liquid Modernity* (2013), a work by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman and philosopher Leonidas Donskis, Bauman wonders what is better: “to remember harms and injustices suffered, or to forget them” (Bauman and Donskis 2013: 36). Donskis answers that in many cases we forget deliberately, therefore, “we are a community not of remembrance, but of organized, systematic and deliberate forgetting” (Bauman and Donskis 2013: 127), but an answer to Bauman’s question of whether forgetting is better than remembering is not provided. On the other hand, the fact that forgetting is often a choice shows that it is seen as a solution to the problem without trying to understand the meaning of the problem itself.

Nevertheless, the choice to forget does not mean that one actually forgets. Dori Laub states that many trauma survivors choose to forget with the help of silence, but they do not find peace, since traumatic “events become more and more distorted in their silent retention and pervasively invade and contaminate the survivor’s daily life”: the “longer the story remains untold, the more distorted it becomes in the survivor’s conception of it, so much so that the survivor doubts the reality of the actual events” (Laub 1995: 64). This proves the importance of transmission of traumatic experience, especially to children of trauma survivors, because “[w]hat passes from the persecuted [or traumatised] generations to its children often has a traumatizing effect but precisely because it is at once emotionally charged and underspecified (deliberately vague or full of lacunae [i.e. gaps])” (Davoliūtė and Balkelis 2012: 18). That is, children may be traumatised by

their parents' traumas not only because of the nature of those traumas, but because of a lack of knowledge about them or, even worse, silence. Therefore, Aleida Assmann (2006: 261) notes that it is necessary to focus on how traumatic experience is remembered and "passed onto succeeding generations". Ann E. Kaplan (2005: 39) calls this past experience "vicarious" and "secondary trauma", while Irene Visser (2011: 275) refers to it as "transmitted trauma" or trauma that has a "contagious impact". Similarly, Luckhurst (2008: 3) notes that trauma in general "appears to be worryingly transmissible". Thus, Schwab questions how children of the traumatised "remember" their parents' traumas and specifies the difference between the two generations (the one that suffered a particular trauma and the subsequent generation) in the following way:

While victims of trauma live with scars of memory so to speak – gaps, amnesia, distortion, revision, or even fugue states or intrusive flashbacks – the recipients of transgenerational trauma live with a "postmemory" that comes to them secondhand. Like the memory of the parental generation, it is fragmentary and shot through with holes and gaps, but in different ways. These children need to patch a history together they have never lived by using whatever props they can find – photographs and stories or letters but also [...] silences, grief, rage, despair, or sudden unexplainable shifts in moods handed down to them by those who bring them up. (Schwab 2010: 14)

This description points out that children learn about their parents' traumatic experience in various ways, and silence can be one of them, since it may be seen as a consequence of such experience. Only when an individual is able to tell about his/her traumatic experience, does it become integrated into the self and can the person lead a normal life (van der Kolk and van der Hart 1995: 163), but since remembering and telling are painful tasks, integration of traumatic experience becomes difficult. This leads to constant and deliberate forgetting and silence on the part of the traumatised, although their children would like to know about the past their parents hide. These are some of the key issues in Jenna Blum's novel *Those Who Save Us* (2004) that are going to be discussed.

3. Remembering and forgetting: traumatic past in Jenna Blum's novel *Those Who Save Us*

In Blum's novel, Anna is Trudy's mother, but the two seldom communicate with each other, and when they do, their communication is never about their past in Germany that they left in 1945. Although Trudy was born in Weimar, she was little when they moved to the United States and thus does not remember much about it. Paradoxically, she is now (1996-1997) a professor and teaches German history, but does not know the full story of her own family: "What scenes [were] so shameful that she [Trudy's mother] will never speak of them, has never spoken of them, not even to her own daughter? What memories [are] so tormenting that they have finally – perhaps – become unbearable?" (Blum 2004: 78). Trudy does not know whether the fire at her mother's house was an accident or Anna set fire on purpose, because she cannot reconcile with the past she has never been willing to talk about, and wanted to end her life by committing suicide. Trudy goes to her mother's house to pack some clothes for her mother and finds a picture she has seen before: "Does this photograph truly confirm her earliest memories? Or has she [Trudy] merely looked at it so often that she only thinks she remembers? Images

substituting for reality” (Blum 2004: 84). Trudy has some flashbacks, but is not certain whether her memories are real or false. She becomes obsessed with the picture and what she sees in it: Anna, an SS officer, and herself as a family, thus she assumes that the officer is her father, but when Trudy inquires about this, her mother keeps on repeating that the “past is dead, and better it remain so” (Blum 2004: 85). This emphasises her wish to forget the past that she left behind by moving to the United States, whereas Trudy wants to know it and feels as if there is a “conspiracy of silence, a wall that Trudy could neither penetrate nor scale” (Blum 2004: 85). Moreover, she envies one of her students, “because she has a family history she can talk about and be proud of. A history somebody has related to her first hand. A history she *knows*” (Blum 2004: 102, italics in the original). In contrast, Trudy’s mother has never told her the family’s history, therefore, Trudy craves to know it and find out whether the things she remembers are true.

Dr. Ruth Liebowitz, Trudy’s colleague and the head of Holocaust studies, has received funding for the Remembrance Project and asks Trudy to join it. They are going to make their research even more relevant than the one at Yale by recording Holocaust testimonies on video camera. That is, they are going to interview the Jews who now live in the United States and ask them to tell whether/what they remember about their Holocaust experiences. However, Trudy believes herself to be the daughter of the German SS officer, who probably was responsible for many deaths, so she feels a need to contact and interview Germans who now also live in the United States and remember their life in Germany at the time of the Holocaust as well. She explains her idea to Ruth as follows: “There never has been a really extensive study of the reactions of German civilians – not live sources recorded on tape...” (Blum 2004: 151). Even Trudy’s cameraman, who is Jewish, is “dying to hear how these people [the Germans] could possibly justify what they did” (Blum 2004: 158). Nevertheless, Trudy’s real interest in the project (that she does not admit to herself) is explained by her ex-husband Roger who knows her well:

Don’t you see, Trudy? It’s all about your mother. I still don’t know what your particular beef with her is, but any Psych 101 student could tell you the underlying pathology: you’re just like her.

[...]

I am not remotely like my mother. Now there’s an interesting Freudian slip, says Roger. She *is* remote. And so are you. You always have been. Remote. Formal. Cold. Compulsive about cleaning. All those good German traits. You know. (Blum 2004: 181)

It seems that Trudy’s interest in the project is related to her mother’s silence. Thus, the conversation makes Trudy think about her expectations in terms of the knowledge she may be able to gain through the project. At the same time, if she expects that the project would not affect her personally, she is wrong, since “[i]t is as though Trudy has reached under a rock and touched something covered with slime. And now she too is coated with it, always has been; it can’t be washed off; it comes from somewhere within” (Blum 2004: 185). She probably feels responsible for what happened many years ago in Germany although she was only a little girl at the time of the Holocaust. Since she assumes her father had something to do with it, she may guess that her mother was related to it as well and, therefore, does not speak about it.

There are moments when Trudy realises that not speaking about the past may be a good idea. For example, Rainer, one of Trudy's research subjects, who later becomes her lover, sees the project as "misguided on many levels," one of which is the fact that "the Germans should be allowed to speak of what they did": "Why should they be permitted the cleansing of conscience that accompanies confession?" (Blum 2004: 352-353). This is exactly what Trudy's mother does not do by shutting herself in "eternal silence" and denial (Blum 2004: 185, 102). Thus, Trudy starts having doubts about the project: "Why invite additional punishment when she already has Anna [her mother] to deal with? Perhaps it is best not to stir up this particular nest of snakes. To leave well enough alone. / *The past is dead. The past is dead, and better it remain so*" (Blum 2004: 185, italics in original). In other words, Trudy begins to think that maybe her mother is right and it is better not to remember the past, but this does not last long. Once Trudy finds her mother watching a video interview with one of her research subjects and suggests to her mother to take part in the research and be interviewed, but Anna does not agree to do this: "I have nothing to say", she says (Blum 2004: 283). Trudy "has tried to crack her most important subject, and she has failed" (Blum 2004: 284), since Anna does not speak about the past, but it does not mean she has forgotten about it or does not have anything to say. She "is coping with her troubles in the Old World way, denial and physical labour" (Blum 2004: 349). All she does is cook and clean all day long, which probably helps her to work through her memories of the past or at least not to think about them. This is a way to forget that Blum presents in her novel.

Despite her mother's silence, Trudy is affected, since she now has some knowledge and starts experiencing a secondary trauma. She is haunted by the Holocaust trauma in several ways: 1) as a researcher, because of the stories of her interviewees, she "sleeps little, and when she does her dreams are frequent and bad" (Blum 2004: 219); 2) as someone whose relatives were related to the Holocaust. For example, Trudy has nightmares in which the SS officer is Santa Claus/Saint Nikolaus. This image of the officer may have been triggered by her mother's explanation that she gave years ago after she had been seen having sex with the officer when Trudy was little: "He's Saint Nikolaus; [...] He doesn't like to be seen. [...] Saint Nikolaus has magical powers; he can do whatever he wants" (Blum 2004: 202). The officer used to bring presents, for instance, food or clothes, so Saint Nikolaus was probably the best Anna could think of at that time. After so many years, Trudy does not remember this, but sees him in her dream: Saint Nikolaus has baked her mother in the oven as a cake and offers her to eat it (Blum 2004: 252). This dream may have been influenced by the fact that Trudy suspects her mother hides something terrible about the past, and the officer was related to it, since in one of her dreams "beneath the Santa suit, he is wearing the grey uniform of [...] the SS" (Blum 2004: 188). Trudy confronts her mother and insists that she should tell the truth about the officer, because she has a golden case with the picture and remembers something, but Anna does not agree to reveal much: "I did it for you, Trudy. Anything I ever did, it was all for you. [...] / [...] I have closed the door on that time and I will never open it. Not even for you" (Blum 2004: 359). The metaphor of closing the door illustrates Anna's reluctance to remember and her choice to forget. Another metaphor of forgetting is used by Rainer who explains to Trudy why she should not speak about the past either:

You are such a young and childish country, believing that one can better understand the injuries of the past by wallowing in them and analyzing their causes. You do not know enough to understand that the only way to heal a wound is to leave it alone. To let sleeping dogs lie, as it were, rather than enthusiastically kicking them as you do. (Blum 2004: 352)

“Leaving alone” here can be understood as forgetting, while trauma is referred to as a physical wound that used to be seen as a primary sense of trauma in early trauma studies. In order to heal it, one has to forget it, since speaking about it brings up unpleasant memories (wakes up the sleeping dogs). It is probably the reason why Anna never speaks about it and would like Trudy to do so as well, although Anna does not know about Trudy’s dreams and memories.

Many chapters in Blum’s novel are dedicated to descriptions of various events in Weimar in 1939 – 1945. As a result, the reader is empowered with the knowledge Trudy wants to possess. Anna has a relationship with Max, a Jewish doctor, whom she hides in her home for some time. However, her father learns about this and turns Max to the Gestapo. Anna is four months pregnant when her father tells her she will marry a German man he has chosen for her. Consequently, she runs away from her father’s home and stays at Frau Mathilde Staudt’s. Mathilde creates a plausible story for her clients who visit her bakery: she tells everyone that Anna was raped, so the SS put the man into a camp and killed him for this, but Anna decided to keep the baby and that is how Trudy was born. In fact, Max, Trudy’s father, was put into a concentration camp and killed because he was a Jew. In addition, Anna sees her friend Mathilde shot in the woods, and later Horst, an SS officer who killed Mathilde, uses Anna sexually. She allows this because she is afraid he could kill her and her daughter Trudy as well. In this way, she protects both of them. These are the traumatic experiences Anna wishes to forget and refuses to speak about.

Before leaving Germany, Anna is devastated and her psychological state is in danger. She admits to herself that she does not commit suicide only because of her little daughter. However, helping camp prisoners by secretly bringing them bread is “a way for Anna to convince herself that she is more than a whore, a whim, a plaything; [...] though it was unpleasant in many ways, she at least felt human” (Blum 2004: 205). When the war comes to an end, Horst leaves for Argentina and Anna is free, but she thinks that she “will never rid herself of the stench of corpses she has buried [when she had to help clean up the camp] no matter how long she scrubs. It will coat her nostrils and the back of her throat as long as she lives” (Blum 2004: 390), but she will never speak about it. At the same time, she thinks that “if one must surrender the memory of the good along with the bad, well, perhaps this is not too high a price to pay. Better to remain so distant [...] as if all this happened to anybody else” (Blum 2004: 393). Therefore, the decision to forget was made when she was still in Germany. However, it is not clear to what extent the protagonist forgets the events that happened years before the end of the war, since the reader does not know what she thinks or feels when she lives in the United States, but it seems that “she has carried Germany with her as surely as if she had imported the spores of its soil beneath her fingernails, as if the smell or its corpses still clung to her skin” (Blum 2004: 425). This is probably something too horrible to forget even though more than fifty years have passed, so she sets her house on fire. Since she stays alive, now she asks God for only one thing: even if Trudy has flashbacks and dreams and seems to remember some

unclear details, for instance, the SS officer from their past in Germany, Anna would like her daughter to forget everything and remember only the story that she has told her. In fact, Anna does not speak about the past, so she wants Trudy to remember nothing, but, at the same time, Anna recognises everything that her daughter remembers, which means that Anna remembers as well.

Trudy continues her Holocaust project, and through it she meets Mr. Pfeffer, a German who used to live in Weimar during WWII. Mr. Pfeffer recounts how he used to go to the woods to get bread that two “women from Weimar, Aryan civilians, hid” (Blum 2004: 464). The two women were Mathilde and Anna, but Trudy does not know this at first. However, his story makes Trudy think of her mother, and she shows a picture of Anna to Mr. Pfeffer who is almost sure it was her and later recognises her when he meets her, but Anna does not confess she helped camp prisoners when she worked at the bakery: “I remember very little of what happened in those days [...]. My memory is not what it once was” (Blum 2004: 473). It is left for the reader to decide whether she has actually forgotten and whether this is possible, but this glimpse into Anna’s past makes Trudy ask herself the following questions: “what has she expected, really? That after all this time Anna would suddenly confess everything, simply because she is confronted by somebody who shared her experience, somebody who was there?” (Blum 2004: 474). Trudy realises that maybe it is Anna’s prerogative to forget because she is a hero. To sum up, it seems that Anna’s forgetting becomes possible only because she does not speak about the past. And yet, not speaking does not mean forgetting, especially when she is constantly reminded about the past by her own daughter.

4. Conclusion

Jenna Blum’s novel *Those Who Save Us* does not provide definite answers to whether it is (im)possible to forget traumatic experience. On the one hand, Anna (the main character) represses her memories about her past in Germany, since she is probably ashamed of a part of them, but she also claims that everything she did was for her daughter’s sake. In other words, Anna sacrifices herself for the greater good, which makes her a hero in the eyes of her daughter. Trudy does not remember their past in Germany because she was very little at that time, but the golden case brings up some memories. They are only small pieces from the puzzle of her family’s history, and she needs to know more. However, Anna never speaks of the past and in this way refuses to transmit her trauma to her daughter, but Trudy is nevertheless affected by her mother’s silence and by the testimonies of others. On the other hand, Anna’s silence does not mean that she has actually forgotten, since, after many years in the United States, she sets her house on fire when she is in it, and probably tries to commit suicide that way. She also keeps herself busy by non-stop cooking and cleaning in order to work through her memories that have haunted her for fifty years. Thus, the novel reveals the great complexity of the issue of remembering and forgetting in relation to historical traumatic experience.

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AMERICAN JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE SUBSUMING BRITISH COLONIALISM

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Abstract: *As British imperialists in Kenya were fighting the Mau Mau movement for black independence in the early 1950's, two American novelist/journalists moved into this conflicted space between the two sides and redefined events in their own way for an American readership. Earnest Hemingway and Robert Ruark restructured the imperial conflict in terms that fitted white American fears of black power at home as well as the threats of the cold war.*

Keywords: *colonialism, journalism, Kenya, Mau Mau, safari*

1. Introduction

In the early 1950s Kenya colony was disturbed by the violent acts carried out by the black African independence movement known as Mau Mau as well as the violence of the British response. This was one of many nationalist conflicts that saw Britain nominally withdraw from the business of colonialism. The new order witnessed a greatly enhanced American presence in East Africa, and one which had its own public relations enterprise in journalism as well as in literature. Two journalists who became novelists, Robert Ruark and Ernest Hemingway, did more than any other writers to “Americanize” the Mau Mau crisis, to articulate for American literary consumption the issues and ethics involved in what would become one of the first of many 20th century guerrilla/terrorism irruptions of nationalism around the globe. There were a few British novelists who tried to capture the events in fiction as well, but their efforts were minimal compared with those of the two Americans. No Kenyan version of Nadine Gordimer emerged in Kenya; instead Elspeth Huxley wrote novels in support of the white colonists’ side. There was a great deal of propaganda generated by the white settlers, many of them 2nd or even 3rd generation Kenyan-born. The “buying” of journalist/travelogue writers, such as the Anglophile American Negley Farson, was one front in the conflict. Indeed, while one can say there was a war on between the British and the Mau Mau, to some extent one can also see a parallel war between British and American writers. It became a takeover exercise in the literary imagination, an appropriation of voice that underestimated the force of the black independence movement.

2. Hemingway

Hemingway made two safari trips to Kenya, separated by almost twenty years. The first, in 1934, saw his 8 weeks of actual safari interrupted for two weeks by illness. His second trip spanned 1953 and 1954, with sixteen weeks in the field, and ended with two plane crashes and a grass fire, which together caused him considerable injuries. Even so, after both trips he wrote of his intentions to return.

The literary products of these two trips were substantial. The first trip, apart from articles for *Esquire*, saw *Green Hills of Africa* published by Scribner’s in 1935, but more favorable attention went to two short stories published in 1936: *The*

Snows of Kilimanjaro and *The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber*. The second trip was financed by *Look* magazine. The mass of Africa-related manuscript that Hemingway left at his death has been edited variously and in parts, appearing as *The Garden of Eden* in 1986, *True at First Light* in 1999, and *Under Kilimanjaro* in 2005.

Apart from the two famous short stories, the magazine-published work is travelogue safari journalism. The manuscript editions are, like *Green Hills of Africa*, somewhat tedious in pattern, consisting mostly of descriptions of hunting. Sexual interest is added as a separate strain. The freedoms of the safari life were celebrated. One could say that the main topic in most of the African work is the author/narrator persona, which helps to explain why so much of the literary criticism is so personal. The atavistic imperative of hunting, whether game or women, is omnipresent. However, the constant smug self-interrogation of the persona against a scale of values which are presented as pure and starkly honest as the landscape around him, with the metaphor of Kilimanjaro looming in the distance, takes the narrative to a level beyond travelogue and hunting stories.

The apparent purity and honesty and the selective narrowness of focus of this work can all be measured against the strong support provided by the colonial government to Hemingway, Ruark and Farson, as well as to the British novelist, Elspeth Huxley. One wonders if Hemingway knew he was being given special treatment – not just the farewell dinner at Government House but also the special opening up of a “block” of land ordinarily closed to hunters (Ondaatje 2003: 192). Then too there is his claim about being appointed as acting game warden in that area as well as taking over the leadership of the safari. The safari was not travelling while the white hunter had gone to tend his farm, and the actual game warden was still in touch. The author seemed to get caught up in his own fiction here, so much did he aspire to the role of white hunter. White Hunters and game wardens were the alpha males of white East African society. Both Hemingway and Ruark accepted, idealized, and co-opted this hierarchy.

Both writers had strong personalities and strong views, and some of those views have not aged well, even when personal knowledge of the writers has faded. When the Empire “wrote back,” both authors became victims. J.M. Kitunda, in an analysis of *Under Kilimanjaro* that could just as easily be applied to *True at First Light* and *The Green Hills of Africa*, shows that where Hemingway portrayed his main character as earning the respect of the natives, to the point of becoming a member of the Kamba tribe, he actually was riding roughshod over a number of their customs without knowing it (Kitunda 2006: 107-113). The character is above the local people, not one of them, as he returns to sleep and eat and drink in his safari camp after playing with them. He has the money and the power, while they have none. The character is the centre of their attention because of what he has, not, as Hemingway indicates, because of what he is, some kind of white Kamba superhero. While Kitunda accepts that we will never know how deliberately garbled Hemingway’s use of vernacular idiom and native customs was, he does see such garbling pressed into a literary service: “The farce in Hemingway’s African writings is intentional and at the service of satire, and not the unintentional (as some may interpret it) result of Hemingway’s ignorance of East Africa or of its languages and customs.” (Kitunda 2011: 123). Whether Hemingway deliberately made the African characters the butt of comic farce or not, Kitunda’s insider reading of the texts is one that wounds the honesty they so strongly profess. Outside of the text are other wounds, especially the incident of the leopard

photography in *Look*. This famous photograph, with Hemingway posed beside a dead cat, his rifle held in a phallic position, became "...a classic Hemingway publicity image... But it is undoubtedly tangible evidence of the older Hemingway's willingness to connive with his adulators at some cost to his self-vaunted reputation for integrity (Ondaatje 2003: 179-180). The leopard had (probably) been shot by his Cuban friend Menocal, but Hemingway let it be thought, as the photograph intimates, that it was his kill. The integrity of the author's life is confused with the concept of integrity expressed in his fiction. Ruark and Hemingway were showmen, and their lives were created as much as their literature was; the investment in an African hunting persona was a large part of both. What they were really shooting down was independent black Africa.

Hemingway's illustrated *Look* article was itself a gift to the safari industry and Kenya's economy during the Emergency. Hemingway had driven into Paris in 1944 with French Resistance fighters; surely he could make the connection with black resistance fighters in Kenya. One wonders if colour put him off, or if his love for the safari experience itself compelled him to avoid the topic. His statements in *Under Kilimanjaro* about becoming a Kamba, and his going out alone at night with only a spear seem dangerous and preposterous. Erik Nakjavani (2011: 274) has described this as "...a fantasy of Negritude, an intense desire to become African". It illustrates too how much un-African he was and would always be. Still, none of this affects the quality of "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." Neither story has to be set in Africa; they could be in wilderness settings anywhere. As much as he may have wanted some sense of belonging in Africa, he belonged to the white tribe, and wrote about whites in Africa for whites elsewhere. In the then absence of black writing, he fell into line with other European writers who sold Africa into a literate kind of conceptual slavery that continued to ideologically subsidize Imperialism.

3. Ruark

Robert Ruark, before the Rhodesian Wilbur Smith appeared, was probably the best-selling novelist of Africa, just before black African literature began to be published widely. Already a popular American journalist with magazine articles and a column, in 1951 he travelled to Kenya for an African safari and it changed his life. Even more obvious about the cult of manliness than Hemingway, he argued that hunting is an atavistic presence in every man, showing his own response to that call in his books, *The Honey Badger* (1965), and *Use Enough Gun* (1966); they join the ranks of the many hunting books out of East Africa by Americans. At the end of his 1951 safari Ruark returned to New York and "...made no secret that he was considering buying a farm in Kenya...." (Wieland 2000: 161) This would have made him a settler and a colonist, if the Emergency had not made him think twice. His two novels of Africa were extremely popular in North America, and made him a rich man; they are probably the Kenya novels that more people outside Kenya read than any others, at the time. They are romances that failed because the white Kenyan colony had failed, and they are extremely dogmatic overviews of the conditions behind that failure.

The two novels, *Something of Value* (1955) and *Uhuru* (1962) examine Kenya from the beginning of the Emergency to just before Independence. They straddle two topics: his infatuation with big-game hunting mixes uneasily with his attempt to explain and suggest a solution for the Mau Mau crisis and the looming

disaster facing white settlers. Ruark bought into the white hunter mythos completely, and seemed to feel, like Hemingway, that he himself had become a white hunter. The Emergency cut into Kenya's tourist industry, but Ruark, again like Hemingway before him, bucked that trend and returned anyway; for much of the rest of his life he kept coming back to Kenya for safaris and for "copy". He enrolled himself in the war as a journalist and eventually a novelist to fight in print on behalf of the settlers, some of whom he had come to know well. This is especially seen in his first African novel, *Something of Value*, which has a 1954 foreword that opens very strongly: "To understand Africa you must understand a basic impulsive savagery that is greater than anything we 'civilized' people have encountered in two centuries". (Ruark 1955: foreword, n.p.). Structurally the novel is based on two symmetrical positions, with two childhood friends – one black and one white – who end up enemies. Peter, the Kenya-born professional white hunter, takes two clients from Connecticut out on safari and explains to them the white version of Kenya's history and future, almost in a lecture format at times, which shows them the foolishness of applying democracy to Africa at this time. Peter is made to trot out the points that settler literature had already made, including the Kikuyu's alleged lack of gratitude, love, honesty, and kindness (Ruark 1955: 202). This collectively ignores Peter's close relationship with his loyal tracker, a relationship which is contradicted by heavy-handed generalities: "Even the man who wanted to be faithful to his Bwana bent his back before the determined infiltration of the Mau Mau scouts, since, in final reckoning a hundred generations of darkness claimed more lobes of native imagination than any current gratitude or loyalty" (Ruark 1955: 408). Ruark seems to want it both ways, as indeed the settlers did. Peter kills his enemy at the end of the novel, but saves his baby, at the same time as his own wife has taken their baby out of the country. Thus two black and white children anchor both the beginning and the conclusion. The first pair destroyed their lives fighting for opposing visions of Kenya; will the second pair be any better off, is the question left hanging in the air.

Ruark stays clear of the political turmoil and of the detention camps, and he whitewashes the Administration. In the midst of a terrible list of Mau Mau murders, he mentions one chief: "Chief Waruhiu, who had been called the African 'Winston Churchill,' was murdered at Kiambu. Gunmen shot him to death in his car." (Ruark 1955: 387). This can be contrasted with Hemingway's pointed comment about the men the British made chiefs in a hitherto chiefless tribe: "They were not chiefs since a chief is a man who has taken money or a cheap medal from the British and is a bought man" (Hemingway 1999: 273). Ruark can be seen as a "bought author," surprising for somebody who followed so closely Hemingway's path. Indeed, with Negley Farson "bought" as an American journalist and writing *Last Chance in Africa* (1949), when one looks at the array of propaganda, official or unofficial, that white Kenya put out to the world before and during the Emergency, it is easy to think that Ruark had been "bought" in some way too. However, in fairness, Ruark did write about the white vigilante group methods, including torture and summary executions. Not many novels show the white protagonist cutting a black man's tongue out, but here the practicalities and extremes of guerilla warfare without honour are realistically portrayed (Ruark 1955: 471, 469). There is a white light at the end of this dark picture of Kenya, but where its power will come from is hard to see. It is a harsh picture of humanity in general.

In the novel, one of the Connecticut Yankees retreats in dismay to Uganda and writes home about the conflict, thus mirroring Ruark's own didacticism. The novel feeds into American fears during the Cold War, as one can see a sympathy for allies in an armed struggle to beat down Communist-led criminals and sodomites. The Kikuyu are shown as dupes of Indians and Russians, compromising any possible vision of Mau Mau as freedom-fighters. Ruark deploys the entire settler armoury of racial concepts to defend them and solicit sympathy if not some more active assistance, perhaps to pressure the British to reassert their power in a more effective, neo-colonial manner, similar to interventions the U.S. was involved in elsewhere. Interestingly, the political novel *The Ugly American*, published in 1958, appeared as a Hollywood movie in 1963; Ruark, however, was not concerned with the moral ambiguities of American-sponsored regime change. He himself could be seen as an Ugly American writing for – not change – but the comfortable status quo.

The very popular *Uhuru* (1962) caused Ruark to be banned from returning to Kenya. This long novel became a best seller in the Book-of-the-Month Club immediately. It appeared at a very tense time in Kenya, and was set in an even tenser time, in 1960, after the Emergency had been declared over, but before Kenyatta's release from prison and the subsequent election campaign. In other words, it is set in the period of continued political uncertainty when the future seems up for grabs; black politicians who have written off Kenyatta are shown jockeying viciously for position, while white settlers are depicted as so desperate and hopeless that some prepare their own violent takeover of the country, threatening selective tribal genocide. In a loose series of dramatic episodes, Ruark covers the white farmers' and hunters' lives under threat, with little positive expectations for what Uhuru will actually bring to the native population. His sympathies are made explicit in his foreword: "To some whites who love the land, who were born on the land and who cherish the African, the grimmer aspects of Uhuru are an implicit tragedy, for these people are Africans too, and they have no other place to go, no other life to lead. Uhuru to them can mean a sacrifice of a lifetime of backbreaking toil and the destruction of a created beauty selflessly performed as a labor of love" (Ruark 1962: viii).

Brian, the main character, is a Kenya-born white hunter and son of settlers, with a family history of tragedy during the Emergency. He personifies the 1950s experience of white settlers, and is then removed into the vague afterlife of the early 1960s, as negotiations of various kinds went on in London and Nairobi. Ruark confronts him with a renewed wave of terror and outings, blaming ex-Mau-Mau who remember bitterly their times and their mistreatment in detention, and who want some revenge – or is it justice? – against the whites who were known to have committed crimes as well as those fellow tribesmen who benefitted from collusion with Government forces. On both black and white sides, there is lacking a postwar sense of closure for the characters; they are all living in a state of limbo under the threat of violence that sees such a trail of dead bodies that few main characters are left alive at the end. Brian murders one of the African politicians he believes has been stirring up anti-white terrorist activities. In the last 17 chapters, Brian is a silenced character, sitting in prison awaiting trial and – given the public and racial nature of his crime – likely execution. Not for nothing did Ruark begin the novel with the famous hanging of Peter Poole in 1960, the first execution of a white man in Kenya, for the killing of a native. (He shot his houseboy, who had thrown stones at his dog). The two hangings bookend the novel. In both cases there

is reason to believe that some degree of insanity as a defense would make sense. The effects of the conditions white settlers are living under is shown to be practically enough to drive a person insane, and Uhuru – freedom – promises to be even worse for them.

Incidents are built into the novel that support contempt for the black politicians who use the masses for their own ambitions. No white politicians are included: the settlers collectively are shown coming to a vigilante posture. The plot is seeded with tragic failures, demonstrating the hopeless future of Kenya, unless the local whites retake control by force.

As Ruark was writing this novel the machinery was in motion that would lead to the white Rhodesians' Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. Ruark failed to assess Kenya's future and the weight of international opinion, but this is a work of fiction. Still, it presented forcefully a portrait and a conclusion about Kenya's tense situation in the early 1960s, that complemented journalists' reports and took place parallel with the civil rights actions in the United States. The clumsy insertion of two wealthy Americans on safari, who fall in love with Brian and the settler ethos, brings the American audience into the book. The book seems pointed at white American public opinion, to arouse it in support of a white coup that could arguably be presented as anti-communist as well. In that sense, it cannot be seen as anything but racist, and it works hard to explain and validate a racist position, at least for the short term. This is in no way a balanced book, but an American or British reader would have to have a very good knowledge of Kenya and its history to recognize that.

4. Conclusion

These writings by Hemingway and Ruark are examples of literature throwing an ideological blanket over an unwilling and devalued Other. It worked to silence black African aspirations at a time when in the United States black activists were becoming more vocal and when fears of communist subversion were rising. It was literature as a retarding pressure, not as a socially-conscious ameliorative force. Both Hemingway and Ruark fell in love with colonial Kenya, in love with what Hemingway titled one of his books, *The Garden of Eden*. Their desire for such a macho playground, enabled by their money, overwhelmed both writers' strong sense of realism. Their extension into Africa of an American frontier mythology would itself have been seen as farcical, if it were not for these writers' strong reputations and for the ignorance of their readers. Instead of leading the way forward into a workable PostColonialism, they, both in their personal and literary performance of the colonial past, retarded such progress, and enabled a misleading American vision of Africa's future.

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***LANGUAGE USE
AND
LANGUAGE ACQUISITION***

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH INTO WORD-FORMATION STRATEGIES

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***Abstract:** Adopting an onomasiological approach, the study tests the hypothesis that it is not solely linguistic but also extra-linguistic (in our case sociolinguistic) factors that influence coiners' word-formation strategies, namely their inclination to economy/explicitness of expression. This was achieved by analysing new coinages denoting Agents and Instruments as proposed in samples varying in professional orientation, age, gender, and language background. In addition, attention is paid to the differences between the two cognitive categories. The whole research was carried out in Slovak.*

***Keywords:** bilingualism, onomasiology, sociolinguistics, word-formation*

1. Introduction

It comes as a surprise that the field of word-formation has long been dominated by formalistic approaches primarily focusing on issues such as affix-base combinability, the place and scope of the lexicon and the like. Nevertheless, when everything is said and done, every word-formation process necessarily comes down to its most central element – the language users. This is the direction that this article will follow. Drawing upon Štekauer's (1998) theoretical framework and Štekauer et al.'s (2005) empirical research (see also Körtvélyessy 2010 for a similar research), new coinages will be analysed in terms of explicitness and economy of expression. The research was carried out on five samples of participants, varying in professional orientation, age, gender, and language background. Before discussing the results, both onomasiology/semasiology distinction and the pertinent model are briefly commented on in the following section. Section 3 describes the adopted methodology, while the results are discussed in section 4. Finally, conclusions are offered in section 5.

2. Theoretical background

Among the many different approaches and frameworks introduced in the study of word-formation over the last few decades, one can broadly distinguish the main two – the semasiological and the onomasiological ones. While the former (from Greek *séma* – ‘sign’) proceeds from the form of a naming unit to its meaning, analyzing the already existing word-stock, the latter (from Greek *ónoma* – ‘name’) takes the opposite direction and focuses on the formation of new naming units, paying particular attention to the actual requirements of a speech community. This distinction roughly corresponds to that between Dokulil's (1962) word-formation/word-formedness and Aronoff's (1976) word-formation/word-analysis.

Surprisingly, it does not take long to conclude that the field is dominated by formalistic approaches focusing on word-decomposition rather than word-formation. As Mark Aronoff (1994: 10) points out, this unbalance might dwell in the very nature of lexemes, whose concrete forms are much easier to grasp than their abstract meanings – “but a lexeme is not just a form although a major strategy

of American linguistics since Boas has been to trust form over meaning". His words are supported by Dalton-Puffer (1997: 9), who even regards meaning-oriented approaches to word-formation as "practically untilled soil". However, voices calling for an alternative to the mainstream formalism were raised and a handful of scholars took the onomasiological stance.

One of its prominent proponents is Štekauer. His fundamental onomasiological principles aimed at the description of "all productive word-formation processes using one common mechanism" (Štekauer et al. 2005: 44) represent a good alternative to the semasiological approaches attempting to explain human capacity to understand new complex units (Fanselow 1988), or to study the patterns on which an unlimited number of new naming units can be formed with the already existing word-formation material (Dressler 1977). Unlike the semasiologists, Štekauer takes the naming needs of a speech community as the launching point, paying close attention to coiners' underlying cognitive processes. It is these naming needs that trigger a naming act, which is defined as "a *cognitive phenomenon* relying on intellectual capacities of a coiner" (Štekauer 2005: 213; his italics). Štekauer's model was inspired by the works of Dokulil, an eminent representative of the Prague School of Linguistics, and primarily by Slovak morphologist Horecký.

2.1. Štekauer's model

Each naming act derives from a conceptual processing that takes place at the *conceptual level*. Here, the object to be named is analysed and its characteristic features pinpointed. This is done by generalizations and abstractions, by which coiners apprehend the object and capture its specificities. As a result, the logical spectrum constituted by the logical predicates is created. As Štekauer (2005: 215) puts it, the logical spectrum is "an onomasiological answer to the generation of complex words from a single 'ill-defined' kernel sentence by transformationalists, and to the account of the internal structure of complex words by a single paraphrase by lexicalists".

The logical predicates are supralinguistic and as such do not constitute the linguistic sign proper. Thus, at the *semantic level*, individual logical predicates must be expressed as semantic markers (semes), observing the hierarchical status of the predicates - from the most general to the most specific. These, in turn, constitute the meaning (the semantic spectrum) of the linguistic sign proper (Štekauer 2005: 215). The conception of semes is congruent with the theory of componential analysis, with semes representing individual traits of meaning.

At the *onomasiological level*, some semes are chosen to serve as the polar members of the onomasiological structure. The one carrying more general information (e.g. gender, class etc.) constitutes the onomasiological base (the head), another serves as its specifying mark. While the former is simply structured, the latter can be divided into the determined (always active) and the determining (where the specifying and the specified elements are sometimes distinguished) constituents. These, connected with the onomasiological connective expressing their logical-semantic relations (e.g. Agent performing Action yielding Result), constitute the onomasiological structure. Types of their possible relations are numerous – Agent (base) performing some Action (mark) – e.g., *teacher, singer* and so forth.

The semes expressing the base and mark are then represented by their respective morphemes. This happens at the *onomatological level*. Following the Morpheme-to-Seme-Assignment Principle (MSAP), the material stored in the Lexical Component (word-formation bases and affixes) is assigned to the semes forming the onomasiological structure.

The last step of the naming act is the phonological shaping taking place at the *phonological level*.

2.1.1. Onomasiological types

A coiner can decide whether all members of the onomasiological structures (the base, the determined and determining constituents of the mark) will be explicitly expressed. If so, we speak of the so called Complete Complex Structure (CCS) (Onomasiological Type I – OT I), e.g. *screw driver, tennis player, car repairer, etc.*

If the determining constituent of the onomasiological mark is left unexpressed, we speak of the so called Incomplete Complex Structure R (ICSR) (R standing for the expressed right hand constituent of the onomasiological mark) (OT II), e.g., *player, analyst, worker, etc.*

Cases of naming units with the determined constituent of the onomasiological mark left unexpressed are covered by the third type, labelled Incomplete Complex Structure L (ICSL) (analogically, L stands for the expressed determining constituent of the mark) (OT III), e.g., *novelist, policeman, honey moon etc.*

In addition, there is also a special category of naming units, where the onomasiological mark cannot be analysed into the determining and the determined constituents. In other words, the naming units are simply structured. This type is therefore referred to as Simple Structure (SS) (OT IV), e.g., *lion-hearted, restart, defrost, etc.* This type was not attested in our data.

The last type covers the process traditionally referred to as conversion or zero derivation ($milk_N \rightarrow milk_V$). Štekauer prefers the term *onomasiological recategorization*. This type, however, is mentioned for the mere sense of completion, as Slovak makes no use of conversion.

3. Sample, method, and hypotheses

The research was conducted in the Slovak language on five different samples. The control group comprised high school graduates (17-19 years old) from two grammar schools with generally oriented curricula. The second group contained their peers from a secondary professional school (trade/vocational school) of mechanical engineering. The third sample comprised 13-14 year old junior high students.

The fourth and the fifth samples consisted of Hungarian-Slovak and Slovak-Ukrainian bilinguals respectively. These were bilingual high school graduates. They were asked to self-rate their language competence. 18 per cent of the Hungarian-Slovak informants considered their two languages equally mastered, 2 per cent regarded Slovak as their dominant language, 54 per cent could communicate in Slovak without major difficulties but still preferred Hungarian, and 26 per cent viewed their Slovak as significantly worse than Hungarian. The

original plan was to further subdivide the sample according to their language competence, assuming that a stronger Hungarian background could somehow affect the results. Nevertheless, the low percentage of students with considerably better Slovak did not allow for that.

The situation was different with the Slovak-Ukrainian bilinguals. As many as 70 per cent of the informants considered their Slovak to be obviously better than Ukrainian. 26.7 per cent regarded the two languages equally mastered and only 3.3 per cent preferred Ukrainian, while having no major problems with Slovak. No informant admitted a dominance of Ukrainian. The differences in competence are easy to explain. Slovakia (especially its southern parts) has a vigorous and quite large Hungarian community. The Slovak-Ukrainian school, on the contrary, is probably an attempt to keep the tradition of Ukrainian alive in Slovakia, the number of its speakers being considerably lower. While it is common to find Hungarians with very poor Slovak, the same does not hold for Ukrainians.

All informants were tasked with naming made up or existing concepts of Agents and Instruments that had no corresponding Slovak names. The two cognitive categories were selected due to their multiple and relatively the same morphological means of realization. Each participant was given a questionnaire with eight such concepts. For illustration, – *There is a gnome in every fairy-tale oven who watches over cookies so they don't get burnt. What would you call him?* Or – *The inhabitants of dry areas have invented a machine that makes rainbow. What would you call it?* The informants did not know that their proposals would be analysed for explicitness and economy of expression.

All in all, the five samples contained 208 informants. This number should ideally add up to 1648 responses. Yet, the actual number of relevant proposals only reached 881. This was primarily caused by two reasons – the informants either left some concepts unnamed, or their responses were flawed in (at least) one of the following ways: they were grammatically incorrect, had no semantic correspondence with the concept, or were based on semantic shift and already existing vocabulary. Productivity of individual Onomasiological Types was computed very simply - i.e. as the ratio of naming units formed by an individual Onomasiological Type to the overall number of all naming units.

It was hypothesized that the secondary professional school students would exhibit greater sensitivity to the category of Instruments than the Control group with generally oriented curricula. Secondly, the Control group was expected to coin more explicit naming units than the junior high students. The preference for more complex units was also expected in the bilingual groups. The reason was simple. Bilinguals were expected to either compensate for their uncertainty or, to the contrary, to prove their competence by proposing more complex structures. Gender was not expected to have any impact. The last question regarded the two cognitive categories themselves. To our best knowledge, there is nothing on the level of morphology that should make the informants tackle Agent and Instrument concepts differently. The results are introduced and discussed in the following section. The research questions will be taken up one by one.

4. Results and discussion

Let us start with the professional orientation. Table 1 compares the Secondary professional school with the Control group.

	Control		SPS	
	Agent	Instrument	Agent	Instrument
OT I	16.9%	32.4%	6.6%	36.7%
OT II	16.1%	31.5%	6.6%	43.3%
OT III	67%	36.1%	86.8%	20%

Table 1. Results taking into account professional orientation

The SPS students were not very explicit when naming new Agents. The OT I accounted for mere 6.6 per cent of all coinages. This type's share was considerably higher in the Control group (16.9 per cent). Nevertheless, the same did not hold for Instruments. The SPS students named instrument concepts almost six times more explicitly than the agent ones, with a total score of 36.7 per cent, thus topping the Control group by 4.3 per cent. If not proven, the hypothesis seems plausible.

The second hypothesis proposed an age-based increase in explicitness. To achieve a little greater age gap, the oldest Junior high school students (i.e. the 14 year olds) and the youngest Control group students (i.e. the 17 year olds) were eliminated. The figures are presented in Table 2.

	Control		JHS	
	Agent	Instrument	Agent	Instrument
OT I	16.9%	32.4%	15.8%	44.7%
OT II	16.1%	31.5%	21.7%	36.9%
OT III	67%	36.1%	62.5%	18.4%

Table 2. Degree of explicitness based on age

It is obvious that the expectation was not confirmed. There are at least three explanations. The first might be an insufficient age difference. Indeed, a five to six year difference may not be enough. The other explanation could be the young age of the JHS students. They turned out to be the most eager and passionate participants. This overzealousness could have distorted the results. Then there is a more down-to-earth possibility that cannot be neglected - further research might as well reveal zero relation between age and word-formation strategies. Either way, an age based preference for more explicit coinages was not confirmed by our data.

The third hypothesis proposed a higher occurrence of the OT I structures in the two bilingual samples. The results are summarized in Table 3.

	Control		HUN-SVK		SVK-UA	
	Agent	Instrument	Agent	Instrument	Agent	Instrument
OT I	16.9%	32.4%	26%	40.2%	23.6%	52.7%
OT II	16.1%	31.5%	29.9%	41.4%	16.6%	32.7%
OT III	67%	36.1%	44.10%	18.4%	59.8%	14.6%

Table 3. Results of the bilingual samples

The results seem to speak very clearly. Both bilingual samples have significantly more OT I units than the Control group. While the occurrence of Agents coined on the OT I pattern reached 16.9 per cent in the Control group, the SVK-UA students used this type in 23.6 per cent and the HUN-SVK students in as many as 26 per cent of all cases. Moreover, the tendency was also confirmed for Instruments. 40.2 per cent of all HUN-SVK and even 52.7 per cent of SVK-UA Instruments were analysed as Complete Complex Structures. This type was only accounted for by 32.4 per cent in the Control group. Whatever their motivation, the bilingual participants truly did name new concepts more explicitly than their monolingual peers, which renders our definition confirmed.

Gender was not expected to play a major role. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the data: the differences seem to be minor and inconsistent, even random. This is not a surprise, as, to my knowledge, no credible literature discusses gender-based differences relevant to this type of research. The results are contrasted in Table 4 below.

	Male		Female	
	Agent	Instrument	Agent	Instrument
OT I	20.5%	39.4%	16.2%	41.2%
OT II	18.2%	39.4%	19.1%	34.7%
OT III	61.3%	21.2%	64.7%	24.1%

Table 4. Gender-based differences

Now that all selected sociolinguistic factors have been examined, my research will be completed by an analysis of the role of the two cognitive categories. Unlike the results given in Table 4, the Agent/Instrument differences seem to be everything but haphazard. The results are shown in Table 5 below.

	Overall	
	Agent	Instrument
OT I	17.8%	40.5%
OT II	18.7%	36.8%
OT III	63.5%	22.7%

Table 5. Agent and Instrument overall results

While in each group the OT III was by far the most frequently employed in coining new Agent naming units, this was only once the case for Instruments when, in the Control group, the preference for the OT III was significantly lower - a mere 3.7 per cent. Indeed, the differences in the OT preferences between the two categories were remarkable. Generally speaking, in the two well balanced samples of 454 Agents and 427 Instruments, the preference for the OT I increased by 22.7 per cent in the latter case. A similar shift was attested in the OT II, whose occurrence increased by 18.1 per cent. While 63.5 per cent of all Agents were coined with the Action constituent left unexpressed, this was the case of just 22.7 per cent of Instruments. This result is both unexpected and significant because, as mentioned above, these differences are hard to account for by morphology. A

question then arises why the informants opted for more complex Instrument names and why they laid a greater emphasis on the Action element in the process. Differently put, what was it that made an Action performed with an Instrument more noteworthy than an Action performed by an Agent? No satisfying answer can be offered at this point. Nevertheless, the results make it worth seeking.

5. Conclusion

My research does not mean to suggest that a semasiological analysis is wrong. It, however, does show there is more to word-formation than purely formal approaches can unveil. Even though not all hypotheses were proved by the data, the results do highlight the importance of language users in the naming act.

The research seems to confirm a greater tendency towards more complex structures by bilinguals. Though not so clearly, the data also seem to confirm the hypothesized role of professional orientation. My informants truly did express the Instrument concepts way more explicitly than the Agent ones. On the other hand, explicitness of expression was not proved to increase with age. It should, however, be noted that this could have easily been caused by a wrong sample selection. The most interesting finding is the significant difference between Agents and Instruments in general. It may sound like a cliché to conclude a paper with a 'we need more research' phrase, but this observation does justice to such a conclusion. That is particularly true for the sociolinguistic perspective, which had long been neglected, to a point where it seemed that word-formation was not about people y more.

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REDUPLICATION FROM A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE¹

LÍVIA KÖRTVÉLYESSY

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Abstract: *While reduplication is a marginal word-formation process in the majority of languages of the Indo-European language family, it is widely employed in both derivational and inflectional morphology in other languages of the world. The paper examines the use of reduplication in word-formation from a cross-linguistic perspective. The analysis is based on a sample of 100 languages, which makes it possible to provide an overview of its productive use in various language families and language genera. Furthermore, the paper examines fundamental types of reduplication as well as its semantic, formal and structural characteristics. The final part summarizes the dominant features of reduplication resulting from my typological research.*

Keywords: *cross-linguistic research, formal structure, reduplication, semantics, reduplication types*

1. Introduction

Reduplication is the process of repetition of the full root/stem or part of it, that may be prefixed, suffixed to or infixes into the word-base. The present paper is based on a sample of 100 languages and focuses on the role of reduplication in word-formation in order to map the fundamental reduplication types as well as its semantic and formal characteristics.

The structure of the sample used and its areal distribution are presented in Table 1 and Table 2:

Genetic criterion	
Language families	37
Language genera	67
Geographic distribution	
Africa	16
America	18
Eurasia	41
South East Asia and Oceania	25

Table 1. The study sample by genetic criterion and by geographic distribution

Table 2 gives a list of language families, including the number of languages represented in the sample.

Language family	No. of languages	Language family	No. of languages
Afro-Asiatic	5	Matacoan	1
Ainu	1	Mayan	4
Altaic	5	Na-Dene	1
Arawakan	1	Nakh-Daghestan	4
Australian	9	Niger-Congo	7
Austro-Asiatic	1	Nilo-Saharan	2
Austronesian	6	Salishan	1
Basque	1	Sentanmi	1
Chapacura-Wanhan	1	Sino-Tibetan	4
Chukotko-Chamkatkan	1	Siouan	2
Dravidian	3	Tai-Kadai	1
Eskimo-Aleut	1	Totonacan	1
Indo-European	14	Trans-New Guinea	2
Isolate	2	Tucanoan	1
Japanese	1	Uralic	8
Jaqi	1	Uto-Aztecan	2
Kartvelian	1	Wakashan	1
Khoisan	1	Yenisean	1
Kwa	1		

Table 2. Language families in the sample

It follows from Table 2 that the sample is not ideally balanced in terms of language representation per family. Most strikingly, the Indo-European language family is over-represented. This has several reasons. The first one follows from the availability of data for the individual languages. In my research, I have combined the data obtained from informants with the data taken from descriptive grammars (cf. the References). The data from informants are highly valuable when provided by (in this particular case) a morphologist who has expertise in a particular language. This ideal situation enables the researcher not only to collect data

directly from the expert, but also to consult and clarify problematic cases with him/her. The use of grammars depends on the focus and the objectives of their authors, which do not always correspond with the aims of a particular cross-linguistic research. Moreover, the over-representation of Indo-European languages has resulted from the effort to map the situation in this language territory and to compare reduplication in IE languages with that in the rest of the world. If only non-Indo-European languages are taken into account, one can notice an unambiguous tendency to productively use reduplication for the formation of new complex words. Of the 86 non-IE languages, 61 employ reduplication productively in word-formation; this amounts to 71 per cent of the sample languages.

My research data correspond with Himmelmann's conclusion (2005: 121) that "[r]eduplication is probably the most pervasive morphological process in western Austronesian languages in that it is a productive process in all of them", as well as with the assumption by Wiltshire and Marantz (2000: 561), in particular, that "reduplication plays a major role in the formation of words in members of the Austronesian family [...], while it is less common in the Indo-European family members", and that "[r]eduplication also seems to be found in languages of all morphological types [...]". It follows from my data that all six languages of the Austronesian family make use of reduplication. This is also true of all nine Australian languages. A striking tendency towards reduplication has also been observed for African languages (14 out of 16 languages) – the two exceptions include Aghem, one of seven Niger-Congo languages in my sample, and Agaw, one of five Afro-Asiatic languages. In America, two thirds of the 18 sample languages use reduplication, including all four Mayan languages. Only one of the five languages does not employ reduplication in the Altaic family. Indo-European languages are basically non-reduplicating (with very few exceptions of productive reduplication, like Marathi), even though some of them show a sort of low-productive reduplication of the type illustrated by Hohenhaus in (2004). He demonstrates that cases such as *job-job*, *jealous-jealous*, *home-home*, etc. represent a semantically regular type of

- (1) 'an XX is a proper/prototypical X' for nouns
and
- (2) 'XX = really/properly/extremely X' for adjectives, adverbs and verbs.

It should, however, be stressed that Hohenhaus did not find (in the British National Corpus) more than a few dozen reduplications, which indicates a very low productivity of this word-formation type in English. These observations can be generalized to the majority of Indo-European languages, both in terms of their semantics and low productivity.

It should be also noted that my analysis does not take into account onomatopoeic reduplications, such as the Slovak and Hindi examples in (3):

- (3) *hav-hav* 'bow-vow' (my example)
cě~cě 'chirping' (Kachru 2006: 127)

Finally, and in accordance with Moravcsik (1978: 301), syntactic cases of the type 'very very bright' are also ignored.

2. Types of reduplication²

Complete reduplication obtains in 48 non-IE languages of my sample (56%), *partial reduplication* is slightly less frequent than complete reduplication: 43 non-IE languages (50%). Even if there is an implicational tendency for languages to also have complete reduplication if they have partial reduplication, which is in accordance with Moravcsik's (1978: 328) observation that languages with productive partial reduplication most likely also have full reduplication, this is not a universally valid implication. In my sample, Nelemwa, Totonac, Pipil, Movima, Turkish, Khwarshi, Alawa and Omaha have partial reduplication, but no complete reduplication. No correlation can be identified for these languages, because each of them belongs to a different language family. Three of them are spoken in North America (Totonac, Pipil and Omaha), one in South America (Movima), two in Eurasia (Turkish and Khwarshi), one in Australia (Alawa), and one in South-East Asia (Nelemwa).

Preposing partial reduplication is more common than postposing. The proportion is 30 non-IE featuring the former to 19 non-IE languages featuring the latter. Only seven languages employ partial infixing reduplication: Amharic, Hebrew, Ilocano, Amele, Movima, Alawa and Omaha. Neither here can be found any correlations.

Reduplication may be *recursive*, which is labeled 'triplication' (Wiltshire and Marantz 2000: 559). This phenomenon can be illustrated with Zhang's (1987: 379) example of Chinese triplicated adjectives, whose semantics is different as a result of reduplication:

- (4) *ang* 'red'
 ang~ang 'reddish'
 ang~ang~ang 'extremely red'

Harrison (1973: 426) provides an example from Mokilese, where triplication functions as a continuative and reduplication expresses progressive aspect.

- (5) *roar* 'give a shudder'
 roar~roar 'be shuddering'
 roar~roar~roar 'continue to shudder'

Rose (2003: 14) gives an example of increasing attenuation due to recursive reduplication in Tigre, a Semitic language:

- (6) *dəgm-a:* 'tell, relate'
 dəga: ~gəm-a: 'tell stories occasionally'
 dəga: ~ga: ~gəm-a: 'tell stories very occasionally'
 dəga: ~ga: ~ga: ~gəm-a: 'tell stories infrequently'

3. Semantic characteristics

As my data show, reduplication is a very productive and widespread morphological process. While in inflectional morphology its basic function is to form the plural, the range of word-formation meanings is much wider. My data give support to Moravcsik's observation (1978: 316) that the meanings associated with reduplication recur strikingly across languages. The range of meanings is considerable, but two of them clearly dominate, namely INTENSIFICATION and ITERATIVITY. In addition, reduplication plays a crucial role in evaluative

morphology (diminutives and augmentatives) across languages. All these basic semantic functions unambiguously suggest an important iconic function of reduplication. It is especially diagrammaticity that is crucial here, which corresponds with the fundamental principles of Natural Morphology: extended form is accompanied by 'growth' in meaning or, in other words, reduplication of a particular form is an indicator of a growing quantity of items, actions, or quality in general. A paradigmatic example of the diagrammatic function of reduplication is the way of expressing the numeral 'four' in the Australian languages Binbinga and Kalkutungu:

- (7) Binbinga *gudjarl~gudjari*
 two~two
 'four' (Chadwick 1978: 197)
- Kalkutungu *lyuati~lyuati*
 two~two
 'four' (Blake, pers. com.)

where the doubling of the form doubles the meaning. The diagrammaticity principle is present in numerous formations with the meaning of INTENSITY as in (8), and ITERATIVITY as in (9):

- (8) Arabana *kumpira-kumpira* 'long dead' < *kumpira* 'dead' (Hercus 1994: 63)
- (9) Cupeño *kem-kem-yax* 'bow again and again' < *kem-yax* 'bow' (Hill 2005: 134)

While Regier's (1994: 3-4) 'universal radial category model' identifies REPETITION as the core semantic concept, it may be assumed - with regard to what we have suggested in the previous paragraph - that the core semantic concept may be specified more generally, as INCREASED QUANTITY (of various kinds), with a range of manifestations mentioned by, for example, Moravcsik (1978), Nomura and Kiyomi (1993), Regier (1994).

It should be, however, noted that the same process of reduplication may have different and even contradictory semantic effects in the same language with two different word-classes, as in the case of adjectives and adverbs in Hausa, a Chadic language, where many adverbs comply with the core meaning of INCREASED QUANTITY when reduplicated, for example:

- (10) *maza-maza*
 fast-fast
 'very fast'
- yau-yau*
 today- today
 'this very day' (Newman, pers. com.);

but adjectives generally run counter this core meaning, their reduplication leading to REDUCED QUANTITY:

- (11) *fari-fari* 'whitish' < *farii* 'white'
 doogo-doogo 'somewhat tall' < *doogoo* 'tall' (Newman, pers. com.)

This is not an isolated case of violation of the iconicity principle. Thus, diminutive-formation like (12) runs counter the diagrammaticity principle, because the longer form results in ‘lesser’ meaning:

- (12) Arabana *mala-mala* ‘doggie’ < *madla* ‘dog’ (Hercus 1994: 42)

In fact, the quantity-raising meanings of reduplication, like INTENSITY, ITERATIVITY, DURATIVENESS, AUGMENTATIVITY, have their counterparts in the quantity-reducing meanings of DIMINUTIVENESS, ATTENUATION, etc. Thus, one and the same word-formation process can have two opposite effects in terms of iconicity, an issue that has recently attracted considerable interest on the part of morphologists, for example, Kiyomi (1995), Bakker and Parkval (2005), Abraham (2005), Kouwenberg and LaCharité (2005).

The following overview gives the various meanings of reduplications.

INTENSIFICATION

- (13) a. Arabana *kurpi-kurpi* ‘shiver’ < *kurpi* ‘skahe’ (Hercus 1994: 135)
 b. Bachamal *pamalaŋ-pamalaŋ* ‘very big, huge’ < *pamalaŋ* ‘big’ (Ford 2004 : 94)
 c. Basque *argi-argia* ‘very clear’ < *argi* ‘clear’ (Hualde and Ortiz 2003: 360)
 d. Khwarshi *ungo-ungoyab* ‘really real’ < *ungoyab* ‘real’ (Khalilova, forth-coming)

ITERATIVITY

- (14) a. Amharic *wär-wär* ‘every month’ < *wär* ‘month’ (Hudson, pers. com.)
 b. Cupeño *kem-kem-yax* ‘bow again and again’ < *kem-yax* ‘bow’ (Hill 2005: 134)
 c. Tzutujil *q’iijq’iij* ‘daily’ < *q’iij* ‘day’ (Dayley 1985: 55)
 d. Jacaltec *cha pitz’pe* ‘you squeeze sth. gently several times’ < *pitz’a* ‘squeeze sth. gently’ (Day 1973: 45)

An interesting case of iterativity is provided by Wari, a Chapacura-Wanhan language spoken in Brazil, where the reduplication of ‘mouth’ yields the meaning of ‘talker’, i.e., a person using his/her mouth frequently :

- (15) *capija capija*
capija-0 capija-0
 mouth-1s mouth-1s
 ‘talker’ (Everett, pers. com.)

DURATIVITY

- (16) a. Hausa *cìye-cìye* eat-eat ‘constant eating’ (Newman, pers.com.)
 b. Marathi *karata-karata* doing-doing ‘doing continuously’ (Dixit, pers.com.)
 c. Bahasa *senyum-senyum* smile-smile ‘to keep smiling’ (Mojdl 2006: 75)

A variant of DURATIVITY is GRADUALITY, as in the following examples from Arabana and Gagauz:

- (17) a. Arabana *palthi-palthingka* ‘to break open bit by bit’ < *palthi* ‘to break open’ (Hercus 1994: 135)
 b. Gagauz *adım-adım* ‘step by step’ < *adım* ‘step’ (Menz, pers. com.)

DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY:

- (18) a. Cupeño *suk-suk-in* ‘tie something up with several knots in different places’ < *suk-in* ‘tie a knot’ (Hill 2005: 134)

- b. Gã *jò-jò-ó-I* ‘dance in several places or on several occasions’
< *jò* ‘dance’ (Kropp Dakubu, pers. com.)
- c. Omaha *nūjīñjīñga* ‘boys of different sizes and ages’ < *nūjīñga* ‘boy’ (Hale 2001: 41)

DIVERSITY

- (19) a. Khwarshi *k’oro-moro* ‘cheese and things like it’ < *k’oro* (Khalilova, forthcoming)
- b. Bahasa *ikan-ikan* ‘various kinds of fish’ < *ikan* ‘fish’ (Müller, pers. com.)

AUGMENTATIVENESS

- (20) Cirecire *ba-bashaa* ‘very old woman’ < *bashaa* ‘old woman’ (Chebanne, pers. com.)

DIMINUTIVENESS

- (21) a. Bachamal *pøccałak-pøccałak* ‘tiny’ < *pøccałak* ‘small’ (Ford 1990: 94)
- b. Maya *ka-kah* ‘small pueblos’ < *kah* ‘pueblo’ (Tozzer 1921: 34)

A variant of DIMINUTIVENESS is ATTENUATION

- (22) a. Hausa *fari-fari* < *farī*
white-white ‘whitish’ (Newman, pers. com.)
- b. Zulu *giji-gijim-a*
RDP-run-VERB ‘run a little’ (van der Spuy, pers. com.)

This overview of various categories of meanings of reduplication is far from being exhaustive. Nevertheless, it indicates an enormous semantic capacity of reduplication as a word-formation process, which, outside Indo-European languages, approaches the word-formation capacity of affixation processes. It should also be noted that the semantic changes expressed by reduplication are sometimes accompanied by the change of word-class, as exemplified in (23):

- (23) Amele *bagac bagac* ‘leaflike, i.e., thin’ < *bagac* ‘leaf’ (Roberts, pers. com.)

The possibility to distinguish between class-changing and class-maintaining reduplication further strengthens the analogy to affixation processes.

4. Formal characteristics

4.1 Combination of word-formation processes

As pointed out by Inkelas (2006: 417), reduplication need not occur as the only word-formation process in a naming act. It may accompany or may be accompanied by some other process, like in Konni where, as observed by Cahill (1999: 58), AGENTIVE derivations also take, besides the AGENTIVE suffix, “a reduplicative prefix consisting of the first consonant of the stem and a high vowel that generally agrees in roundness (or the [dorsal]ature) [...] and ATR”³ with the following stem:

- (24) *si~siè-rú*
RDP~dance-AG ‘dancer’
mì~mìl-rú

RDP-build-AG ‘builder’

A combined reduplication-affixation process is also typical of Karao, Bahasa Indonesia and Gã (25):

- (25) Gã *tsO-mO~tsO-mO*
 turn.over-ITER/PL~turn.over-ITER/PL ‘turn over and over, many things in many places’ *tsO-mO* (Kropp Dakubu, pers. com.),

where, interestingly, what is reduplicated is an affixed stem: the suffix *-mO* is used to derive ITERATIVE/PLURACTIONAL form of the verb. The reduplicated form then takes the suffix *-i*.

In Mandarin Chinese, reduplication may be combined with compounding, as in (26):

- (26) *xiao3-xie2~xie2*
 little-shoe(s)~shoe(s) - ‘shoesies’ (Chung, pers. com.)

In Tzotzil, reduplication may be combined with a suffix attached to so-called stative stems. If a stative stem combines with the suffix *-tik* (meaning ‘pretty ___’, ‘somewhat ___’), it is always formed by root reduplication; see (27):

- (27) *sák~sák-tik*
 white~white-somewhat - ‘whitish’ (Cowan 1965: 103)

In Jacaltec, the suffix *-on* derives intransitive verbs from stems already derived by reduplication of the first consonant of a CVC root:

- (28) *xyucyuni* ‘it keeps shaking’ < *yuc* ‘making noise’ (Day 1973: 45)

Moreover, Tzotzil also provides an example of reduplication of an affixed stem, the so-called radical:

- (29) *mákan~mákan*
 repeatedly.close.off~repeatedly.close.off
 ‘keep on taking over (as land)’ Cowan 1965: 103)

4.2. Position of the reduplicated material

As maintained by Wiltshire & Marantz (2000: 560), “the position of the material in the base that is copied in reduplication may vary [...] material copied from base-initial position may appear in prefix, suffix or infix position. Base-final material may be copied by prefixes, suffixes, or infixes as well.” In the case of partial reduplication, the most frequent position of the reduplicated material is at the beginning of a base (Rubino 2005a: 114). Let us illustrate the situation on the basis of our sample:

- (30) Stem-final material copied by suffix:
 a. Nêlêmwa *fwa~wa*
 hole~RDP - ‘full of holes, tattered’ (Bril, pers. com.)
 b. Bardi *jala~la*
 see~RDP - ‘stare’ (Bowern, pers. com.)
 c. Māori *pätai~tai*
 ask~RDP - ‘ask frequently’ < *pätai* ‘ask’ (Harlow, pers. com.)

- (31) Stem-final material copied by infix:
 Ilocano *ag~<tilmo>~tilmón*
 swallow~<RDP> - 'swallow repeatedly' (Rubino, pers. com.)
- (32) Stem-initial material copied by prefix:
- a. Nêlêmwa *bi~bilic*
 RDP~be.weak/flexible - 'be very weak / flexible' (Bril, pers.com.)
- b. Anejöü *al~alai*
 RDP~swell.up - 'fat, thick' (Lynch, pers. com.)
- c. Amele *ab~abale?*
 RDP~to.search.with.hands'
 'to search repeatedly with hands' (Roberts 1991: 120).
- d. Māori *pah~pachua*
 RDP~pachua
 RDP~hold.down - 'to press' (Harlow, pers. com.)
- e. Tatar *jäm~jäšel*
 RDP~green - 'very green' (Wertheim, pers. com.)
- (33) Stem-initial material copied by suffix:
 Vietnamese *đep~đẽ*
 nice/fine~RDP - 'nice/fine' (Thái Ân, pers. com.)
- (34) Stem-initial material copied by infix:
- a. Nêlêmwa *ko~<xo>~le*
 throw.away/empty~<RDP>
 'scatter, spread, sow' < *kole* 'throw away, empty' (Bril, pers. com.)
- b. Amele *hili~<holo>~doc*
 'to ripple repeatedly in a haphazard manner' (Roberts, pers. com.)
- c. Klallam *lúp'*
lúp~<ł>
 eat.soup
 'eating soup' (Montler, pers. com.)
- (35) Stem-internal material copied by infix:
- a. Karao *man~<ba>~bakal*
 to.fight.each.other (2 participants)~<RDP>
 'to fight each other' (more than 2 participants) (Brainard, pers. com.)
- b. Ilocano *ag~<sa>~sao*
 speak~<RDP> - 'speak (cont.)' (Rubino, pers. com.)
- c. Klallam: *sq~<aʔ>~áʔxaʔ*
 dog~<RDP> - 'puppy' (Montler, pers. com.)
- (36) Mirror-image reduplication
- with stem final material copied as suffix:
- Amele *ene~ʔ-en*
 here~RDP - 'it is here' (Roberts 1991: 120)

- with stem internal material copied as infix:

Tibetan *sal~le~ba*
 be-bright~<RDP> - ‘very bright’ (Hill, pers. com.)

My analysis of the available data indicates the following tendency: in partial reduplications, there is a tendency to copy the stem material on the side from which it is taken, i.e., prefixes tend to copy stem-initial material, suffixes stem-final material, and infixes stem-internal material.

4.3. The structure of the reduplicated material

Apart from the absolute linear position of the reduplicated material, it is also segmental consonantality and vowelhood that is crucial for the formal description of reduplications (Moravcsik 1978: 305, 307). The most frequent structures of the reduplicated material in our sample of languages are:

→ **CV**, as in Omaha *sāsabe* ‘black here and there’, Marathi *suswaagata* (*su-su-aagata* ‘most welcome’), Māori *papai* ‘very good’, Nêlêmwa *duduji* ‘be very tired’, Maya *ka-kah* ‘small pueblos’, Amele *ab-abalena* ‘he searches repeatedly with hands’, Bardi *jalala* ‘stare’, Hausa *bībiyu* ‘two each’, and Pipil *tutu: nia* ‘to heat’, and

→ **CVC**, as in Romanian *țurțur* ‘icicle’, Tatar *kap-kara* ‘very black’, Datooga *ɲʌɲ/ɲʌɲ* ‘knock repeatedly’, Klallam *nəçnəçú?* ‘one after’, Georgian *xev-xuv-eb-i* ‘small/unimportant gorges’ < *xev-I*, and Vietnamese *bán biéc* ‘to sell’ pejor).

Other structures may also occur, such as:

→ **CVV** in Māori *pātaitai* ‘ask frequently’),

→ **V** in Ga *jò-jò-ó-I* (dance-dance-ITER.-PLURAL) ‘dance in several places or on several occasions’),

→ **VC** in Anejoü *al-alai* ‘fat, thick’),

→ **CVCV** in Zulu *giji-gijim-a* ‘run a little’),

→ **CVC(C)V** in Ilocano *ag-tilmotilmón* ‘swallow repeatedly’),

→ **VCCV** in Khvarshi *ungo-ungoya-w* ‘very real’)

5. Conclusion

My cross-linguistic research has proved the considerable power of the word-formation process of reduplication, which is employed in a large number of Australian, Austronesian, African, and partly, American languages. Reduplication is characterized by a wide range of diagrammaticity-governed semantic patterns. Two of them clearly dominate, the semantic categories of INTENSITY and ITERATIVITY. These and some other semantic categories (such as DISTRIBUTION, DURATIVITY, DIVERSITY, AUGMENTATIVENESS) may be subsumed under the ‘supercategory’ of quantity, which finds its inflectional counterpart in plural-formation. Formally, the most widespread type is complete reduplication. The productivity of reduplication as a word-formation process is enhanced by its ability to combine with affixation processes. Furthermore, there is a range of different patterns of partial reduplication. The material taken from the initial part, final part as well as middle part of the stem can be copied onto any of these three stem-

locations, which gives rise to a variety of partial reduplication types. Eventually, it was illustrated that the most frequently copied material is CV and CVC, but the number of options is much higher.

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ARE WRITERS COMMITTED TO WHAT THEY REPORT? A TAXONOMY OF REPORTIVE VERBAL EXPRESSIONS IN THE BRITISH AND SPANISH PRESS

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***Abstract:** The degree of writer's commitment or the way in which the stance towards the truth-value of the reported information is suggested in reporting verbs, has been the centre of analysis in various linguistic studies (Thompson 1996; Chen 2007). This paper examines this parameter by means of a corpus-based survey, starting from the understanding of commitment as a graded phenomenon, as well as the value readers' intuition has to judge when evaluating the signals embedded in reporting verbs. The results uncover the subtle interplay of voices in the quality press, without adversely affecting the supposed intertextual impartiality of the text.*

***Keywords:** commitment, evidentiality, implicature, journalistic discourse, reporting verbs*

1. Introduction

The notion of commitment and its connection with reporting verbs has been extensively discussed in linguistics in the last few years (Thompson 1996; Hyland 2004; Chen 2005; Morency et al. 2007). Generally speaking, this concept may be claimed to denote “a specific individual's mental state”, as it belongs to the “speaker's ‘intimate’ cognition” (Morency et al. 2007: 198). Basically, propositional commitment is connected with the mental representations that people create in their minds about others' *inner* intentions by means of their linguistic production, as well as the *image* that is created in the mind of the speaker about the veracity of her/his statement and the way in which it will be accepted or not by hearers. Therefore, commitment is both message-oriented and addressee-oriented.

In journalistic discourse analysis, and more specifically in the study of media reports, approaches to commitment expressed by reporting verbs may bediverse. Conclusions can differ, depending on, for example, the unit of analysis (the source of evidence, the reporting verb or thereported information) or the commitment's *recipient* that one considers, i.e. the element to which the unit of analysis is addressing its *involvement* (mainly the author of the assertion or the reported information).

Citing another source commonly entails an evaluation of the reported information. As Sinclair (1985) states, media articles are goal-oriented, and journalistic discourse is full of evaluative signals, which aim at persuading readers to take a stance on the quoted information, the reporting verb being one of its main elements of assessment.

However, in journalism, news reporters' evaluation may concern instead the source of this information. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980: 115) points out that writers may also indicate “their attitude towards the speaker rather than the message”, which is often determined by the ideological orientation imposed by the newspaper. This nuance is usually depicted in the pre-citation segment that defines

the source of evidence; for instance, the inclusion of professional modifiers (*school chief*; the *Foreign Secretary*) or the use of capital letters in the definition of the source normally indicate a positive stance towards the source.

Another level of commitment can be established between the original author of the assertion and the way s/he is committed to the veracity of the information that a writer is reporting in a media article. Nonetheless, as news reports frequently involve evaluation more than reproduction, “there is no way of safely attributing commitment to OS [original speaker] via RS’s [reported speech] interpretation of OS’s original utterance” (Morency et al. 2007: 215). Moreover, some times researchers have no direct access to the assertions made in the original utterance; in these cases, whether or not the initial author is actually committed to the implicatures suggested by the journalist in the report cannot be checked in any way.

In this paper, I am particularly interested in exploring the writer’s commitment to the truth of the quoted proposition embedded in reporting verbs; from the range of possibilities described above, concerning the degrees of *involvement* that can be exhibited in reports, this overtone is somehow more feasible to infer than others taking solely into account the implicatures present in the discourse due to the meaning of the reporting verbs.

2. Writers’ commitment to the validity of the reported proposition

Assessing how news reporters depict their engagement to the veracity of a quoted statement implies an inferential process on the part of the readers. As implicit meaning is normally difficult to grasp, it is the readership who is “responsible for some of the assumptions mobilized in deriving the implicature” (Morency et al. 2007: 210) and consequently, writers do not need to retract what they have implicitly suggested in the text, because at no time have their intentions been made “publicly manifest” (Morency et al. 2007: 210) at the discourse level. This fact attached to the notion of commitment is the paramount *ingredient* upon which journalism relies: in case misunderstandings have not been caused in the inferential process, news reporters still have the possibility of not responding to the inferred implicatures and even “deny having endorsed implicit contents, by communicating to the [reader] that [s/he] was somehow wrong in inferring an implicature which was never intended in the first place” (Morency et al. 2007: 211).

Notwithstanding this lack of responsibility on the part of the reporter, it is well-known that “language users are not simply passive recipients of textual effects” (Hyland 2004: 40) and, even if in journalism writers claim not to have suggested any connotations in the text, implicatures can still be ascribed to their perspective.

2.1. Survey: commitment attribution

The classification of reporting verbs that takes into account the notion of writer’s commitment is addressed in this study by means of a corpus-based survey for both English and Spanish native speakers (see *Appendix*) that attempts to minimize possible misattributions in the interpretation. The survey is basically aimed at determining the position of a fictitious news reporter (Angela) in relation to the content of the reported clause previously uttered by a defendant (David), on the grounds of the implicatures embedded in the reporting verb that the news reporter uses. The suspect is depicted as

someone to whom a supposed illegal contract was given and now he has been taken to court to report against his company.

The corpus is made up of 40 articles published in four British and Spanish broadsheet journals, namely *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *El Mundo* and *El País*, from which 76 verbs, widely present in the press, have been chosen for analysis at sentence level. The examples have been evaluated by a group of 34 participants of different nationalities, who had to decide on the reporters' commitment to the content they were reporting, by means of a 10-degree scale. In the analysis of the writer's engagement to the reliability of the information, participants had to follow their intuition, as there was no conclusive nuance in the sentences about whether the journalist was reporting the author's information impartially or, otherwise put, was judging its validity in a positive or a negative sense.

In order not to obtain disparities in the interpretation, all reporting clauses were written in the past tense, although in some examples their reporting style changes slightly and, therefore, their content, due to considerations of style (e.g. "David ACCUSED his employer of hiring him illegally" vs. "David HIT BACK: 'the employment contract I signed wasn't legal'"); direct and reported speech are mixed in the questionnaire because, as Morency et al. (2007: 209) point out, "there is no significant difference between direct and indirect reported speech with prefaces signalling faithful reports as to the way the hearer attributes commitment to OS [original speaker]". Moreover, some verbs were rejected, as a consequence of the fictitious *stage* that was created for the survey (for instance, 'to rule' and its Spanish counterpart 'decretar'). According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary 'to rule' is "to make a legal decision about something", and the agent connected with this verb is usually related to justice departments, e.g. 'the Supreme Court', 'the jury', 'the board'; so a supposedly ordinary person like David, the fictitious defendant, cannot *rule* in this sense. Besides, one verb chosen at random ('to shoot back' and 'admitir' [to admit] in the Spanish questionnaire) appears twice in each of the surveys in order to check the level of reliability of the results.

2.2. A revised taxonomy of reporting verbs

Over the last decades, a number of scholars have centred their analyses on the classification of reporting verbs reflecting the writer's commitment and various attempts to classify them in this way have emerged (Thompson and Yiyun 1991; Chen 2005, 2007). Ken Hyland (2004: 38) believes that "the selection of an appropriate reporting verb allows writers to signal an assessment of the evidential status of the reported proposition and demonstrate their commitment, neutrality or distance from it". Nonetheless, previous taxonomies are not always as clear as Hyland's whether the engagement refers to the truth of the quoted information or to the author of the statement, considering these levels of analysis compatible or perhaps correlative. For example, Thompson and Yiyun (1991) defend the idea that the writer's commitment is concerned with the truth of the reported information, but once they describe the possible options with regard to this factor, they mainly allude to the writer's commitment to the author of the quoted information. In my view, being on the author's side does not necessarily imply approving her/his quoted evidence, and vice versa, though there is a tendency to make both positions match in the discourse.

Apart from this lack of consensus in relation to the scope of writer's commitment, there is also no common agreement regarding the commitment connotations encoded in the reporting verbs analysed in previous classifications.

For instance, Thompson and Yiyun (1991) consider that the verb ‘claim’ gives no clear signal of the writer’s attitude towards the author of the reported assertion, whereas Chen (2005) thinks that it presents an element of doubt with respect to the person whose words are being reported. Thus, the former taxonomies should be regarded as not entirely satisfactory.

My division categorizes reporting verbs in connection to the writer’s commitment to the truth of the reported information parameter as follows:

Writer’s commitment	General stance	Specific stance	Definition
Qualified	Negative	Highly sceptical	The writer does not appear to trust the information at all
		Sceptical	The reporter seems to be critical of the information
	Positive	Favourable	There are overtones of approval of the reported information
		Strongly in favour	The reporter appears to believe in the evidence to a great extent
Non-qualified	Unbiased	Impartial	The writer may keep herself/himself close to a neutral position

Table 1. Classification of reporting verbs regarding the writer’s commitment to the truth of the reported information

By using qualified reporting verbs, the writer gives indications of her/his commitment to the truth of the proposition, either in a positive or negative way; whereas non-qualified reporting verbs do not exhibit any sort of engagement to the veracity of the reported information. Within each of the qualified groups, the writer’s attitude can be measurable, contemplating two grades for each of the writer’s possible positioning. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the lines separating the groups can be blurred in actual practice and sometimes the implicatures ascribed to reporting verbs might not clearly reveal the journalist’s attitude towards the veracity of the assertion; for this reason, these subtypes should be considered as tendencies that can be conveyed in journalistic discourse in a more or less reliable way.

When reporters are positively committed to the truth of the quoted information by means of a reporting verb, they seem to be presenting the reported content as correct, a verbal category that Thompson and Yiyun (1991) previously described as ‘factive’ and Chen (2005), years later, defined as a ‘positive verbal process’.

On the other hand, negative commitment implies that “the writer portrays the author as presenting false information or an incorrect opinion” (Thompson and Yiyun 1991: 372). In journalism, the presence of a negative evaluation by means of a reporting verb is almost imperceptible or at least, more subtly embedded in the verb. News reporters tend to avoid overt criticism and negative overtones can instead be implicitly deduced through other linguistic devices, such as the context in which the source of information is inserted. For instance, the verb ‘say’ in a sentence like ‘Mr. Smith says that entrepreneurs have nothing to do with the ailing national economy’ could be classified at first as ‘impartial’; but if the report were as follows (constructed example):

The Labour leader had stated last month that companies were the principal element in the recovery of the British economy; however, *now* Mr. Smith says that

entrepreneurs have nothing to do with the ailing national economy. So, UK citizens are starting to think about...

Would the verb 'say' be still categorized as non-qualified to the truth of the reported content? Explicitly yes, but the implicatures that arise from the context of the assertion seem to be telling readers that the writer is presenting an opinion contrary to her/his own viewpoint and even that the reporting voice is conveying scepticism (Hutchby 1996). Since such complex cases appear recurrently in the analysis of authentic cases, my division has focused on the semantic, context-independent meaning of the verb, so as to reduce the ambiguities of interpretation.

Finally, by using neutral verbs, "the writer chooses neither to offer endorsement nor disparagement of what the person being reported is saying" (Chen 2005: 38). These kinds of verbs fulfil satisfactorily the desirable detachment of the reported content that news reporters *pursue* in their articles.

2.3. Results and discussion

The distribution of reporting verbs in relation to the writer's commitment to the veracity of the reported information in the British and the Spanish press is shown in Table 2 below. Groups are distributed according to the mean (M) score commitment obtained in the survey, which ranged from 4.00 to 8.30 and, since the number of verbs chosen for analysis differ in each press group, results are just given in the columns N (numbers).

Classification	Score (M)	British press	N	Spanish press	N
Highly sceptical	<5	Suggest; think; claim	3	Comentar [comment]; agradecer [thank]; opinar [believe]; considerar [consider]; hablar [talk]; estimar [estimate]	6
Sceptical	5-6	Call; believe; signal; respond; announce; report; blame; say; describe	9	Explicar [explain]; relatar [tell]; anunciar [announce]; hacer [make, do]; señalar [point out]; sostener [maintain]; atribuir [confer]; entender [understand]; recordar [recall]	9
Impartial	6-7	Add; tell; argue; deny; agree; accuse; warn; criticise; inform; caution; explain; point out	12	Justificar [justify]; decir [say]; avalar [support]; comunicar [communicate]; advertir [warn]; apuntar [note]; indicar [indicate]; manifestar [express]; aclarar [clarify]; calificar [describe]; defender [defend]; concluir [conclude]; remarcar [stress]; destacar [highlight]; añadir [add]; asegurar [claim]; amenazar [threaten]; insistir [insist]; responder [respond]	19
Favourable	7-8	Maintain; shoot back; stress; recognize; hit back; acknowledge; admit; insist; testify	9	Identificar [identify]; confesar [confess]; afirmar [state]; denunciar [denounce]; comprometerse [commit oneself]	5
Strongly in favour	>8	Reiterate; make (it) clear; confirm	3	Admitir [admit]	1
Total			36		40

Table 2. Distribution of verbal groups in the British and Spanish press ordered by increasing level of commitment [my translation]

The survey results reveal that the distribution of verbs varies with language. In Spanish newspapers, for instance, the presence of ‘favourable’ verbs is significantly lower than in British journals, whereas the latter prefer using many more impartial verbs than the Spanish press (see Figure 1 below). Besides, writers tend to avoid both over-criticism and approval and prefer showing impartiality instead.

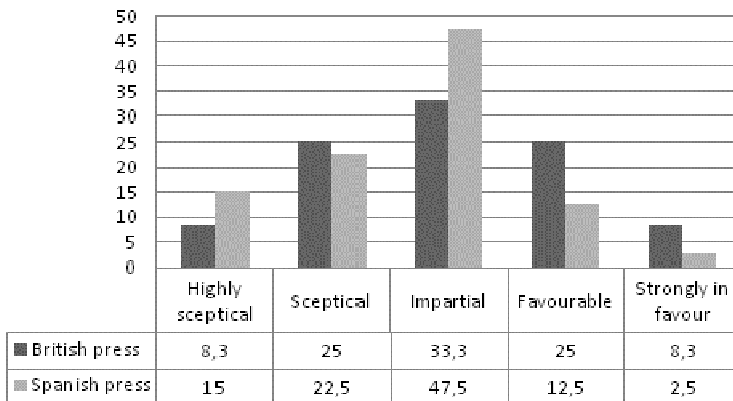


Figure 1. Percentages of reporting verbs in the British and Spanish press

One may notice the presence of few parallel cases in the groups analysed. Some pairs of verbs, regardless of their similarity in meaning, exhibit great differences in use, according to participants’ perception; for instance, ‘explain’ is classified in the British press as impartial, while Spanish native speakers classify its counterpart (‘explicar’) as sceptical. These variations in the commitment attribution may be connected to the use of reporting verbs in context, i.e. to the evaluative signals present in the surrounding information. Then, even though participants had to evaluate commitment at sentence level in the questionnaire, they still evaluated verbs on the basis of the news rhetoric in which they were used to seeing these reporting verbs.

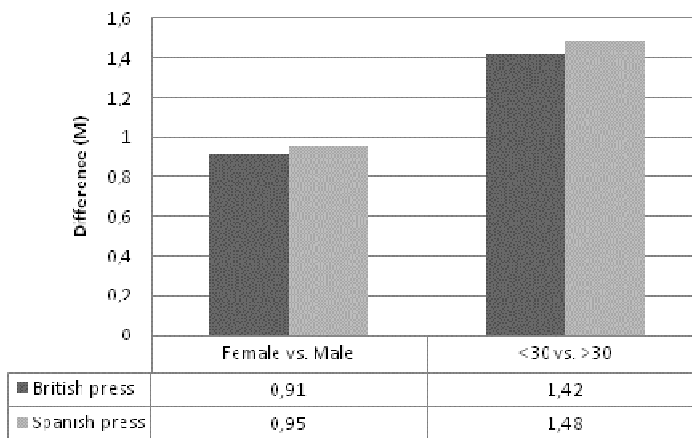


Figure 2. Gender and age differences concerning commitment attribution

Moreover, the age and gender of participants are factors that influence the perception of commitment. There are some verbs in which the general score was significantly variable, depending on the profile of the participants; for example, the English verb 'deny' was classified by female participants and persons over 30 years old as 'favourable', whereas the other groups considered it as 'highly sceptical'. Figure 2 shows the general mean of these differences found in the evaluation of reporting verbs, when taking into account the profile of the participant. The highest discrepancy among contestants has to do with the age factor; in fact there is over a 1.40 point gap in the scale in both the British and the Spanish press, the English native participants under 30 being the most sceptical evaluators. This suggests that the age-graded variation in linguistics is a crucial aspect when evaluating the level of acceptance of reported information; thus, results are likely to reveal a variation in a diachronic study depending on the age of the participants that take part in the study.

3. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to clarify the notion of writer's commitment in journalistic discourse by means of the use of a survey evaluated by a small group of contestants. The pilot study seems to prove not only that this parameter is difficult to evaluate, but also that reporting verbs are used in such a way that they contribute to the creation of a subtle interplay of voices, without putting at risk the supposed intertextual impartiality of the article.

The critical approach of the survey participants when they assigned a degree of commitment to each verb leads me to conclude that news reporters might be underestimating the power which reporting verbs have to reveal their true intentions. However, as Morency et al. (2007: 198-9) point out, "there is no infallible means of safely attributing commitment to an implicitly conveyed representation"; so often the issue of whether or not the journalist agrees with what is being reported is marked in the reporting verbs in such a subtle way that it is rather complicated to determine the attitude of the reporter with complete certainty. Even though I have tried to reduce the possibility of misattributing commitment, the margin of error is ever-present, making the informants' inferences susceptible of being disputed.

Lastly, the study appears to reveal the influence that the readership profile and the language of analysis have in the inferential process, though this still requires further research. It would be advisable then to increase the number of participants in future investigations in order to analyse these variables in depth, as well as to evaluate the writer's commitment at discourse level in order to check the (non-)existence of clear contextual divergences regarding parallel cases in media reports.

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Appendix (excerpt from the English survey)

How sure is Angela that what David says is true?

In this survey you will read several sentences written by Angela (a fictitious journalist working for a newspaper) about what David (a fictitious defendant) said in a trial. The aim is to deduce (if possible) Angela’s opinion about the veracity of David’s information by focusing your attention on the reporting verb (in capital letters) she uses. You have to write in the black box a number from 1 to 10 depending on the degree of certainty that you think Angela has about what David said in the trial (if you are not sure about her positioning just write number 5).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10											
she is not sure					○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	she is very sure				

	David TOLD them that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David INFORMED the court that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David MADE IT CLEAR that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David DESCRIBED the employment contract he had signed as illegal
	David RESPONDED “the employment contract I signed wasn't legal”
	David CLAIMED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David ACKNOWLEDGED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David ACCUSED his employer of hiring him illegally
	David THOUGHT that the employment contract he had signed was legal
	David ANNOUNCED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David RECOGNIZED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David MAINTAINED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal
	David ADMITTED that the employment contract he had signed wasn't legal

BRAND NAMES AND ENGLISH PUNS IN ROMANIAN VIRTUAL ADVERTISING SPACE

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Abstract: *The paper analyses the use of brand names in print advertisements that are built on puns in English. It explores the architecture of pun utterances and the behaviour of onomastic items selected as pun bases, mainly within the frameworks of semantics, pragmatics, semiotics and psycholinguistics. The texts discussed are collected from virtual public space and illustrate the globalisation of Romanian advertising.*

Keywords: *advertisements, brand names, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, puns, semantics*

1. Introduction

The present study examines the use of brand names as bases for English puns employed in print advertisements collected from the Romanian virtual environment. Taking into consideration a selection of advertising texts built in the manner of slogans, the paper analyses the use of brand names as markers (conveyors) of ambiguity-related word play, meant to obtain a primarily humorous and satirical effect. While highlighting the semantic shifts that proper names undergo as a result of their peculiar (nonprototypical) employment, the study sets to identify the linguistic and pragmatic mechanisms which underlie the aforementioned transformations. In order to explain these aspects, the analysis relies on theoretical principles taken from semantics, pragmatics, semiotics, psycholinguistics and literary theory. Moreover, some sociolinguistic factors and precepts are also invoked, especially with reference to the globalisation of advertising space. The trend of onomastic play analysed in this paper is widespread, but its conspicuousness tends to be peculiar to the English language, perhaps as an unsurprising effect of the still unquestionable status of English as a *lingua franca*. In this context, the occurrence of English onomastic puns in Romanian advertising space does not appear to be discordant. Nevertheless, to illustrate the extent of their use in Romanian, some examples will be provided in this language as well.

The texts that constitute the working material of this investigation were selected from the Romanian virtual space. They were created by Andrei (Deiu) Stanciu, a Romanian copywriter, as part of one of his collections of print advertisements, *Brandom Humor*, and can be accessed freely on his Facebook page (signed Deiu Stanciu) or on various specialised websites, such as *Suburban Magazine* (see Chirilă 2014).

2. Advertising discourse and punning

In contemporary marketing communication, advertising discourse is a complex, multimodal composition (see Cmeciu 2010: 34 and Sjöblom 2008: 351), usually designed as a *paratextual* (cf. Genette 2001: 1-2) extension of the *brand*

identity (Corbu 2009: 64) of a product, business (establishment) or institution. The main function of an advertisement is to convey a specific message, which consists of several positive associations related to the object advertised and which the sender (the individual or group behind the commercialised object) wishes the receiver (the target audience of the ad) to grasp, believe and accept (Alrasheedi 2014: 71). Put differently, the aim of most advertisements is commercial, i.e. to persuade prospective customers of the benefits that are sure to be derived from coming into contact with a certain product, business or institution.

Sometimes, in order to transmit information, the persuasive rhetorical devices used in advertisements rely to a great extent on humour and irony (even sarcasm). In these instances, ambiguity, polarity (positive or negative semantic oppositions) and unexpectedness (“contextual imbalances among the semantic meanings of the words”) (Reyes, Rosso and Buscaldi 2012: 5) are often employed/sought (either together or independently) as pragmatic stimuli. As such, when decoded properly, these features may facilitate the production of a precise, desired response on the part of potential customers. This behaviour is elicited by means of the advertising utterance not through the advertising text *per se*, but essentially through *how* this text is built (Abass 2007: 48).

A way of devising pragmatically efficient advertising texts consists of punning, by which one understands, in agreement with Partington (2009: 1794), “the bisociative play between two sound sequences”, a play on words, as well as on ideas. Puns are frequent occurrences in advertisements, often – but not necessarily – as a part of humorous language (Crawford and Gregory 2015: 571). Like other kinds of word games, puns are illustrative of the “*ludic* uses of language, where the aim is not primarily to communicate meaning but to draw attention to the way the normal rules of language can be bent or broken to convey novel effects” (Crystal 2007: 464, italics in the original). Usually, semantic consistency and singular discursive cohesion are affected first and foremost through punning. By associating a single phonetic form (as regards *exact puns*) or two very similar such forms (as regards *near puns*) (see Partington 2009: 1796) with two distinct meanings, manner maxims are flouted and ambiguity is deliberately generated (Grice 2004: 49; Taylor and Taylor 1990: 30). Through a pun, what initially might have appeared as the suitable, salient direction of interpretation in communication is cut short, and a different, antipodal interpretation is brought to the fore (Grice 2004: 55). Naturally, this semantic mutability does not threaten the security of the cooperative principle as a whole. As long as the meaning deviation is perceived and acknowledged by the receivers (or at least expected, foreseen), the pun will have fulfilled its purpose and the intended message will have reached its destination successfully.

3. Onomastics at play

Proper names are types of words that punsters have always been keen to exploit, due to the ease with which these constructions are fixed on the level of an established linguistic and cultural convention (van Langendonck 2007: 6), and sometimes even beyond that. Names have a primary identifying function and whatever meanings one may distinguish upon their use are basically associative senses, not asserted lexical ones (van Langendonck 2007: 7). Nevertheless, in specific circumstances, names may be provided various emotive, functional and categorial meanings, as a result of their use. It is precisely due to this characteristic of ad-hoc semanticisation that proper names make up felicitous punning material.

Whether humorous or nonhumorous, name-based puns are, as all such instances of word play, deeply contextualised constructions. Knowledge of the language in which a pun is coined determines speakers' understanding of the ludic speech act and creates the context that is favourable for the identification of the attitudinal gist that a pun may convey, like amusement, irony, sarcasm and seriousness, etc. In the case of puns that deviate from standard language and rely on the use of dialect or slang to generate humour, one's familiarisation with the linguistic code is crucial for their correct interpretation. However, in the case of onomastic puns, especially those based on names of brands or well-known figures, relevant encyclopaedic knowledge must be owned and accessed to be able to correlate the onomastic decoding of the material on which the pun is built and its non-onomastic reorientation. Therefore, from this pragmatic-discursive viewpoint, onomastic puns (and all puns by extension) take the shape of two-dimensional utterances designed as palimpsests. The pun basis includes two semantic layers of text:

(1) one retrievable at sentence (*macro*) level and well integrated in it (the phonetic unity of the name form is broken into as many parts as necessary to "glue" the matrix text), and

(2) one retrievable at the name form (*micro*) level, conveying various emotive and sociocultural associations, influenced by the importance of the original denotatum, the aspects that are meant to be highlighted, and the attitude of the pun makers (as well as of the receivers of the pun) towards the name bearer.

The two textual levels of puns indicate that the interpretation of this form of word play is realised in several successive stages, whose felicitous individual and overall development depends on the availability of the aforementioned types of knowledge. Thus, psycholinguistically, the comprehension of puns is materialised in a process of decoding and recoding which is achieved in three reading phases:

(1) a reading in the foreground of the utterance, prompted by all the components of the pun text, functioning as a system, and the general meaning of the utterance. The interpretative effort made at this stage is mild, as this is the phase in which language users get acquainted with the pun;

(2) a reading in the background of the utterance, focusing on identifying, from the entire textual concoction, the onymic item on which the pun is based. The interpretative effort intensifies, due to the filtering activity performed in view of determining the "odd one out" in the pun text;

(3) an articulating reading, aimed at connecting the previous phases of interpretation, at establishing a linguistic-affective relationship between the two textual dimensions. Thus, while a parallel is drawn between the source text (the onymic unit) and the target text (the pun utterance), the attitude conveyed through the pun by its creator is grasped. Both the context and co-text will help elucidate whether the pun is serious, humorous, ironic, sarcastic, critical or a combination of the above.

An instance of pun seriousness lies in the Latin biblical verse "et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam" (*BibleGateway.com*, Matthaeus 16: 18) and its French translation: "Et moi, je te dis que tu es Pierre, et que sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon Église" (Matthieu 16: 18). In English, the adaptation of the verse fails to preserve the pun on the proper name *Peter* (the English equivalent of Latin *Petrus* and French *Pierre*): "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My church" (Matthew 16: 18).

While no humour is intended in the afore-quoted context, in advertisements some degree of light-heartedness is often implied, because puns in commercial discourse are “a feature of the linguistic context of trade names” (Crystal 1994: 63): e.g., *British Steel: British mettle, Chexcellent, or what?* (Frosted Chex breakfast cereals), *It ‘asda be Asda* (slogan for Asda supermarket chain), *You just can’t help acting on Impulse* (for Impulse deodorant), *You’ll find there is no Comparison* (Campari aperitif), and others (Foster 2007). As these examples show, the puns are employed in slogans or slogan-like advertising texts. In the process of punning, the proper noun is deonymised, i.e., it loses its proprial status. To be more explicit, the onymic quality/function of the proper name ceases to be the primary direction of interpretation in the context of a given advertising speech act and, instead, one is suggested a different, descriptive, logically predicative reading. The latter is mediated by a phonetic form that is identical or quasi-identical to the one that the context *a priori* established as defining, signifying the proper name. When one hears or sees an advertisement about Impulse deodorant, for instance, one expects the advertising text to include the phonetic structure corresponding to the product name in relation to that name, not an appellative. In this example, the deonymisation does not hinder the correct identification of the product advertised, due to the fact that the brand name *Impulse* is, actually, graphically akin to the appellative *impulse*. Moreover, the meaning of the common noun is finely contextualised so as to suggest some of the positive qualities of the product: liveliness, vigour and sex appeal can be understood to be the attributes that one acquires by using this deodorant.

The message is not so easily decodable in all the onomastic puns of advertising texts, especially if they are designed as mock advertisements. In Andrei Stanciu’s print advertisements, international and national brand names are used as bases for puns in English and Romanian. Frequently, the phonetic forms of these proper names are not the standard ones, of the source language (i.e., the language in which they were coined), but they are adapted to make up (quasi-)homophonous pairs and thereby create “semantic jokes”, as Chirilă (2014) calls them; in this way, companies try “to get integrated into people’s lives” and to hide “their desire to sabotage competition” [“încercările companiilor de a se integra în viețile oamenilor, precum și dorințele ascunse ale acestora de a-și sabota concurența”]. At the same time, such adverts implicitly ridicule the audience’s reaction to these aggressive marketing strategies, the readiness with which individuals accept to be globalised and adopt consumerism as a way of life.

Of Andrei Stanciu’s *Brandom Humor* collection of print advertisements, those that develop English-oriented homophonous pairs are based on brand names from several fields (listed below in descending order of brand-name occurrences).

(1) Technology and transportation industry: *She is a VIRGIN, so UBISOFT* (‘She is a virgin, so you be soft’), *Take a SEAT and let’s find something you can AFFORD* (‘Take a seat and let’s find something you can afford’; phonetic exactness is disregarded in the case of the proper name *SEAT* [ˈsi:t] vs appellative *seat* [ˈsi:t]), as the pronunciation of the Spanish brand name is anglicised in order to obtain a meaningful utterance in the target language), *Went to Romania with a KIA, came back with NOKIA* (‘Went in Romania with a *Kia* [car], came back with *no Kia* [car]’). The second brand name is well known in the mobile phone industry: *Kia – Nokia* puns are frequent in mock advertisements, usually created by anonymous punsters to entertain fellow Internet surfers); *WIFight?* (‘Why fight?’); *YAMAHA Art, you’re my soul* (‘You’re my heart, you’re my soul’, inspired by the title and

homonymous chorus line of a famous dance-pop song by Modern Talking); *You know, for a PIONEER you're not that SHARP* ('You know, for a pioneer you're not that sharp');

(2) Drinking and smoking: *AMSTEL in love with STELLA ARTOIS* ('I'm still in love with *Stel(l)a, are tois?*', combining English and French and sacrificing grammatical accuracy for the sake of phonetic and semantic appropriateness – *Stella Artois* is a Belgian beer brand); *I KENT seem to get DAVIDOFF the bong* ('I can't seem to get *David off* the bong'); *So many sexy BECK'S, this must be a HOEGAARDEN* ('So many sexy backs, this must be a *hoe garden*'); *The MORE Virginia smokes, the more VIRGINIA SLIMS* ('The more Virginia smokes, the more *Virginia slims*');

(3) Cosmetic industry: *That can't be JOHNSON'S BABY. Look at his HEAD & SHOULDERS* ('That can't be *Johnson's baby*. Look at his *head and shoulders*').

In all the examples above, instead of the brand names, Andrei Stanciu uses the logos of the brands, which comprise alphabetic and non-alphabetic elements. This strategy helps one identify the referents of the constructions on which the puns are built and is, therefore, paramount in relation to brand names that can be mistaken, in decontextualized utterances and in the absence of visual cues, with semantically transparent nonproprietary structures. For instance, one could construe the brand names *Pioneer* and *Sharp* in a similar manner, if one were able to only hear the text ('You know, for a *pioneer* you're not that *sharp*'), without seeing the logos of the two brands. A similar situation can be found in the case of the cigarette brand names *More* and *Virginia Slims* in the advertising message that reads as follows: 'The *more* Virginia smokes, the more *Virginia slims*'. On the one hand, the multimodal text facilitates the development of an iconic and even indexical function of names (Smith 2006: 19), apart from the symbolic function that they had already been fulfilling. On the other, it seems to suggest that just as brands have become an integral part of our day-to-day lives, brand names are gradually easier to "spot" in our day-to-day language.

Andrei Stanciu illustrates the intrusion of brands into people's everyday life in contemporary Romanian public space, in contrast to the commercially monochromatic environment in pre-revolutionary Romania, through a significant number of print advertisements based on puns in Romanian. To indicate the extent of this effect, Stanciu frequently resorts to mock dialectal speech: *Ajunsei acasă, o bruSKYPE nevastă, fu o zi frumoasă* ('I got home, bullied my wife, it was a beautiful day'; *bruSKYPE* < Romanian *bruscai*, verb, a form of the past tense ('perfect simplu'), mocking the recurring use of this tense in the language variety spoken in the region of Oltenia, Romania, + the preposition *pe* ('on'), which here marks the accusative case of the noun that follows. For a boost of playfulness, rhyming may be involved: *VICHY pleci din viața mea, FA, mă doare inima* ('In my life you come and go, girl, my heart is hurting so' – *Vichy* < Romanian *vii* '[you] come', verb, present tense, second-person singular form + the coordinating conjunction *și* 'and'; *Fa* < Romanian *falfă*, an interjection used in colloquial language to address female individuals). At the same time, mock ethnic speech may also be found: *CiorDELLES* (perhaps from Romanian *ciordeală* 'the act of stealing', a noun of Roma origin, derived from the verb *cior* 'to steal petty things'). The youth's increasing addiction to computers (technology in general) is suggested by means of puns that mock slang: *Dau HP verde* ('I'll give hash for the green'; *HP* < Romanian appellative *haș[iș]* 'hash(ish)' + the preposition *pe* 'on, for'). The traits suggested by these puns refer to negative features related to the community

targeted by means of the choice of a specific linguistic code. They are not representative of the social groups in question, but are stereotypically established in the Romanian mentality in relation to specific individuals belonging to these communities.

4. Conclusion

As when one decodes humour, the language users' responses to puns in the advertising texts illustrated "depend on an array of factors, including demographics, psychographics, culture, and behavioral variables (e.g., brand familiarity)" (Crawford and Gregory 2015: 570). In other words, the three-step interpretation algorithm described under section three of this paper is influenced by numerous linguistic and nonlinguistic factors.

Knowledge of a language or language variety is of the utmost necessity for understanding texts such as those analysed above, particularly when they mean to poke fun at dialects, slang or languages of ethnic minorities. In these instances, not being able to recognise the language code duplicated would result either in a tardy interpretation of the pun or in misconstrual. However, linguistic awareness does not guarantee one's apprehension of the attitudinal message conveyed by the advertising texts. Ignorance of the brands invoked in the printed advertisements may prevent one from grasping *in what way* the text read is humorous, ironic or critical of a social situation. At the same time, it is fair to underline the importance of the multimodality of these discourse samples, as the use of brand logos facilitates the identification of the onomastic items, i.e., the pun bases, thereby contributing significantly to the reduction of the interpretation effort. In agreement with Taylor and Taylor (1990: 69), one can but reemphasise the importance of the linguistic and situational context of an utterance, as it "aids discourse processing by narrowing the domain of interpretation, thus activating an appropriate knowledge structure".

By using proper names as triggers for puns, the samples of multimodal advertising discourse analysed prove to be 'anchored in the utterance situation', 'linked to the reader's encyclopaedic knowledge and recorded in a specific historical context' ["ancorate în situația de enunțare", "legate de cunoștințele enciclopedice ale cititorului și înscrise într-un context istoric particular"] (Maingueneau 2007: 207-208). In these advertisements, which criticise mass consumption by satirising contemporary society, proper names are resemiotised (Cmeciuc 2010: 35) and the lexemes they contain are resemanticised, based on the phonetic forms that they are revealed to share (completely or partially) with other lexemes. Therefore, the behaviour of names in onomastic puns is twofold, straightforward and nonstraightforward (cf. Grice 2004: 55), depending on the way in which the advertising text is approached. When read aloud, the nonproprietary interpretation is foregrounded, whereas if merely seen, the onymic decoding is prevalent, thanks to the visual cues (the logos or colour schemes) that guide the receivers' diagnosis of the communication situation. It is in this context that one may consider a proper name used in advertising puns "a *threshold* (...). Indeed, this fringe, always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author, constitutes a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public" (Genette 2001: 2). In other words, cross-

culturally, cross-linguistically and cross-disciplinarily, in onomastic-based puns the proper name is a *paratext*.

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THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT IN ONLINE INSTITUTIONAL TOURISM DISCOURSE: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

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***Abstract:** The present paper focuses on online tourism discourse and its thematic progression. It analyses the way institutional entities from two different countries - Romania and Great Britain - promote their national heritage sites online. Within the framework provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics, the study presents and compares the patterns of thematic development used to compose virtual brochures presenting different heritage sites.*

***Keywords:** online tourism discourse, systemic functional linguistics, theme and thematic progression.*

1. Introduction

Online tourism promotion plays an important part in the creation of a destination and its brand on the international worldwide market. It sets up the tourist image of a destination and signals its attractiveness (Calvi 2006). Through various modes, such as words and images, it captures tourists' interest and convinces them to visit various places.

The present study focuses on online tourism promotion from a textual perspective. It provides a small-scale comparison of institutional tourist websites belonging to two different countries, Romania and Great Britain. The websites are owned by these countries' Tourist Boards (i.e. Romania Tourism and Visit Britain) and are used to promote numerous landmarks and World Heritage Sites belonging to them. The study looks at these webpages, paying particular attention to their texts. The landmarks chosen are the Horezu Monastery, the Dacian Fortresses of the Orăștie Mountains, and Sighișoara, for Romania; and Canterbury Cathedral, the Tower of London, and Edinburgh, for Great Britain.

The study aims (1) to analyse the texts from the perspective of their Themes and Thematic structures, and (2) to compare the findings. The comparison has considered the similarities and differences between the ways in which the texts are composed, as far as their Themes and Thematic structure are concerned. The analysis has been carried out within the frameworks of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and Thematic patterns (Daneš 1974).

2. Theoretical framework

The Systemic Functional theory defends and proves the idea that any semiotic system fulfils simultaneously three communicative functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. Applied to language, they indicate how reality is constructed in discourse, the way people enact their complex and diverse interpersonal relations, and the internal organization and communicative nature of a text (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 5).

The textual metafunction in language “enables the clause to be packed in ways which make it effective given its purpose and its context” (Eggins 2004:

298). The system of Theme serves this purpose, as it is responsible for the coherence and internal organization of discourse. It usually organizes the initiation of the clause and/or directs the attention of the receiver of the message to the parts the sender wishes to emphasize (Dejica 2005). This system practically divides the clause into just two main constituents: Theme (the first experiential constituent) and Rheme (the rest of the clause). Theme acts as the starting point for the message, presenting what the clause is going to be about, while Rheme develops the Theme (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 64-7; Eggins 2004: 273-5). Frequently associated with given and new information, Theme is seen as expressing information which has already been mentioned somewhere in the text or is familiar from the context, whereas Rheme is said to present unfamiliar information (Halliday 1994: 59). It should be pointed out that this is not always true as various reasons can determine message emitters to interchange these values (Lombardi Vallauri 1995: 359).

There are different types of Themes, depending on their composition and status. Composition classifies Theme in simple and multiple. When simple, the Theme is expressed by one single element, which must be the experiential one. There are three types of experiential elements that the Theme can contain, i.e. participants (persons or things involved in processes), processes (verbs related to doing or happening, saying or sensing, being or having) or circumstances (background of processes). When multiple, the Theme is expressed by other elements, apart from the experiential one, such as textual, which indicates the way clauses are connected and, at the same time, confers cohesion to the text, and/or interpersonal, which expresses the writer's point of view on the message (Thompson 1996: 156-160; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 68, 79-87). Related to status, Theme can be unmarked and typical or marked and atypical, depending on the type of clause, i.e. declarative or non-declarative (Eggins 2004: 318-320; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 73-9). Marked Themes are considered to introduce new information, being both topically and informationally salient (Westergaard 1986 cited in Manoliu-Manea 1994: 230). This consideration is, however, disputable as markedness depends on context and its degree may vary according to the writers' purposes (Thompson 1996: 144-6; McCabe 1999: 85).

The selection of Themes is important as it organises the text and provides a point of orientation, revealing its underlying coherence and its method of development (Stoian and Dejica 2015). Themes should be considered in relation to their choices and ordering instead of individually, as per se they do not seem particularly significant (Dejica 2004, 2009). The Thematic patterns proposed by Daneš (1974), still valid today, indicate Thematic development. The message can show a clear focus by maintaining the same Theme over several clauses, i.e. Theme re-iteration or continuous pattern. On the other hand, the Theme can shift, being recovered from the Rheme of a previous clause, and build a cumulative message. There are two possibilities: (1) part of the Rheme of each clause becomes the Theme of the following clause, i.e. a zig-zag or linear pattern, and (2) the Rheme of one clause introduces a number of different pieces of information, each of which is then picked up and made Theme in subsequent clauses, i.e. a multiple or split Theme (Eggins 2004: 324-326). Each Thematic pattern and their combination lead to a particular Thematic development (Fries 1983), which may have different functions, such as point out the maintenance or progression of what the text is about at a certain point; specify or change the framework for the interpretation of the following clause(s); signal the boundaries of different sections in the text; and

show what the emitter considers to be the useful or important starting point for her/his message (Thompson 1996: 165-73).

The present study focuses on and analyses the Themes and Thematic progression of the chosen texts. The findings will point out their texture and organization. At the same time, it may indicate the writer's purposes and how s/he expresses her/his underlying concerns and priorities (Whittaker 1995a, b; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 105).

3. Data selection and methodology

With the help of the Google search engine, we have selected a corpus from the websites belonging to the Romanian and British national Tourist Boards. The selection was made having in mind the following search criteria: the language of promotion had to be English, because the study focuses on international promotion; different types of well-known World Heritage sites, i.e. religious, historical and urban landmarks, from different regions, were chosen in order to deal with the diversity in the landmarks' features and promotion; moreover, more than one landmark per website was considered in order to have a broader view on the possible distinctive promotional feature.

The institutional websites are Romania Tourism (<www.romaniatourism.com>) for Romania, and VisitBritain (<www.visitbritain.com>), for Great Britain. They are owned by Tourist Boards and are used to promote their respective country and brand. For each website, three webpages were chosen for our analysis, each presenting a different type of national World Heritage Site, as already indicated. The corpus analysed may be characterised briefly as follows: the field is tourism, particularly World Heritage Sites (religious, historic and urban landmarks); the medium is the Internet; the mode is text, with a length ranging from 120 to 260 words - in the Romanian set, and from 290 to 620 words - in the British set; the language is English; the communicative purpose is to inform and persuade; the sender of the message is a Tourist Board; and the addressee is the general international public.

Theme and Thematic progression were analysed within the Systemic Functional framework proposed by Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Daneš' classification of Thematic patterns (1974) was also taken into account. The textual analysis looked only at independent conjoinable clause complexes, which consist of independent clauses together with all hypotactically related clauses and words that are dependent on those independent clauses (Fries 1995). This is considered to be the best method for showing Thematic progression (Thompson 1996: 166, McCabe 1999: 73). For each independent conjoinable clause complex, the initial part of the clause up to the first experiential constituent was selected as Theme. When the complex contained fronted dependent clauses, these were considered Themes. The analysis presents the types of Themes, their status, composition, and their Thematic progression.

4. Analysis and results

The findings of the study are presented in relation to the representation of the textual metafunction for each text. They are first presented for each country and its landmarks and then, they are compared. Due to space limitations, only a rough analysis has been included in the Appendix.

4.1. The Romanian institutional set

The texts contained by the Romanian institutional set present the following landmarks: the Monastery of Horezu, the Dacian Fortresses of the Orăștie Mountains and Sighișoara. They do not appear on different webpages, but the Tourist Board put them together and included them in a single webpage, dedicated to the World Heritage Sites of Romania.

4.1.1. The Horezu Monastery

The text presenting the Horezu Monastery is organised in three paragraphs, each describing a different aspect related to the monastery, namely its fame, its School of mural and icon painting and, finally, its museum.

Always simple, the Themes in the text are varied and combine unmarkedness and markedness in almost equal proportions. The unmarked Themes contribute to the objectivity of the message (Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1991: 354) and are expressed only by the participants, e.g. “The Hurezi School of mural and icon painting established at the monastery in the 18th century had a profound influence on religious art and architecture in the Balkan region”. This example also contains interpolation, “established at the monastery in the 18th century”; such interpolations are frequently used in the text to add temporal or spatial details by means of non-defining (non-finite) relative clauses. Such clauses are placed in Theme position and indicate markedness. As preposed attributives, they add information to the Subject, i.e. to the landmark, for example regarding its foundation: e.g., “Founded in 1690 by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the monastery ...” This technique, usual in tourism and advertising (Thompson 1996: 130), is considered to be a means used by copywriters “to introduce a large quantity of information in the initial part of the sentence”, directing the focus on the landmark advertised (Moya Guijarro 2003: 146).

Regarding Thematic progression, all patterns are equally present, except for linear progression. A continuous pattern is used to focus on the Monastery, while a multiple pattern introduces its components (“the monastery houses precious *collections of frescos and icons* [...] The Hurezi School of mural and icon painting [...] had a profound influence on religious art and architecture in the Balkan region. The monastery museum [...] features masterpieces of Brâncovenesti art ...”). There is only a new Theme which brings to attention overnight accommodation in the Monastery, increasing thus the attractiveness of the landmark and the users' interest.

The text dedicated to Horezu Monastery appears well-thought out and organized. Nonetheless, its coherence and continuity are disrupted and difficult to follow due to the fronted Themes, the interpolations and the new Theme.

4.1.2. The Dacian Fortresses of the Orăștie Mountains

Similarly to the previous text, this text is divided into three paragraphs: the first paragraph describes the asset; the second presents further details, and the third, changes the topic announced in the title and introduces the Retezat National Park as another attraction in the area. The inclusion of various landmarks may aim to stir the users' curiosity and highlight the potential attractiveness of the area. At the same time, however, it may distract and confuse them.

The Themes in this text are mainly unmarked and simple, being expressed by the participants. Marked and enhanced Themes are also present in a high number and are expressed by preposed attributives and interpolations, as for instance in “Dating from the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. and strewn from Orăștie to Retezat Mountains, the Dacian and Roman fortresses recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites are an archeologist’s delight”. This case is highly marked, as it contains two coordinated dependent non-finite clauses and an interpolation as Themes. Even if it is informative and detailed, it can confuse or overwhelm readers with too much information.

The Thematic pattern is frequently continuous, leading to a focused and cohesive message. Subject ellipsis, the use of substitutes like “the six defensive sites” or “their extensive and well-preserved remains”, for the landmark's full name, and the introduction of new Themes build a diverse, non-redundant message.

All in all, the message flows continuously, focusing on its topic, the Dacian fortresses. The dense and marked Themes, together with the shift of topic can, however, disrupt the message.

4.1.3. Sighișoara

Similarly to the other texts, this also has three paragraphs, which briefly describe the city of Sighișoara, point out several of its attractions, and, finally, emphasize the attraction called the Clock Tower.

The Theme system is however different from that found in the other two Romanian texts, as it contains mainly unmarked Themes. This leads to a more objective message (Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1991: 354). The Themes are usually expressed by participants, such as the city and its attractions, e.g. “Most of the old structure and 9 of the defense towers can still be admired today” and not by processes and/or circumstances. The only marked Theme is found in the first sentence and is expressed by the non-finite attributive clause, “founded by German craftsmen and merchants”, whose purpose seems to be that of contextualising the city. Apart from this, enhancement and interpolation are also employed to draw the users’ attention to elements like “Vlad Dracula”.

The message combines continuous progression with a linear pattern in equal proportions. The landmark is repeated in Theme position and alternated by substitutes and part-whole relations, like “this medieval town” or “the fortification walls”. This continuity is varied by linear progression, which constructs the message cumulatively (“His house is just one of the many *attractions* here. Others include the Church on the Hill ...”).

The city of Sighișoara is presented from general to specific by means of unmarked Themes. The message flows in a coherent and structured way.

4.1.4. Theme and Thematic progression in the Romanian institutional set

The texts are of medium length and are organized in short paragraphs. Their purpose is informative, as they present a particular landmark. This is reinforced also by their Theme systems. The frequent continuous Thematic pattern is sometimes alternated with various spatial and temporal details, which lead to markedness and conspicuousness (Stoian 2015). The presentation of details as subsidiary to the main message, in non-finite, non-defining relative clauses, is a

technique typically encountered in tourism and advertising discourse (Gotti 2008: 94).

Table 1 summarises our findings.

System	The Horezu Monastery	The Dacian Fortresses of the Orăştie Mountains	Sighişoara
Theme	almost equal instances of unmarked & marked Themes	almost equal instances of unmarked & marked Themes	more unmarked Themes
	only simple Themes	more simple Themes	more simple Themes
	only participants in Theme position	more participants in Theme position	more participants in Theme position
	almost equal instances of multiple Thematic pattern, continuous Thematic pattern & new Themes	more instances of continuous Thematic pattern	equal instances of continuous & linear Thematic patterns

Table 1. Theme and Thematic progression in the Romanian institutional set

4.2. British institutional set

As already mentioned, the texts considered for the British set present Canterbury Cathedral, the Tower of London and Edinburgh. Each of them has its own webpage, as opposed to the Romanian landmarks.

4.2.1. Canterbury Cathedral

The text dedicated to Canterbury Cathedral does not present only this religious monument, but also the Canterbury area and all its religious assets. Present in the Romanian text on the Dacian fortresses as well, “clustered opportunities” (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois 2002: 94) seem more attractive for tourists. The text focuses on the importance of Canterbury and its Cathedral for the Church of England and briefly introduces the other churches in the area. It also contains a “must see & do” section, which adds further details about various other attractions.

The message describes the landmark by unmarked and simple Themes, which build an objective and complete message (Francis and Kramer Dahl 1991: 354). It focuses on information, placing participants in Theme position and referring to them by their complete name. There is only one instance of marked Theme, expressed by the dependent non-finite clause “Probably built as a Roman church in the 4th century”, which adds information and highlights the antiquity of St Martin. As for the few instances of multiple Themes, such as the textual Theme “and”, these add textual meaning to the message and make it more cohesive.

The Thematic development is complex and combines different patterns. The section on Canterbury Cathedral develops both continuously and linearly, while the other religious buildings are introduced as new Themes and constructed linearly. In the latter case, the copywriter probably wants to introduce more monuments and be brief (Stoian 2015). The “must see & do” section introduces new Themes and aims to instigate users to action, as some of the Themes are processes in the imperative mood, e.g. “visit”.

The Thematic development both offers a clear focus and develops cumulatively on newly introduced information. Cohesion can be disrupted by the high number of new Themes, which can make the text difficult to follow and rather confusing.

4.2.2. The Tower of London

Similarly to the text on Canterbury Cathedral, this text does not present only the Tower of London, but also its Ceremony of the Keys. The section dedicated to the Tower refers to its history and main attractions, while the section on the Ceremony describes it narratively in great detail.

The Themes encountered in this text are frequently unmarked and simple, as in “The Tower of London”. They are expressed by both participants (“The Tower of London”) and processes (“Look out for”), the focus alternating between information and instruction. In some cases, there are also instances of multiple and marked Themes. The textual Themes realized by “and” and “but” add textual cohesion and present contrast, while the interpersonal Theme “don’t” advises users not to miss the chance to see the Ceremony. The marked Themes, on the other hand, such as “during a visit to the Tower”, make the information expressed more conspicuous and dramatically focused (Greenbaum and Nelson 2002: 219).

The Thematic development is varied and combines patterns in almost equal proportions. Continuous progression is the most frequent pattern and focuses on “the Tower” or “the Chief Yeoman Warder”. New Themes introduce new information, which is then elaborated cumulatively by a linear pattern, e.g. “Look out for *the famous black ravens in the grounds of the Tower. These magnificent birds have been kept here since the 1600s*”.

The message as a whole unfolds cohesively and alternates different pieces of information. The Tower is described and the Ceremony narrated in order to stir interest and attract tourists.

4.2.3. Edinburgh

This text differs from the other two in that it follows the structure of a travel guide or a paper tourist brochure; as such, it is divided in short sections, each dedicated to a particular topic. The text guides the user around Edinburgh going from general to particular, in a more detailed and fragmented manner than the texts previously discussed.

The city of Edinburgh is presented mainly by unmarked and simple Themes. They are expressed frequently by processes in the imperative mood, such as “do” or “go”. Instructional Themes imitate real tours interaction, give dynamism to the message and instigate to action (Stoian 2015). In some cases, the Themes are different from the regular unmarked Themes, as they are expressed by heavy Subjects (“One thing you definitely shouldn’t travel to Edinburgh without”) or non-finite clauses as Subjects (“To find places like the Water of Leith, Holyrood Park and Corstorphine and Blackford Hill in the middle of a city”). The instances of marked Themes draw the readers’ attention to circumstantial information, e.g. “With free entry to over 30 of the city’s top attractions, free return airport and city centre bus transport, a free guidebook and lots of exclusive offers”. As for multiple Themes, textual Themes, e.g. “and”, make the message more cohesive, while

interpersonal Themes, e.g. “of course”, point out the obviousness of the existence of the Royal Mile for souvenirs.

The Thematic development of this text is more disrupted, as the text is rather different from the others. Nonetheless, a particular Thematic pattern can be observed. The continuous pattern is used to present Edinburgh, its attractions and the possible actions visitors could undertake. New Themes are also quite numerous and draw the readers' attention. The linear progression builds the message cumulatively (“There are *2 sides to Edinburgh—the historic Old Town with the medieval Edinburgh Castle and cobblestone alleys, and the elegant but classic Georgian New Town. The combination of these 2 parts of the city, along with its vibrant events and celebrations such as Hogmanay and the Festival Fringe is what gives Edinburgh its unique character*”) and the multiple one presents information in various steps (“Edinburgh is full of *fabulous places to shop. Princes Street* is lined with great department stores, *George Street* is full of boutiques and bars, *St Andrew’s Square and Multrees Walk* are designer heaven”).

Edinburgh is presented in greater detail than the other landmarks. The copywriter seems to focus on different pieces of information and on directions. Readers are both informed and guided.

4.2.4. Theme and Thematic progression in the British institutional set

The texts in the British set are rather long and general as they try to say something about all the attractions included. Themes (see Table 2) are usually unmarked, excepting the few cases when adjuncts or relative clauses draw the users' attention to their content. This objectivity is sometimes counterbalanced by the use of imperatives, which project the users in the scenery and guide their steps subjectively. The Thematic development is usually mixed in all the texts, with a slight preference for the continuous one. Information is, thus, focused with the aim of informing and, sometimes, of guiding.

System	Canterbury Cathedral	The Tower of London	Edinburgh
Theme	more unmarked Themes	more unmarked Themes	more unmarked Themes
	more simple Themes	more simple Themes	more simple Themes
	more participants in Theme position	more participants in Theme position	more processes in Theme position
	almost equal instances of new Themes, linear & continuous Thematic patterns	almost equal instances of continuous Thematic pattern, linear Thematic pattern & new Themes	more instances of continuous Thematic pattern

Table 2. Theme and Thematic structure in the British set

4.3. Summary of results

Table 3 summarises the results found in the two institutional sets of texts.

Theme & Thematic development in the Romanian set	Theme & Thematic development in the British set
almost equal instances of unmarked & marked Themes	more unmarked Themes
more simple Themes	more simple Themes
more participants in Theme position	more participants in Theme position
more instances of continuous Thematic progression	mixed Thematic progression (linear & continuous)
few new Themes	frequent new Themes

Table 3. Summary of results

As indicated by Table 3, the sets share several characteristics, such as the preference for simple Themes and participants in Theme position and the frequent use of unmarked Themes and continuous Thematic patterns. These lead to an objective, focused message.

The differences, in turn, seem to be slightly more numerous. The Romanian institutional set has many more instances of marked Themes, which give subjectivity to the message and can disrupt its flow. The British institutional set places processes in Theme position in order to guide users and prompt them to action. The Thematic progression is more varied and displays many new Themes, probably to introduce new topics and draw the users' attention.

5. Conclusion

This small-scale study of Theme and Thematic progression displayed by two sets of institutional tourism websites, belonging to different Tourist Boards from two different countries – Romania and Great Britain, has concentrated on three texts from each set, presenting national World Heritage Sites online, to an international audience. They were first analysed and then compared from a Systemic Functional perspective, following Halliday's model for textual analysis (1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and Daneš' classification of Thematic patterns (1974). Our findings show both similarities and differences between the corpora analysed. The Romanian set combines unmarked and marked Themes, and prefers simple Themes and continuous patterns. The British institutional set displays a preference for unmarked Themes, places processes in Theme position, combines Thematic progression, and focalizes information by new Themes. The findings can be explained by the influence that the context of communication (promotional tourism), the medium of communication (the Internet) and culture (Romanian and British) have on language.

The study aims to contribute to the field of discourse analysis and to online tourism promotion by pointing out the importance of the Theme system for the composition of a message. It also gives practical insights into this type of discourse, showing copywriters how Theme contributes to the cohesion of a message. Tourist Boards should have professionals deal with this issue, as their promotion is expected to be institutional, accurate, coherent and cohesive.

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Appendix

Appendix A – Romanian institutional set

A.1. The Monastery of Horezu

//Founded in 1690 by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu// the monastery of Horezu (**Theme 1**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Carrier) is a masterpiece of the 'Brâncovești' style (**Rheme 1**). (*continuous Thematic progression from T1*) //Renown for the richness of its sculptural detail, the treatment of its religious compositions and its painted decorative works// the monastery (**T2**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant: -Carrier) houses precious collections of frescos and icons [[dating from the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century]] (**R2**) (*multiple T.P. from R2*). The Hurezi School of mural and icon painting <<established at the monastery in the 18th century//>> (**T3**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) had a profound influence on religious art and architecture in the Balkan region (**R3**). (*multiple T. P. from R2*) The monastery museum, <<housed in the princely residence.//>> (**T4**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) features masterpieces of Brâncovești art: icons, books, embroideries, silver collections and an interesting library of old books //containing approximately 4,000 volumes// (**R4**). (*new Theme*) Overnight accommodation (**T5**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) available (**R5**).

A.2. The Dacian Fortresses of the Orăştie Mountains

Dating from the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D.// and strewn from Orăştie to Retezat Mountains// the Dacian and Roman fortresses <<recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites//>> (**Theme 1**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Carrier) are an archeologist's delight (**Rheme 1**). (*continuous Thematic progression from T1*) Built as a defense ring around the capital of the Dacian kingdom, Sarmizegetusa// they (**T2**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Identified) include the ruins of the fortresses at Bănița, Căpâlna, Costești - Blidaru, Costești - Cetățuie, Lunca - Pietra Roșie, as well as pre-Roman Dacian capital (Sarmizegetuza) (**R2**). (*continuous T.P. from T2*) The fortresses (**T3**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) show an unusual fusion of military and religious architectural techniques and concepts from the classical world and the late European Iron Age (**R3**). (*continuous T.P. from T3*) The six defensive sites, the nucleus of the Dacian Kingdom, (**T4**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) were conquered by the Romans at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. (**R4**); (*continuous T.P. from T4*) their extensive and well-preserved remains (**T5**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) stand in spectacular natural surroundings (**R5**) (*continuous T.P. from T5*) and (T6, textual: Conjunction) [their extensive and well-preserved remains] give (**T6**, Unmarked: Predicator/ Process-Material) a dramatic picture of a vigorous and innovative civilization (**R6**). (*new Theme*) At Sarmizegetuza (**T7**, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Location) you can still see the remains of the forum and the elliptical brick and stone amphitheatre [[where gladiator shows were held]] (**R7**). (*new Theme*) Hiking enthusiasts (**T8**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Senser) can enjoy the trails in the nearby Retezat National Park, the oldest in Romania //(established 1935)// (**R8**). (*linear T.P. from R8*) Covering 95,000 acres of pristine forests, alpine meadows, peaks, and some 80 glacial lakes// the area (**T9**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Carrier) was designated as a UNESCO Biosphere Reservation (**R9**) (*continuous T.P. from T9*) and (T10, textual: Conjunction) [the area] provides (**T10**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) unforgettable hiking experiences among its peaks, valleys, rivers and gorges (**R10**). (*continuous T.P. from T10*) The area (**T11**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) is best explored during the summer season with proper hiking equipment and directions (**R11**).

A.3. Sighișoara

//Founded by German craftsmen and merchants [[known as the Saxons of Transylvania]]// Sighișoara (**Theme 1**, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Carrier) is a fine example of a small, fortified medieval town [[which played an important strategic and commercial role on the fringes of central Europe for several centuries]] (**Rheme 1**). (*continuous Thematic progression from T1*) Sighișoara, one of the most beautiful towns in the heart of Transylvania, (**T2**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) looks today [[much as it did 500 years ago]] (**R2**). (*continuous T.P. from T2*) This medieval town (**T3**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) was also the birthplace of Vlad Dracula, ruler of Wallachia from 1456 to 1462 //- nicknamed Vlad Țepeș (Vlad the Impaler) -// (**R3**). (*linear T.P. from R3*) It was he (**T4**, Unmarked & Enhanced, Predicated Theme: Subject/Participant-Identifier + Predicator/Process-Relational) [[who inspired Bram Stoker's fictional

creation, Count Dracula]] (R4). (continuous T.P. from T4) His house (T5, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is just one of the many attractions here (R5). (linear T.P. from R5) Others (T6, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) include the Church on the Hill, with its 500-year old frescos; the Church of the Dominican Monastery, and the Venetian House, //renown for its Renaissance carved altarpiece, baroque painted pulpit, Oriental carpets and 17th-century organ://built in the 13th century// (R6). (continuous T.P. from T6) Among the most striking attractions (T7, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is the 210-feet high Clock Tower (Council Tower), //built in the 14th century// //where each day a different wooden figure emerges from the belfry on the stroke of midnight// (R7). (linear T.P. from R7) The tower (T8, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) was raised in the 13th and 14th centuries //when Sighişoara became a free town controlled by craft guilds, //each of which had to finance the construction of a bastion// //and defend it during wartime// (R8). (linear T.P. from R8) The fortification walls, <</built in the 14th and 15th centuries.//>> (T9, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) were up to 50-feet high (continuous T.P. from T9) and(T10, textual: Conjunction)[the fortification walls] featured (T10, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) 14 defense towers (R10). (linear T.P. from R10) Most of the old structure and 9 of the defense towers (T11, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Phenomenon) can still be admired today (R11).

Appendix B – British institutional set

B.1. Canterbury Cathedral

Canterbury (Theme 1, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) has been a key location for the Church of England for nearly five centuries (Rheme 1) (new Theme) and (T2, textual: Conjunction) you (T2, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) //I find many important religious buildings and monuments in the area (R2). (multiple Thematic Progression from R2) Canterbury Cathedral (T3, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) was founded in AD597 (R3) (linear T.P. from R3) (that (T4, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified)'s over 1,400 years ago! (R4)) (continuous T.P. from T3) and (T5, textual: Conjunction)[Canterbury Cathedral] is (T5, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) the Mother Church of the Anglican Communion (R5). (continuous T.P. from T5) It (T6, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) has a perpendicular nave, 12th-century Gothic choir, stunning stained glass windows and a Romanesque crypt (R6). (continuous T.P. from T6) The Cathedral (T7, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is the site of the Archbishop Thomas Becket's martyrdom in AD1170 (R7). (linear T.P. from R7) His shrine (T8, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) became one of the most visited in the Middle Ages by pilgrims [[travelling the Pilgrims' Way from London and Winchester]] (R8). (multiple T.P. from R2) Another important church (T9, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is the Church of St Martin just outside the city's medieval wall, //half of which survives today// (R9). (linear T.P. from R9) //Probably built as a Roman church in the 4th century, // St Martin (T10, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Identified) is the oldest church in England [[that's still in use as a parish church]] (R10). (new Theme) Many visitors (T11, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) miss St Augustine's Abbey because of its location just outside the city centre (R11). (linear T.P. from R11) The ruins of this once great abbey (T12, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) are an impressive sight (R12). (linear T.P. from R11) Another [not to miss] (T13, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is Christ Church Cathedral, a breathtaking mixture of Romanesque and Perpendicular Gothic, //where Archbishop Thomas Becket was murdered in 1170// (R13). (new Theme) step back (T14, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) in time with this audiovisual experience of the sights, sounds and smells of the middle ages in this stunning reconstruction of 14th century England (R14). (new Theme) Canterbury West Gate Towers (T15, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) - One of England's finest medieval gates //built as part of the city defences in the 1380s// (R15). (new Theme) See (T16, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental) the exhibit [[featuring Canterbury's war history]] (R16) (continuous T.P. from T16) and (T17, textual: Conjunction) visit (T17, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) the prison cells inside the towers (R17). (new Theme) Canterbury Roman Museum (T18, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) Located underground at the levels of Roman Canterbury (R18). (continuous T.P. from T18) [Canterbury Roman Museum] Features (T19, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) a mix of excavated real objects and buildings and life like reconstructions including computer-generated images (R19).

B.2. The Tower of London

//Spanning over 900 years of British history, //the Tower of London (Theme 1, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Goal) was built by William the Conqueror //to protect London// //and assert his power// (Rheme 1). (continuous Thematic progression from T1) //Fortress, palace, prison,

arsenal and garrison// it (T2, Marked & Enhanced: Clause + Subject/Participant-Identified) is one of the most famous fortified buildings in the world (R2). (*continuous T.P. from T2*) It (T3, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) houses the Crown Jewels, armouries, Yeoman Warders and ravens (R3). (*continuous T.P. from T3*) The Tower of London (T4, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) has a colourful history [[dating back to the 11th century]] (R4). (*multiple T.P. from R4*) Romans (T5, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) once occupied it (R5), (*multiple T.P. from R4*) it (T6, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified)'s the site of Europe's first fortress (R6) (*multiple T.P. from R4*) it (T7, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) has been a royal palace, a prison, an execution site, an arsenal, a mint, a keep for wild animals and jewel house (R7) - (*new Theme*) and (T8, **textual: Conjunction**) you (T8, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Senser) can see artefacts from every part of this remarkable history (R8). (*new Theme*) During a visit to the Tower (T9, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Location) you can see Britain's most precious treasure - The Crown Jewels, (R9) (*multiple T.P. from R9*) [you] [can] stand (T10, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Behavioural) on the execution site of 3 English queens (R10) (*continuous T.P. from T10*) and (T11, **textual: Conjunction**) [you] [can] explore (T11, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) the legends of this world-famous landmark (R11). (*continuous T.P. from T11*) Look out (T12, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) for the famous black ravens in the grounds of the Tower (R12). (*linear T.P. from R12*) These magnificent birds (T13, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) have been kept here since the 1600s, (R13) (*new Theme*) and (T14, **textual: Conjunction**) legend (T14, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Sayer) has it //the Tower will fall, along with the Kingdom, //if the ravens ever leave the site// (R14). (*multiple T.P. from R9*) You (T15, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Senser) 'll also see the Beefeaters (or Yeoman Warders) //who have been guarding the tower for over 600 years// (R15). (*new Theme*) A visit to the Tower of London (T16, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) offers a millennium of British history in one day (R16). (*continuous T.P. from T16*) This exceptional heritage site (T17, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is a great day out (R17) (*continuous T.P. from T17*) and (T18, **textual: Conjunction**) [this exceptional heritage site] holds (T18, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) daily exhibitions and events throughout the year (R18). (*linear T.P. from R18*) The Ceremony of the Keys (T19, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is the traditional locking-up of the Tower of London (R19). (*continuous T.P. from T19*) It (T20, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor)'s happened every night without fail for at least 700 years (R20). (*new Theme*) Don't (T21, **interpersonal: Finite: neg.**) miss (T21, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) your chance [[to watch this fascinating tradition]] on your trip to Britain (R21). (*linear T.P. from R21*) Every night, at exactly 21: 53, (T22, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Location) the Chief Yeoman Warder of the Tower emerges from the Byward Tower//wearing his long red coat and Tudor bonnet// and carrying a candle lantern and the Queen's Keys// (R22). (*linear T.P. from R22*) The Chief Yeoman Warder (T23, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) then meets his military escort (members of the Tower of London Guard) (R23) (*linear T.P. from R23*) and (T24, **textual: Conjunction**) together (T24, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Accompaniment) they lock the main gates of the Tower (R24). (*new Theme*) //As they pass, // (T25, Marked: Dependent Clause) all of the Tower's guards salute the Keys (R25). (*continuous T.P. from T24*) The Chief Yeoman Warder and his escort (T26, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) then retrace their steps (R26) (*continuous T.P. from T26*) and (T27, **textual: Conjunction**) [The Chief Yeoman Warder and his escort] lock (T27, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) the great oak gates of the Middle and Byward Towers on the way (R27). (*linear T.P. from R19*) The only time [[the ceremony has been interrupted in the last 700 years]] (T28, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) was during the Second World War (R28). (*new Theme*) During an air raid, (T29, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Location) bombs fell onto the old Victorian guardroom //as the Chief Yeoman Warder and his escort were coming through the Bloody Archway// (R29). (*linear T.P. from R29*) The shock and the noise of the bombs (T30, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Agent) sent the group flying to the floor (R30) (*linear T.P. from R30*) but (T31, **textual: Conjunction**) they (T31, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) stood up (R31) (*continuous T.P. from T31*) [they] dusted (T32, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) themselves down (R32) (*continuous T.P. from T32*) and (T33, **textual: Conjunction**) [they] carried on (T33, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) (**no Rheme**). (*new Theme*) Tickets to the Ceremony of the Keys (T34, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) are free (R34) (*new Theme*) but (T35, **textual: Conjunction**) due the popularity of the ceremony, (T35, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Cause) you must apply in writing at least 2 months in advance (R35). (*linear T.P. from R35*) For details [[on how to apply for tickets]], (T36, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Cause) visit the Tower of London - Ceremony of the Keys (R36).

B.3. Edinburgh

Discover (**Theme 1**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) Scotland's graceful capital (**Rheme1**). (*continuous T.P. from T1*) Learn (**T2**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental) everything about Edinburgh's attractions from its historic landmarks like Edinburgh Castle and the Royal Mile to its unique blend of traditional and modern Scottish culture (**R2**). (*linear T.P. from R2*) The best things about Edinburgh (**T3**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) are the great natural spaces [[that exist within it]] (**R3**). (*linear T.P. from R3*) [[To find places like the Water of Leith, Holyrood Park and Corstorphine and Blackford Hill in the middle of a city]] (**T4**, Unmarked: Heavy Subject/Participant-Carrier) is exceptional (**R4**). (*linear T.P. from R2*) Old Town (**T5**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) meets New Town (**R5**). (*new Theme*) Letus (**T6**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) guide you through Edinburgh - Scotland's capital city, and one of Britain's most exciting tourist destinations (**R6**). (*new Theme*) There are (**T7**, Unmarked & Enhanced: Subject & Predicator/Existential 'there') - 2 sides to Edinburgh - the historic Old Town with the medieval Edinburgh Castle and cobblestone alleys, and the elegant but classic Georgian New Town (**R7**). (*linear T.P. from R7*) The combination of these 2 parts of the city, along with its vibrant events and celebrations such as Hogmanay and the Festival Fringe (**T8**, Marked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is [[what gives Edinburgh its unique character]] (**R8**). (*continuous T.P. from T8*) Together, (**T9**, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Accompaniment) they create a dynamic and fascinating city //which truly captures the magical spirit of Scotland// (**R9**). (*continuous T.P. from T9*) Edinburgh's beautiful Old and New Towns (**T10**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Beneficiary) have been awarded UNESCO World Heritage Status twice over (**R10**). (*continuous T.P. from T10*) The city (**T11**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is home to 4,500 listed buildings - the highest concentration in the world - (**R11**) (*continuous T.P. from T11*) and (**T12, textual: Conjunction**) [it] is (**T12**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Relational) also a modern, dynamic city of art and culture with its museums, galleries, universities and festivals (**R12**). (*continuous T.P. from T10*) Edinburgh's Old Town (**T13**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) is dominated by Edinburgh Castle, //which rests on a hilltop at the end of the Royal Mile// (**R13**). (*new Theme*) Stay (**T14**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Behavioural) - on the Royal Mile for the The Scotch Whisky Experience and Ghost Tours (**R14**), (*continuous T.P. from T14*) then (**T15, textual: Conjunction**) head (**T15**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) to the beautiful Royal Botanic Garden for 70 acres of tranquility (**R15**). (*new Theme*) and (**T16, textual: Conjunction**) the events for your diary (**T16**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified): Burns Night in January, Edinburgh Military Tattoo and Edinburgh Festival Fringe in August, and of course, Hogmanay in December (**R16**). (*continuous T.P. from T15*) Download (**T17**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) a free Edinburgh audio guide from mp3cityguides.com (**R17**). (*continuous T.P. from T17*) //To download more mp3 walking guides// (**T18**, Marked: Dependent Clause) check out www.mp3cityguides.com (**R18**). (*linear T.P. from R18*) Discover (**T19**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental) the history behind Edinburgh Castle (**R19**). (*continuous T.P. from T19*) Visit (**T20**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) Musselburgh Links - the world's oldest golf playing course (**R20**). (*continuous T.P. from T20*) See (**T21**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental) Edinburgh from your very own chauffer-driven trike with Trike Tours Scotland (**R21**). (*continuous T.P. from T21*) Sample (**T22**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) - a dram at The Scotch Whisky Experience (**R22**). (*continuous T.P. from T22*) Take (**T23**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) a spooky Ghost Tours // - if you dare!// (**R23**). (*continuous T.P. from T23*) Go (**T24**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) to a Ceilidh (traditional Scottish dance) at The Lot (**R24**). (*continuous T.P. from T24*) Do (**T25**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) the Edinburgh Literary Pub Tour (**R25**) (*continuous T.P. from T25*) and (**T26, textual: Conjunction**) discover (**T26**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental) Scotland's literary heroes (**R26**). (*continuous T.P. from T26*) Eat (**T27**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) at The Witchery, a great restaurant//situated in the shadow of Edinburgh Castle// (**R27**). (*continuous T.P. from T27*) Catch (**T28**, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) a classic theatre production at the Royal Lyceum Theatre (**R28**). (*new Theme*) Edinburgh (**T29**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is full of fabulous places to shop (**R29**). (*multiple T.P. from R29*) Princes Street, << //which separates the Old and New Towns// >>, (**T30**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Identified) is lined with great department stores (**R30**); (*multiple T.P. from R29*) George Street (**T31**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is full of boutiques and bars (**R31**); (*multiple T.P. from R29*) St Andrew's Square and Multrees Walk (**T32**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) are designer heaven (**R32**); (*new Theme*) and (**T33, textual: Conjunction**) of course (**T33, interpersonal: Mood Adjunct**), there's (**T33**, Unmarked & Enhanced: Subject & Predicator/Existential 'there') the Royal Mile for some great Scottish souvenirs (**R33**). (*continuous T.P. from T29*) Edinburgh (**T34**, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is a haven for sports fans (**R34**). (*multiple T.P. from R34*) Easter Road stadium and Tynecastle Stadium (**T35**,

Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) are home to the city's main football clubs, Hibernian F.C and Heart of Midlothian (Hearts) F.C. (R35). (multiple T.P. from R34) **And (T36, textual: Conjunction) golf fanatics (T36, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Senser) will love Edinburgh too – (R36) (continuous T.P. from T36) some of the world's best courses (T37, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Goal) can be found in and around the city, including Gullane, the Open Championship course at Muirfield and the Open Qualifying course at Dunbar (R37). (new Theme) Buy (T38, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material)// before you fly// (R38). (new Theme) One thing [[you definitely shouldn't travel to Edinburgh without]] (T39, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Carrier) is an Edinburgh Pass (R39). (new Theme) With free entry to over 30 of the city's top attractions, free return airport and city centre bus transport, a free guidebook and lots of exclusive offers, (T40, Marked: Adjunct/Circumstance-Accompaniment) the Edinburgh Pass is the best way [[to explore the Scottish capital]] (R40). (new Theme) Visit (T41, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Material) our shop for more exciting offers, including Edinburgh Dungeon Tickets, Haggis Adventures Tours and Royal Edinburgh Tickets - VisitBritain Shop (R41). (continuous T.P. from T41) Don't (T42, interpersonal: Finite: neg.) forget (T42, Unmarked: Predicator/Process-Mental)//to take a look at VisitBritain's massive selection of accommodation in Edinburgh// – (R42) you (T43, Unmarked: Subject/Participant-Actor) can book your choice of hotel, B&B or self catering cottage through our website (R43).**

DOING CROSS-CULTURAL PRAGMATICS IN TRANSLATION. WAYS OF ACHIEVING COMMON GROUND

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Abstract: Cross-cultural competence may be embedded in the pragmatic competence of the translator. Globalisation is associated with faster cultural intertraffic, leading to a higher prepotent identity. The current paper attempts to provide answers to such frequent questions as “How much do translation readers need to be assisted with respect to culture-bound information?” and “What are the feasible ways of achieving common ground?”

Keywords: common ground, cross-cultural pragmatics, translation

1. Introduction

The contemporary framework of translation studies and translation industry is reader-oriented, i.e. focusing on translation as demand-driven and purpose-driven, and the distinction between the two may become blurred as the client's specifications will coincide with the purpose of translation.

To put it crudely, pragmatics is concerned with language in use, with context embeddedness and communicative purport. Similarly, translation studies, a hybrid field drawing on pragmatics and cultural studies among others, shares the same concerns, but bilingually and cross-culturally.

2. Revisiting pragmatic competence

Even though pragmatic competence has been recognised as one of the vital components of communicative competence, there is a lack of a unified or widely accepted definition of the term.

In Bachman's multilayered model (1990: 87), language competence is divided into two main areas: organisational competence and pragmatic competence. Organisational competence is also granular, comprising knowledge of linguistic units and the rules of joining them together at the levels of sentence (grammatical competence) and discourse (textual competence). Pragmatic competence consists of illocutionary competence, i.e., knowledge of speech acts and speech functions, and sociolinguistic competence, the latter entailing the ability to use language appropriately according to context.

In line with Holtgraves (2002: 7 ff.), we may detect:

- language use as contextualised action (socio-cultural context embeddedness);
- language use as coordinated action (underpinning the Cooperative Principle);
- language use as thoughtful action (it is difficult to perceive others on dimensions for which one has no words).

Cumulatively, language competence includes the ability to select communicative acts and appropriate strategies to implement them depending on the contextual features of the situation. Needless to say that the two sub-components are interrelated; hence, Bachman's model may be rightly considered to be dynamic. Pragmatic competence interacts with organisational competence in complex ways, as pointed out by Fraser (2010: 15):

Pragmatic competence is the ability to communicate your intended message with all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your interlocutor as it was intended.

3. Pragmatic competence and translation

Translation is a universal cross-linguistic and cross-cultural social practice at least two millennia old. Translation can be described by metaphors such as “building bridges”, “carrying a message across” (if we take into account the etymology of the term) or “extending horizons”, which point to the facilitative or enabling function inherent in translation. Furthermore, translation can be envisaged at the descriptive level (be it process-oriented or product-oriented, including empirical and reflective approaches, too), at the prescriptive level (the translation activity is norm-governed, resulting in predictable behaviour, and it should be understood as a set of re-usable strategies to cope with more or less general and frequent translation problems), the exploratory level (dealing with the identification of the specific problems of each translation) and the decision-making level (translation is about choices with reference to optimal equivalents, concessions made to the readership via strategies of domestication, neutralisation or through extra-textual glosses, etc.).

Over and above the notion of text (in skopos theory, text typology and function achieve overriding importance alongside the purpose of translation, determining the translation strategy), it is the bi-directionality of translation that acquires paramount importance, i.e. the translator’s moving backwards, to the information supplied by the source language text, and forwards, to the target reader-supplied information, which, by cascading, means the simultaneous and permanent analysis of the source text message and of the communicative situation of the target language, in an attempt to (re-)create the proper conditions of reception for the target text message.

Translating is an act (borrowing this concept with its pragmatic force) of communicating across cultures, involving both languages and cultures; before embarking upon translation, the original needs to be analysed with reference to both its context of situation and its context of culture. Text in context becomes the driving force, an idea to be found both in Nord’s (1997) and Schäffner’s (1998) translation-oriented source and target language analysis, achieving the text brief by comparing and contrasting the two texts. In my opinion, the analysis of the texts at the micro-level is pragmatic in nature, aiming at the identification of their function(s) in their corresponding culture, of the hierarchy of translation problems, etc.

4. Achieving common ground in translation

To work with negative definitions, context is not a static entity and does not consist of a pre-determined set of assumptions. There are, of course, assumptions that are part of the speaker’s and hearer’s background knowledge and these assumptions establish the common ground (shared assumptions) that secures the success of the ongoing exchange(s). Achieving common ground is an act of asserting solidarity rather than power and distance, conforming maximally through participatory mechanisms in specific contexts.

The translator is concerned with ways of achieving common ground in spite of:

- anisomorphism between the conceptualisation of different items in different cultures;
- asymmetry between the functions and status of the source language texts and those of the target language texts.

The translator should secure the compatibility of the author's intended meaning with the target language readership's expectations. In this respect, it is common knowledge that the management of cultural loads or of culture-specific items requires special attention. Basically, culture-specific items are monocultural before transiting other cultural spaces and becoming relative through the translator's intervention.

Culture specific items can be stereotyped – e.g., the British start a conversation by asking about the weather - or variable - e.g., branding a particular historical figure/ writer, at the borderline between quotation and allusion, requiring to retrieve the original context in order to be understood. The identification of culture-specific items depends on the translator's cognitive, linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge, i.e. on his/her pragmatic competence, and their transfer is based on the readership's expectations. However, neither the translator nor the readership can be credited with a flawless ability to always identify and deal with culturally-loaded words or phrases correctly.

According to Vilceanu (2008: 147ff), culture-specific items fall into the following categories:

a) opaque items - in this case the translator's duty is to bridge the cultural gaps:

Those textually actualised items whose functions and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text. (Aixela 1996: 58)

By way of inference, their equivalence disregards the similarity of the linguistic elements or of the evoked images, while favouring the social function of the culture-specific items.

b) items that seem culturally neutral, but which are adapted in translation;

c) items that are culturally neutral, but which occasionally become loaded.

Therefore, I postulate the dynamic nature of the common ground in translation as a process of intercultural communication; besides, the translator contributes to the achievement of the common ground through feed forwarding whereas the readership provides feedback.

5. Doing pragmatics in the translation of user guides

The complex nature of texts as linguistic and cultural entities forces the translator to negotiate translation so as to maintain the intended message of the source language text and meet the target reader's needs and expectations. What the translator should understand, with an eye on the end user of the target language text (the readership of the translation), is that this translation divide should be overcome

by feeding in all the relevant assumptions, by invading and colonising the source language text so as to be fit for purpose. On the other hand, we agree with Hatim and Munday (2004: 70) in that:

The communicative resources of the target language may have to be stretched, but this must always be interpretable. One way of enhancing this sense of interpretability is to exploit the target user's cultural experience and knowledge of his/her language.

The fast development of cutting-edge information and communication technology (coming in all sizes and shapes - mobile phones, computers, laptops, notebooks, tablets, e-book readers, etc.) forces the consumer/end user to familiarise with the new devices on the market. The wide-scale production and circulation of user guides, more specifically in the software and technology industry, is a living proof of their utmost importance in today's global world. Software user guides are written by software companies and companies that deliver software products or software as a supplement to their main product, therefore creating a feeling of trust in the brand and self-confidence in using the product, while the (over)load of terminology and specific stylistic conventions becomes manageable (cf. notably, van Laan and Julian 2001).

Admittedly, user guides should provide the necessary amount of information (as a system of pointers to more detailed information) with a view to securing the easy and proper use of the product. The vocative nature of these texts (adopting Newmark's terminology, 1988) presupposes that the language used to describe the product and the day-to-day tasks to be performed by users incorporate general and specific information (including related terminology) and explanations of the new terms when they are used, for each step of the process, so as to assist the target readership, while complying with the principles of easy-to-follow, clear, concise, unambiguous text production. It is no rare occurrence that user guides contain summaries, glossaries, indices and clear, informative tables of contents that speed up the process of familiarization with the product. In this respect, Byrne (2006: 50) considers user guides to be procedural documents that are linked directly to the subject of software documentation.

In a detail-oriented approach, the author (Byrne 2006: 57ff) endorses that a user guide is neither a directory nor an encyclopaedia, but a helpful tool for organising and arranging all available documentation, while providing references to other existing documents. In other words, it is a resource helping out the reader - user through a general background and laying the foundations upon which "assumptions can be made about the level of comprehension readers have when they reach a given point in the total documentation picture" (ibid.).

Surprisingly, a user guide may be considered to be successful if the target readers do not rely on it every time they use the product. Nevertheless, in order to secure focused reading, there is a need to build and maintain motivation by raising and training the users' awareness of the layout of user guides. Generally speaking, these texts are divided into two main sections. The first and, perhaps, the most important one is concerned with the safety of both the reader and the product. Achieving common ground becomes a question of anticipating frequent mistakes that users are likely to make, and a question of risk avoidance, i.e. relevant information is provided, in order to prevent accidental damage to the user or to the product. The second section can be rightly considered a learning material, instructing the users what they to do in order to make the product work.

Consequently, the main aim of user guides is to reach as wide an audience as possible and to adapt to their expectations in point of linguistic choices, knowledge and skills, so that the flow of information will be retrieved easily and assimilated smoothly.

Taking a leap back in time, it is interesting to note that until the late 1970s, the language style in user guides was rather simplistic, dry, machine-like. It was Apple Computer Inc. that revolutionised it, by releasing a new type of user guide to accompany its new computer, featured by user-friendly language, rich illustrations and colourful pages that made the guide more attractive and enjoyable. Their approach (or, better said, vision) resulted in a new standard in the production of user guides, and manufacturers soon realised that good user guides could actually enhance sales and win them customers. In their turn, technical writers began considering user guides in terms of usability and design and started treating them as devices, providing, to say the least, cursory insights. Today companies invest a lot of money in well-written, easy-to-follow and highly enjoyable documentation, paying equal attention to appearance, content, structure, and functional language.

The harmonisation of technical writings is regulated in Europe via several resolutions – e.g. as early as 1998, The Council of Europe adopted Resolution C411, putting forward a set of standards and guidelines for all technical writers; one of the criteria goes under the heading *Document language*, specifying that “user documentation must be available in the user’s native language”, which created the translation market for such documents. Nowadays, translators are provided with highly reliable style guides, translation and drafting resources, etc., acting normatively. (http://ec.europa.eu/ipg/basics/management/day_to_day/dgt/index_en.htm).

In what follows I shall analyse Apple - iPhone User Guide for iOS 8.4 Software, to detect compliance with all of the above principles of such text production and interpretation from a pragmatic- and translation-oriented perspective.

In point of structure and quantity, the large number of pages (196), chapters (32) and Appendices (A-E) indicates that the users are allowed to read them as the need arises, except for the first chapter (E. *iPhone at a Glance* – Ro. *Privire de ansamblu iPhone*) that presents all its functions by using multimodal messages - illustrations, icons creating a strong visual impact, and cause-effect sentences, which become highly effective and efficient as far as readability is concerned, also contributing to the cognitive impact on the users:

(1) E. Multi-Touch Screen

A few simple gestures - tap, drag, swipe and pinch - are all you need to use iPhone and its apps.

Ro. „Ecran Multi-Touch

Câteva gesturi simple – apăsare, tragere, glisare și apropierea/depărtarea degetelor – sunt tot ce vă trebuie pentru a utiliza iPhone-ul și aplicațiile acestuia.

(2) E. Turn iPhone on. Press and hold the Sleep/Wake button until the Apple logo appears.

Ro. Pornirea iPhone-ului: Țineți apăsat butonul Adormire/Trezire până când apare logo-ul Apple.

(3) E. See apps you've opened. Double-click the Home button when iPhone is unlocked.

Ro. Vizualizare aplicațiilor deschise: Faceți dublu clic pe butonul principal atunci când iPhone-ul este deblocat.

From a qualitative point of view, the simple white cover visibly illustrating the brand logo and the product name provides the user with a clear image, without giving overwhelming information and confusing messages, thus enhancing the user's associative memory.

In terms of language use, it may be characterised as clear and concise throughout the user guide:

(4) E. Tips for using iOS 8 - Get tips. Open the Tips app. New tips appear every week (Chapter 2. Get started), Control Center gives you instant access to the camera, calculator, AirPlay, control and playback of currently playing audio, and other handy features (Chapter 3. Basics), If you're browsing Featured Podcasts or Top Charts, tap the podcast, then tap Subscribe (Chapter 29. Podcasts), etc.

Ro. Sfaturi pentru utilizarea iOS 8 - Obținerea sfaturilor: Deschideți aplicația Sfaturi. Săptămîna lsunt adăugate sfaturi noi. (Capitolul 2. Primii pași), Centrul de control vă furnizează acces instantaneu la cameră, calculator, AirPlay, comenzile de redare ale conținutului audio aflat în redare și alte funcționalități convenabile (Capitolul 3. Noțiuni elementare), Deschideți aplicația Podcasturi, apoi explorați, abonați-vă și redați podcasturile dvs. audio și video favorite pe iPhone. (Capitolul 29. Podcasturi), etc.

In spite of being concise, the user guide does not fail to fully describe the product components or the process stages (in a stepwise manner), without leaving room for interpretations or procedural gaps. The manipulation strategy, typically associated with instructions, is achieved, by convincing and motivating the user to refrain from just having a “glance”, but to carefully read the dedicated chapters or sub-chapters:

(5) E. Organize photos and videos

The Album tab includes albums you create yourself and some albums that are created for you, depending on how you use Photos. For example, videos are automatically added to the Videos album and you see a My Photo Stream album if you use that feature (see My Photo Stream, next). All your photos in iCloud are in the All Photos album if you use iCloud Photo Library (see iCloud Photo Library on page 88). If you don't use iCloud Photo Library, you see the Camera Roll album instead, which includes photos and videos you took with iPhone and from other sources. (Chapter 11. Photos)

Ro. Organizarea pozelor și clipurilor video

Fila Album include albumele create de dvs. și unele albume care sunt create pentru dvs., în funcție de modul în care utilizați aplicația Poze. De exemplu, clipurile video sunt adăugate automat în albumul Clipuri video și veți vedea un album numit Fluxul dvs. foto dacă utilizați respectiva dvs. funcționalitate (a se vedea Fluxul dvs. foto de mai jos). Toate pozele de pe iCloud sunt în albumul *Toate pozele* dacă utilizați biblioteca foto iCloud (a se vedea Biblioteca foto iCloud în pagina 97). Dacă nu utilizați biblioteca foto iCloud, veți vedea în schimb albumul Rolă film, care include pozele și clipurile video realizate cu iPhone-ul dvs. și provenite din alte surse. (Capitolul 11. Poze)

Besides, the level of informality (as evidenced by the short sentences, contracted forms, the use of active voice, of the 2nd person pronoun “you” as a form of address, etc.) reveals a direct marketing strategy and creates expectations of solidarity within the community of users. One particular mention concerns the translation of “you” in Romanian. There are two possible scenarios:

- to equate “you” to the Romanian “tu” (the singular number of the personal pronoun) or to “voi” (the plural number);
- to use “dvs.” (the abbreviation of the personal pronoun of politeness “dumneavoastră”) as the Romanian counterpart of *you*, indicating deference, flattering the addressee, yet, creating a social distance instead of solidarity.

As seen in the samples above, the form “dvs.” is favoured; dynamic verbs such as “tap”, “drag”, “swipe”, “pinch” (which in this context could be nouns as well) (1), “turn on” (2), “see” (3), etc. are translated as noun phrases indicating action: “apăsare”, “tragere”, “glisare”, “apropierea/departarea degetelor”, “pornirea”, “vizualizarea”, etc. We spot a compensation strategy: while the frequent English abbreviation “apps” is given its full form equivalent in Romanian – “aplicații”, the preferred abbreviation in Romanian is that of the deference pronoun *dumneavoastră* – “dvs.” The translator's task involves the re-creation of the equivalent communicative situation and the use of a “cultural filter” as proposed by House (2001). According to her, cultural filters are used to highlight the social and cultural differences in the behaviour and communication patterns of individuals in the two speech communities, focusing on the specific rhetorical styles and expectation norms. Under the circumstances, the text analysis is required prior to translation, in order to identify differences, and the translator's choices (in terms of decision making) should underpin cultural considerations alongside linguistic grounds (House 2001). Mapping the current realities, House (2001: 253) advocates “English as a global lingua franca in cultural (non)filtering” settings, explaining that, in the globalisation era, there is increasing need for texts that should be able to function in a large number of communities. Instead of dwelling on features that make a culture specific, target texts should seek to be universal, with “universality” being represented by North European /North American Anglo-Saxon norms. These “hybrid texts” carry cultural norms that invade all spaces, cultural and linguistic. A few examples suffice to make us understand that the almost instant import of state-of-the-art technology is accompanied by lexical loans, due to the non-existence of the extra-linguistic entity in the target language culture, due to the fact that such gadgets seem to be rather short-lived before being replaced by some other innovative product, and also due to the fact that the products address a specific segment of the market, already familiar with the jargon and showing a certain degree of linguistic snobbery: “Multi-Touch Screen” – “Ecran Multi-touch” (1) (“touch” is also rendered in some other technical texts as “tactil”), “Double-click” – “Faceti dublu clic” (3), “Airplay” – “Airplay” (4), “icloud” – “icloud” (5) (transfers), “Podcasts” – “Podcasturi”, “Podcasturile” (4) (transfer and naturalisation).

Fifteen years later, in full consonance with House (2001) and based on evidence, I may state that there is a growing impact of the English language upon the rules of discourse, conventions of textualisation and communicative preferences. Hence, the translation of user guides requires a proficient bilingual and an “intercultural expert”. In order to accomplish his/her mission successfully, the translator should also acquire and use integrative, interconnected knowledge and skills (required by specialised translation) so as to meet the readership's expectations (equally understood as assumptions to aggregate in the common ground) envisaging translation as both a process and end product.

The translation of user guides is achieved by means of communicative translation, which favours the informative aspect of the text and draws a

perlocutionary effect on the user, motivating and even manipulating the target readership to act and behave just like the end user of the source text, i.e. continuing reading and applying the instructions and, in the long term, gaining the consumers' loyalty with new upgraded products of the same brand.

6. Conclusion

Axiomatically, in spite of the English language status of lingua franca and its shaping the technical discourse across cultures (more often than not, by transfer mechanisms, since technical texts are originally written in English), the translator remains accountable for carrying across the technical writer's intended meaning, which should be compatible with the translator's competence and the achieved common ground.

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INTERNAL REPRESENTATION, FRAME AND CONTEXT IN THE DYNAMICS OF BUSINESS INTERACTIONS: AN NLP PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *NLP suggests that internal processing is associated with sensory word use. The aim of this paper is to show how our representational systems are important skills for business people who try to understand their interlocutors' way of thinking and information processing. The frame and the context filters in the communication process will also be analyzed. Linguistically, the outcome is to identify and match business people's predicates as a step towards achieving the goal of clear communication.*

Keywords: *context, frame, internal representations, language, map of reality, NLP*

1. Introduction

Our inner representation of reality is unique for us, as our perception of the world is only an interpretation. It is not an exact representation of reality, because each person has his/her own way of thinking and takes information through his/her eyes, ears, taste and so on.

People's internal representation acts as a filter on the world and gives us an indication of their different thoughts and responses to particular external stimuli. This filter produces *states* that are specific to each person's experience.

From the communication model perspective, certain states are associated with certain behaviours, i.e. what we do and say depends on the state we are in. Our internal representation is a reflection of our state, consisting of images, sounds and feelings which are interrelated to make up a mental map and which interconnect to form behaviour.

A way of changing the quality of our internal representations is, according to Molden (2001: 67), through the use of *critical submodalities*, which are likely to help us manage our states more easily: "imagine you have a control panel for changing the qualities of your internal representations, called submodalities". In other words, the three types of submodalities, i.e. visual, auditory and kinesthetic, enable us to develop our ability to work with our internal representations. This is particularly evident when using an internal representation of a pleasurable past experience. Starting from this point, one could make a mental exercise and bring back the feelings, images and sounds experienced at the time of the event and intensify them by using submodalities. That is why the role of submodalities is closely related to our internal representation, since images (black and white, bright and dim, larger and smaller, framed and panoramic), sounds (mono or stereo, loud or soft, cleared or muffled), and feelings (rough or smooth, hard or soft, hot or cold) are associated with the representation, and make up what the NLP Model of Communication calls a "mind programming unit".

2. The internal representation

Our functional model of communication also provides a new way of accessing information and representing the world internally. This method of recognizing which of the three communication channels is used to form the representation is known as the *eye movement pattern*. It provides cues for whether a person unconsciously prefers to represent the world visually, auditorily, or kinesthetically. Each eye accessing cue indicates how we represent and process information.

Visual pattern-oriented people recall experiences by seeing a lot of pictures in their mind's eye. Strong, well-defined images, frequent upward eye movements characterize those with a visual representation of the world. Linguistically, persons who prefer the visual channel are more prone to use specific visual phrases like: *It looks great, I can get the picture, I can picture what you're saying, She paints a completely different picture, We might consider this on a broader canvas.*

Kinesthetic pattern-based people process and represent information internally by moving their eyes down and to the right. During a conversation, this eye position accesses kinesthetic sensations of internal feelings and is a frequent cause for pauses and speech interruptions in mid-sentence. Kinesthetics' language cues are reflected in expressions such as *Do you get a handle on things now?, Let's touch upon this point., He must brush up on his writing reports.*

Patterns of eye accessing cues include lateral and leftward movements for remembered sounds, and lateral and rightward movements for constructed sounds. Auditory pattern-oriented people use language structures that match their representational style: *Listen to Mike's proposal, That's clear as a bell, Don't breathe a word.*

The *filters* on our experience determine the way we make sense of reality. As Sue Knight (2002: 47) put it, "by learning to recognize filters you begin to build bridges of communication... Your filters can vary over time and context, they are part of what makes you unique".

The process of sensing and feeling the world around us, i.e. the *territory*, helps us to create an *internal model* of the world made up of mental images, interactions, feelings. Firstly, we take in information directly from the territory, and secondly, we interpret the incoming perceptions (external signals) by means of the three filters of generalization, deletion and distortion. Moreover, Dilts and DeLozier's classifications (2000: 379) of the ongoing experiences of the outside world are twofold: on the one hand, there is *primary experience* which "relates to the information we actually receive and perceive through our senses", and on the other hand, *secondary experience* has to do with "the verbal and symbolic maps that we create to represent and organize our primary experiences".

Our internal representation is further shaped with the addition of our values which are a mark of our identity. Thus, as Dilts and DeLozier (2000: 410) point out, "Our values are an important influence on filters. Filters, in turn, influence our internal representation of our experience".

It is well-known that, in conversation, two people often use the same filters and similar language patterns, there being a high level of *rapport* and mutual trust. In this respect, Sue Knight (2002: 37-38) considers two steps to be relevant: the first step consists in *learning to recognize the filters* that you and others use, *flexibility* being developed further on, and the second step consists in giving ourselves a choice which is the key to success.

NLP helps us to learn how to recognize the way in which our customers (in negotiating and selling) take in information through filters. On the one hand, we have to be able to present ourselves, and we have to be able to detect our customer's needs, on the other. In other words, we have to know how to present our products and services, but we also have to consider the so-called *customer delight* (Knight 2002). In order to achieve the customer's contentment, we have to know how to *model* his/her thinking and behaviour. All this is called *meta program* (Knight 2002; Molden 1996; O'Connor and Seymour 2002; Molden and Hutchinson 2006).

In active listening, the sender of the message can hear in the recipient's language what sensory source s/he uses in communication at any moment. In business, attention during the personal selling process is given not only to verbal phrases, but also to the thoughts and feelings of the prospective customer. It is essential for him/her to *hear, see, touch* the product and the salesperson must make him/her feel the benefits of the purchase. The sales managers tailor their approach to the needs of the various customers, enter their world and share the sensory-based language which their clients are most attuned to. The sales managers decode the communication mode chosen by their interlocutors and adapt themselves, using the sensory-based language of the latter. By speaking the customers' language while matching predicates, they can make them *feel* they get a *solid* understanding, they might *see eye to eye*, or they might *be on the same wavelength*.

3. The frame and the context

Some theorists, for example Bateson (1973), refer to the relationship between the *internal psychological state* (the *frame*), which is part of our *map of the world*, and the *context*, which is an *external representation of reality*.

In Bateson's opinion (1973: 187), a frame "is not real in the same way as our map of the world is not the actual territory it represents. It is more of an indicator of the sort of thinking in interpreting". The map, as a series of signs, is a myth, as Barthes (1993) suggested; it is a misrepresentation. As already suggested in his earlier studies, Korzybski (1994: 58) points out that "a map is not the territory it represents, but, if correct, it has a similar structure to the territory, which accounts for its usefulness". Later on, Bandler and Grinder (1975) developed Korzybski's ideas. The map maker has to make choices about how much information is to be processed and what aspects need to be brought out in order to make the map meaningful and useful.

The context, more carefully studied by Leonard Bloomfield (1984), determines meaning which depends on "the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer" (Bloomfield 1984: 139). The definition of meaning in NLP is very similar: "The meaning of the communication is the response you get... Meaning in communication is culture-bound" (O'Connor and Seymour 1993: 23, 89).

For my purposes, thinking in terms of maps is more useful when studying NLP in business English, in general, and in negotiating and selling, in particular, because our first task is to map the reality as perceived by others. The result will be deletion of some of the material irrelevant for the map, distortion of the relevant material, which will cause disproportions, and generalizations of features to fit a standard recognizable pattern in terms of colour, shape and size (Katan 2004: 119-120).

Much of a particular experience or event is framed by the context seen as strongly influencing the sending of messages in the medium. The interpretation of an experience will be determined by certain behaviour, also defined as “meta messages” about the context.

In NLP, the *physical* and *non-physical dimensions* of a context exert influence on communication. The former is related to external cues and constraints (e.g. time constraints), and the latter is concerned with “parameters such as people’s goals, roles, the phase of work they are in” (Dilts and DeLozier 2000: 224). For example, a brainstorming session targeted at *designing a new product* sets up a different context than a brainstorming session targeted at *promoting* or *delivering* that product on the market.

As both terms imply, the frame and the context look at the dynamics of an interaction, focusing on the *thoughts* and *actions* surrounding it.

4. Conclusion

We often blend representational systems to make the most out of a particular experience. People feel more comfortable and in rapport with someone who is responding to them in the same language representations as they have communicated at that point in time. Matching someone’s representational processors immediately creates the condition of rapport. People’s “sensory bundle”, or package of senses, helps us to get a full experience of the richness of information we are all searching for.

One particularly advantageous result of *cascading* from one representational system to another is, of course, the ability to establish deep rapport.

Although people’s language may want for richness, eye accessing cues rarely lie. Therefore, what we would be getting *without* observing people’s eye accessing cues would only be language. In so doing, the eyes will follow the internal neurology, and will move according to which sense or representational mode they are accessing at the moment.

Other elements which contribute to the dynamics of business interactions, namely context and frame, are essential aspects of the medium in which messages are sent. In business, time constraints are an important contextual influence. If a time limit of 20 minutes has been set for a meeting, it is more likely that the meeting will be interpreted as being task-oriented rather than an open-ended, exploratory brainstorming session. Frames greatly influence the way that specific experiences are interpreted and responded to because of how they serve to punctuate those experiences and direct attention. Frames also help “to make interactions more efficient because they determine which information and issues fall within or outside of the purpose of the interaction” (Dilts and DeLozier 2000: 426).

In conclusion, from the NLP perspective, having clear frames helps business people to adjust their expectations, and to interpret messages and actions accordingly.

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POLITICS AND MAGICAL THINKING: HOW FALSEHOODS, SHOWMANSHIP AND HAWKISHNESS BECAME TRADEMARKS OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

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***Abstract:** Though the act of voting is one of the main trademarks of a democratic society, the electoral time period awarded to political campaigns and candidates is in itself an exceptional time, a break with the regular unfolding of events and passing of day to day life. During electoral campaigns, voters are bombarded with a whole array of political messages, images, promises, designed to win the undecided votes as well as to confirm and assuage the partisan voters' already formed opinions, judgements or concerns. This paper analyses the political discourses of the 2016 Republican Party presidential primary candidates and assesses them by using critical discourse analysis, whether the rhetorical extravaganza of Donald Trump and other Republican candidates, is a hyperbolic exception or is just another component of the spectacle norms pushed to their outer limits.*

***Keywords:** critical discourse analysis, electoral campaign, nativism, presidential electoral campaign, spectacle state, Republican party primaries*

1. Introduction

Following in the steps of a figurative Cold War M.A.D. (mutual assured destruction) doctrine of military strategy and the Nixonian Madman theory (see note 1), Republican presidential candidates during the presidential primary election, are tributary to an ultra-Conservative bordering on the radical right white supremacist rhetoric. Before the Republican candidate wins the party's nomination, the concurrent discourses advocating for all sorts of anti-democratic agendas, seem like a segment from a contest for an irrational T.V. game show – while being taken for granted and ridiculed by the mainstream press. This phenomenon says more about the state of the republic – hostage to the 'spectacle state', than about voters' conditioned behaviour and the way they cast their ballots.

Up to August 2015, there were seventeen Republican candidates, while three more had either announced their candidacy or filed with the Federal Election Commission. Nine were former or incumbent state governors: Jeb Bush – Governor of Florida (1999-2007); Chris Christie – Governor of New Jersey (2010 – present); Jim Gilmore – Governor of Virginia (1998-2002); Mike Huckabee – Governor of Arkansas (1996-2007); Bobby Jindal – Governor of Louisiana (2008 – present); John Kasich – Governor of Ohio (2011 – present); George Pataki – Governor of New York (1995-2006); Rick Perry – Governor of Texas (2000-2015); Scott Walker – Governor of Wisconsin (2011 – present). Five were United States Senators: Ted Cruz – Texas (2013 – present); Lindsey Graham – South Carolina (2003 – present); Rand Paul – Kentucky (2011 – present); Marco Rubio – Florida (2011 – present); Rick Santorum – Pennsylvania (1995-2007). Two were

CEOs: Carly Fiorina – former CEO of Hewlett-Packard (1999-2005); Donald Trump – The Trump Organization (1971 – present); while Ben Carson used to be the Director of Pediatric Neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins Hospital (1984 – 2013). Of the other three: two are perennial candidates: Jack Fellure from West Virginia (former Prohibition Party nominee in 2012) and Andy Martin from New York (Birther activist), while Mark Everson from Mississippi, had formerly occupied the function of Commissioner of Internal Revenue between 2003 and 2007. Diversity wise, Carly Fiorina was the only woman running, two were sons of immigrants: Bobby Jindal (parents are immigrants from Punjab, India) and Marco Rubio (parents are Cuban immigrants); Ben Carson was the only African-American Republican candidate in the current Republican primary (The Politics and Election Portal, “Republican Presidential Candidates 2016”, 2015).

At the national level, the Fox News survey from August 13th, 2015, placed Trump first (25%), followed by Ben Carson (12%), Ted Cruz (10%), Jeb Bush (9%), Mike Huckabee tied with Scott Walker (6%), Carly Fiorina (5%), Marco Rubio tied with John Kasich (4%), Rand Paul tied with Chris Christie (3%); 7 per cent of the respondents were undecided (Blanton 2015). Pending on the poll, the other candidates (Jindal, Santorum, Graham, Pataki) fluctuate between 1 per cent and 3 per cent (The Politics and Election Portal, “2016 Republican Presidential Primary Polls”, 2015) (see note 2). A CNN / ORC International survey published on August 18th, 2015, found “Trump with the support of 24% of Republican registered voters”, followed by Jeb Bush (13%), Ben Carson (9%), Marco Rubio tied with Scott Walker (8%), Rand Paul (6%), Ted Cruz, Carly Fiorina and John Kasich at 5 per cent, while Mike Huckabee finished the top 10 at 4 per cent (Agiesta, 2015). A Reuters / Ipsos poll from August 19th, 2015, put Donald Trump at 29 per cent, followed by Jeb Bush (10%), Scott Walker tied with Ben Carson (9%), Mike Huckabee (7%), Rand Paul tied with Carly Fiorina (5%), Ted Cruz tied with Marco Rubio, Chris Christie and Rick Perry (4%) (Stephenson 2015).

This study analyses the particularities of the Republicans’ presidential campaign discourse with its trademarked “anti stances” on social issues and “pro-war stances” fuelled by typical right wing nativist exceptionalism. What appears to be peculiar, but will be shown to be an in-built feature of the media-political-electoral industrial system, is the echo chamber mechanism which potentates the Republican discourse. First, though not mandatorily, occurs the dissemination in the partisan media; second, the liberal media regurgitates and recycles the message, in various iterations, ranging from serious, critical to ironical and cynical. Both stages further enable the message’s bid for legitimacy, notwithstanding how valid the content might be. Therefore when the critical electoral masses are locked on either of the candidates, no matter how outlandish their assertions are, no challenging/opposing argument introduced *aposteriori* will sway them away from their candidate of choice. Methodology-wise, the study is based on the campaign declarations of several Republican candidates: Donald Trump, Carly Fiorina, Jeb Bush, Rand Paul, Mike Huckabee, with a pronounced emphasis on Fiorina and Trump. The selected analysed time frame consists of the first months of the Primary – namely August and September 2015 – and examines the first two Republican debates. This aspect is mirrored in the sources cited in the text, consisting mostly of news articles from the mainstream mass-media, dated from August 8th, 2015 to September 29th, 2015, and published in *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, *Mother Jones*, *Slate*, *Salon*, *Politico*, *Rolling Stone*, *The Daily Beast*, *Vox*, *Breitbart*, or on the CNN site, Fox News, and MSNBC. Of the

numerous existing campaign topics, the study has opted to address mainly issues concerning immigration, abortion and torture. In doing so, the research tries to answer the following questions: *is the Republican Party veering to a far right political extreme during the Primary campaign?* and if so, *what does this say about the state of politics of the conservative Right?*

2. When method to the madness becomes the policy *de jour*

Unlike with the Democratic Party, where fringe candidates like Ralph Nader (five-time candidate for President of the United States), Dennis Kucinich (2004 and 2008 presidential elections candidate) or Bernie Sanders in the 2016 Democratic primary tend to push the other candidates further Left on social issues – at least rhetorically – by opening the debate to aspects that would otherwise be ignored or played down, on the Right, fringe candidates like Donald Trump, exacerbate the discourse of the others. Instead of downplaying Trump’s positions, they level up and double down. For example, on the issue of citizenship, Trump “insisted he and his lawyers have found some disturbing holes in the [Fourteenth] amendment, which unequivocally states that anyone born in the United States is in fact an American citizen”. On August 18th, 2015, in an interview with Fox News television host, Bill O’Reilly, Trump argued:

What happens is, they’re in Mexico, they’re going to have a baby, they move over here for a couple of days, they have the baby”, Trump said, while trying to break down his legal take. “Bill, [lawyers are] saying, ‘It’s not going to hold up in court, it’s going to have to be tested’”. “I don’t think they have American citizenship, and if you speak to some very, very good lawyers, some would disagree”, Trump added. “But many of them agree with me—you’re going to find they do not have American citizenship.”(Oh 2015a)

Afterwards, Jeb Bush – who tends to be regarded as the main favourite for the Republican presidential bid against the Democrats – backed some of Trump’s rhetoric, only to land himself in another controversy. On August 19th, 2015, on “Morning in America”, a conservative radio show hosted by Bill Bennett, Bush said in regard to the issue of “children of undocumented immigrants” born on U.S. soil: “That’s [the] legitimate side of this. Better enforcement so that you don’t have these, you know, ‘anchor babies’, as they’re described, coming into the country” (Collins 2015). When faced with criticism for using the derogatory term, Bush backed himself into another corner, first on Thursday, August 20th, 2015, when he nervously replied to the reporters that: “No, I don’t. I don’t regret it [using the term ‘anchor babies’]. [...] “No, do you have a better term? OK, you give me, you give me a better term and I’ll use it. I’m serious” (Killough 2015). Then, on Monday, August 24th, 2015, in a classical instance of *from bad to worse*, when attempting once again to explain his position on the Fourteenth Amendment, Jeb Bush stated that: “What I was talking about was the specific case of fraud being committed. [...] Frankly it’s more related to Asian people [who are] coming into our country, having children, and... taking advantage of a noble concept, which is birthright citizenship” (Altman 2015). In addition, similar to Trump, Jeb Bush dismissed criticism of the term, as being “ludicrous”:

Nothing about what I’ve said should be viewed as derogatory towards immigrants at all”, the GOP presidential candidate said after meeting with local officials near the U.S.-Mexico border in McAllen, TX. “This is all how politics plays. And by the

way, I think we need to take a step back and chill out a little bit as it relates to the political correctness that somehow you have to be scolded every time you say something. (Dann 2015)

In this “sea of diversity”, problematic statements varying from the outright racist to misogynistic and homophobic, are regarded as typical from the Republican side. Arguably the worst offender, Donald Trump has referred to Mexicans in derogatory terms stating that:

...tremendous infectious disease is pouring across the border. The United States has become a dumping ground for Mexico and, in fact, for many other parts of the world. [...]When Mexico (meaning the Mexican Government) sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you (pointing to the audience). They're not sending you (pointing again). They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems to us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. (Walker 2015)

Mike Huckabee, keeping the flames burning on the Conservatives' “war on women” (see note 3), stated that: it's “a statistical reality that most single moms are very poor, under-educated, can't get a job, and if it weren't for government assistance, their kids would be starving to death” (Stasi 2015), while Ted Cruz, during his Princeton years, in what was perceived as an attempt at humour in poor taste, suggested that in order to detect infidelity, “God should ‘give women a hymen that grows back every time she has intercourse with a different guy, because that will be a ‘visible sign’ of the breach of trust” (Oh 2015b). Of disabled people, Rand Paul stated that: “Over half of the people on disability are either anxious or their back hurts – join the club. Who doesn't get a little anxious for work and their back hurts? Everybody over 40 has a back pain” (Sargent 2015).

Mass-media titles have captured this phenomenon; see, for example:

- “Are the Republicans mad?” (*The Economist*, April 28th, 2012);
- “Republicans' big problem with crazy” (Michael Cohen, *The Guardian*, August 15th, 2013);
- “How the GOP Slowly went insane” (Jon Lovett, *The Atlantic*, October 16th, 2013);
- “How long can the GOP hide the crazy?” (Dean Obeidallah, *The Daily Beast*, September 20th, 2014);
- “The GOP's demented family values: From the Duggars to David Vitter, again and again, the social conservatives have horrifying hypocrisy problems” (Sean Illing, *Salon*, June 8th, 2015);
- “Donald Trump and the Republican Party's ‘mad as hell’ moment” (Ian Tuttle, *National Review*, July 20th, 2015);
- “All the crazy things Republicans have done to get attention in the world of Donald Trump” (Brett Logiurato, *Business Insider*, July 27th, 2015)
- “The GOP field's calculated crazy talk” (Dana Milbank, *The Washington Post*, August 3rd, 2015);
- “Fox Republican debate got crazy. NBA finals-level ratings” (Ben Mathis Lilley, *Slate*, August 7th, 2015);
- “The GOP's crazy birthright citizenship debate could have real consequences” (Brian Beutler, *New Republic*, August 21st, 2015);
- “Inside the GOP clown car” (Matt Taibbi, *Rolling Stone*, August 12th, 2015).

The problem with this political menagerie is that while it is made to seem exotic and quasi-entirely haphazardous, it is representative of larger problems in the political landscape, namely that without donors and their vested interests in political campaigns, the candidates and voters become mere accessories divested of their very own constitutional purpose. With the Rising American Electorate (unmarried women, people of colour and millennials (age 18-35)) now making up the majority of the U.S. population (56.7%) (Voter Participation Data Center 2015), a regressive pattern of doubling down on what are essentially anti-social agendas continuing to ferment: from criminalising the woman's right to choose, to *de facto* banning it in some states, to refusing service to gay couples on grounds of religious freedom, to openly advocating for slavery (see note 4), to obstructing the voting rights of minorities (see note 5), etc.; the Right's discourse in America – though praised for its shrewdness (see note 6) – has taken the “madmen theory” (see note 7) and raised it to a toxic art form with the deliberate consent and participation of the mainstream media.

3. Erroneous data as a campaign strategy. Case study: Carly Fiorina

According to a Quinnipiac University poll of September 2015, Carly Fiorina placed third on the Republican side, having 12 per cent support, behind Donald Trump with 25 per cent and Ben Carson with 17 per cent. When compared to Hillary Clinton – who up to that point had not participated in any Democratic debate – Fiorina narrowly topped Clinton “in a head-to-head matchup”, with 44 percent support to the latter's 43 per cent (*The Washington Times* 2015). The problem with Fiorina is not that she is being deliberately disingenuous, but that she is outright lying when presenting falsehoods as true facts. Because of her technique, instead of truth coming to light and lies being amended, truth continues to be muddied to the point that – for example – torture becomes necessary after having previously been proved by experts to be effective and do more harm than good (issue addressed in Section 3.2; for more examples, see note 9). The Republican candidates – led triumphantly by Trump – are a mirror into a *bizarro* conservative landscape, in which facts are optional and nativist baiting becomes mandatory. 2015 witnessed the commencement of what can only be described – as a journalist explains it – a “festival of hate” (Obeidallah 2015): from how to deal the illegal immigrant and Syrian refugees to women's rights to bodily autonomy and reproductive healthcare or to foreign policy issues.

Already in the late 60s, late Republican strategist Lee Atwater noted how: “By 1968 you can't say [the “n” word] – that hurts you, backfires. So you say stuff like, uh, forced busing, states rights, and all that stuff, and you're getting so abstract” (Obeidallah 2015). In other words, what is being developed, as Obeidallah (2015) notices, is “the politically acceptable way of telling white people in a coded message that we will keep you safe from blacks, immigrants, etc.” Presently, as referenced in the previous section, we have witnessed somewhat of a reversal on the coded language, if not even a dismissal of the “code” in some cases, to the point that Republican candidate Ben Carson declared “that Islam is incompatible with the US constitution and he ‘would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation’” (Laughland and Ackerman 2015). Meanwhile, the First Amendment states that: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof...” while Article VI of the Constitution affirms that: “No religious Test shall ever be required as a

Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States” (Pengelly 2015). To see how bad things have gotten bigotry wise, it is useful to note that even Bush, immediately after 9/11, rejected Muslim bashing, while stating that: “The enemy of America is no tourmany Muslim friends” (Obeidallah 2015).

3.1. The “great abortion epidemic” of the 21st century

Figures like Trump – though easy and convenient targets for mocking and lambasting – do not have to go the entire nine yards on the campaign trail in order to galvanise and aggravate a Republican base that already feels and sees itself as being under siege, by various multicultural liberal agendas. In addition, these apparently peculiar statements have to be analyzed as part of the Republican *gestalt* and not just as random bids for attention and media bits. They have to be coupled with what is for all intents and purposes a mainstream approved “resurgence” of the neoconservative platform – arguably the proponents responsible for the foreign policies disasters post-9/11 – promoting the same hawkish narratives in favour of a more muscular foreign policy abroad. Meanwhile, inside the homeland, as Greenwald (2015) remarks, the Muslim community “is routinely targeted with bigotry and legal persecution in the Home of the Free, while fear and hysteria reignsupreme in the Land of the Brave”. Similar discriminatory and systemic policies affect women as wells as other ethnic, religious, and LGBTQ minorities.

Women – who constitute 50.8 per cent of the population – see their rights to bodily autonomy for example, infringed upon by what is arguably a nefarious meddling of religion (namely in the guise of the Christian Right) in public policy, upheld with impunity by members of the Republican Party. Poor women – especially of colour but not only, are the main group affected by these policies. This leads the only woman Republican candidate, Carly Fiorinato argue in favour of defunding Planned Parenthood – a NGO which provides maternal and child health services as well as reproductive health – by falsely describing a deceptively-edited anti-abortion video, during the second Republican debate: “Watch a fully formed fetus on the table, its heart beating, its legs kicking, while someone says we have to keep it alive to harvest its brain. This is about the character of our nation, and if we will not stand up and force President Obama to veto this bill [funding Planned Parenthood], shame on us” (Fiorina quoted in Marcotte 2015).

As a matter of fact, the cited video does not even exist. What exists are 12 hours of footage produced by an anti-abortion group, dystopically named Center for Medical Progress, that has made unsubstantiated claims about how Planned Parenthood, as Kliff (2015) observes, “has profited from procuring [donated] fetal tissue for researchers. The videos do show Planned Parenthood officials discussing fetal tissue, sometimes in ways that are callous and jarring. But there is no moment where Planned Parenthood discusses procuring fetal tissue for profit, nor is there the scene that Fiorina describes”. Moreover, as Republicans are willingly ignoring, though the women have *the right to choose* – as stated in the Supreme Court decision on *Roe v. Wade* – the Hyde Amendment bans that federal funds be used to fund abortions. In addition, abortions represent only 3 per cent of Planned Parenthood services; the rest, Ross (2015) observes, is divided between: STI (sexual transmited infections) / STD (sexual transmited diseases), testing and treatment (42 per cent), contraception (34 per cent), other women’s health services (11 per cent), cancer screening and prevention (9 per cent), other services (1).

To put things into perspective, United States and Papua New Guinea are the only two countries in the world to not offer paid maternity leave, with US being the only advanced industrialised and democratically consolidated nation to do this (see note 10). Under the Family and Medical Leave Act – which covers “about half of all working Americans” (Suddath 2015), employees are allowed “up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually [...] for those who have worked for their employer at least 12 months, including at least 1250 hours during the most recent 12 months” (Morgan 2015), “at companies with 50 or more employees” (Suddath 2015).

During the second Republican primary debate from September 2015, Mike Huckabee – who unironically echoes Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale* (see note 8) – went to profess his vision for a potential presidency: “Abortion would be no more. It would be as much of a scourge in our past as slavery is” (quoted in Wofford et al 2015). South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham declared that: “if we can’t stand for innocent human life after these barbaric videos, it is time to be done with the Republican Party [and] start over with a new one that’s at least conservative” (*The Times* Editorial Board 2015). Jeb Bush highlighted how “there are 13,000 community-based organizations that provide health services to women”, rendering Planned Parenthood irrelevant to women’s health” (Redden 2015). Fiorina similarly insisted on the existence of “other facilities that can absorb the family planning and preventive health care for patients” – which as mentioned above constitute the majority of services provided by Planned Parenthood. Moreover such state ment sarein Gerson Uffalussy’s (2015) view, “empirically false”:

Because the bulk of the federal funding received by Planned Parenthood is for Medicaid [health care assistance program for low income families and individuals] reimbursement, and no federal funds may be spent on any costs affiliated with abortion care, defunding Planned Parenthood would primarily harm those Americans whose income level qualifies them for Medicaid, and those low-income households who fail to meet Medicaid limits and cannot afford insurance – but can receive preventive health care services, including cancer screenings and contraception, on a sliding scale based on need.

Unlike in the Democratic Party, where “women continue to increase their policy influence in the 113th Congress”, “women’s issues are not central to the reputation of the Republican party” (Swers 2014: 178). When integrated in the narrative on the war on poverty, defunding and thus dismantling Planned Parenthood which “provides critical and preventative health care to a lot of low and moderate income women” (Ross 2015), would only put these women’s lives in danger, in the name of what is at best a disingenuous argument to the pro-life base, and at worst, a deliberate intervention of religious interests and Biblical arguments in state affairs. Because the more the Republicans act as policy advocates for the right to life, the less they seem concerned with the right to life *after* birth and all that implies. What is troubling is that during the CNN Republican debate of September 2015, not once did the moderator, Jack Tapper, intervene to set the record straight, when blatant lies were being passed as facts and watched by nearly 23 million viewers. Instead, CNN correspondent Tom Foreman addressed this issue by arguing in the case of Fiorina’s statements that they were “true, but misleading”. (Larris 2015) (see note 12). Kessler and Yee Hee Lee (2015) from *The Washington Post*, note that while the Center for Medical Progress videos shows a technician describing such an event, “Fiorina might have trouble finding this video to show to

Clinton. No video has surfaced showing the scene Fiorina describes taking place inside a Planned Parenthood facility” (see note 13). Ezra Klein (2015) notes that “She made everyone else on the stage – especially Trump – look unprepared. But she did it in part by playing fast and loose with the facts. Her barrage of specifics often obscured a *curious detachment from reality*” [emphasis added]. When asked to prove her statements, Fiorina nonchalantly states: “That scene absolutely does exist”, moreover she claims how “taxpayers are paying for” abortions, though as Robinson (2015) emphasizes: “the use of federal funds to pay for abortion has been banned for nearly four decades”. Weirder still is how the part about Planned Parenthood was attached to a larger statement about Iran:

I would like to link these two issues, both of which are incredibly important, Iran and Planned Parenthood. One has something to do with the defence of the security of this nation. The other has something to do with the defence of the character of this nation. You have not heard a plan about Iran from any politician up here, here is my plan. On day one in the Oval Office, I will make two phone calls, the first to my good friend to Bibi Netanyahu to reassure him we will stand with the state of Israel. The second, to the supreme leader, to tell him that unless and until he opens every military and every nuclear facility to real anytime, anywhere inspections by our people, not his, we, the United States of America, will make it as difficult as possible and move money around the global financial system. We can do that, we don't need anyone's cooperation to do it (*Washington Post* 2015).

In so far as none of the candidates offered meaningful viable proposals and relied overwhelmingly on empty rhetoric and barbed attacks at each other, the spectacle state continues to function unabated and unchecked by a mainstream media pretending to act as a Fourth Column, but being dependent on the access to the political Beltway and hence going along and playing a convenient second fiddle to what are essentially pro-business platforms. Unlike Trump – who “makes grand, sweeping statements with no basis in fact”, Fiorina “is all about specificity” (Robinson 2015).

3.2. The curious case of torture: (il)legal, (in)effective and (in)humane

The 1975 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, defines torture as:

any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed (Part 1, Article 1).

The 2014 US Senate Committee bipartisan Report on Torture determined that post 9/11 use of enhanced interrogation techniques by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) “was not an effective means of acquiring intelligence or gaining cooperation from detainees”, that “the CIA’s justification for the use of its enhanced interrogation techniques rested on inaccurate claims of its effectiveness”, that “the interrogations of CIA detainees were brutal and far worse than the CIA represented to policymakers and others”, that “the CIA coordinated the release of classified information to the media, including inaccurate information concerning the effectiveness of the CIA’s enhanced interrogation techniques” or that “the CIA’s Detention and Interrogation Program damaged the United State’s standing in

the world, and resulted in other significant monetary and non-monetary costs” (*The Guardian* 2015). Meanwhile a Pew Research Center report identified a shift in people’s attitude towards torture. If in 2004, “a narrow majority (53%) said the use of torture to gain important information from suspected terrorists could only be *rarely* or *never* justified”, by 2011, “a narrow majority (53%) of Americans said that the use of torture could be *often* or *sometimes* justified” [emphasis added] (Drake 2014).

This being said, Carly Fiorina declared in an interview with Yahoo News from September 2015 that: “all of the evidence is very clear – that waterboarding was used in a very small handful of cases [and] was supervised by medical personnel in every one of those case”. She also believes that “waterboarding was used when there was no other way to get information that was necessary”. At the same time, she called the Senate Report “disingenuous” and ‘a shame’ that ‘undermined the morale of a whole lot of people who dedicated their lives to keeping the country safe’” (Isikoff 2015). In 2007, when she was a member of the CIA advisory board, Fiorina “suggested torture apologist Jose Rodriguez [who ordered the destruction of videotapes of waterboarding but was not charged] should ‘be a spokesman for the agency’” (*The Daily Beast* 2015). As one of the architects of the torture program, Rodriguez has been known to declare such things as: “[...], this will probably go down in history as one of the most successful programs because we were actually able to capture and kill all of the generation of Al Qaeda fighters that attacked us on 9/11” (Sullivan 2014).

While CIA declared that it only waterboarded three detainees, Senate investigators discovered images of “a waterboard with buckets of water around it at a detention site where the CIA has claimed it never subjected a detainee to the waterboard” (Maloy 2015a). Cooper (2015) adds that:

Waterboarding was used hundreds of times. It was not effectively supervised by medical personnel. Moreover, CIA torture was far more extensive than waterboarding – it included beatings, sleep deprivation, freezing (to death in at least one instance), rape, mock executions, and more. It was used as a first resort, often before the identities of captives were even known (leading the CIA to torture its own informants by mistake on one occasion). Many victims were totally innocent.

Fiorina’s other statement that torture was only administered only when “absolutely necessary”, is contradicted, as Maloy (2015a) observes: “by one of Abu Zubaydah’s interrogators, who said they were getting actionable intelligence from the Al Qaeda operative *right up to the point* that they started waterboarding him” [emphasis added]. With an acquiescing, complicit, and overly solicitous media, Fiorina’s brazen and loose play with facts and history pushes torture back on the Overton window’s spectrum of accepted ideas by the public. Torture by any other name as codified in law becomes the policy *de jour* in the XXI century, if officials so desire. Marco Rubio – another one of the Republican candidates – went so far as to denounce “efforts to ban torture, arguing that he didn’t want to deny ‘future commanders in chief and intelligence officials important tools for protecting the American people and the U.S homeland’” (Maloy 2015b). The polls are indicative of this phenomenon. Hagiographic TV shows and movies from *24* to *Homeland* to *Zero Dark Thirty* further enable this blank acceptance of torture as something normal that has been proven to be effective, to be lauded and not condoned in a democratic society at war with a faceless enemy. An enemy with a ticking bomb, that could explode at any moment.

4. Conclusion

Though the electoral period should be and for the most part is the most important time for the electorate, there is also an expected sense of a *mis-en-scène*, a general accepted spectacle of political buffoonery, where one part courts and woos the other and where rhetorical excess is taken for granted as a political stage prop, not to be taken entirely too serious. What happens when *braggadocio* behaviours become the norm and are uncritically embraced by large swaths of the electorate? Should there not be some mechanisms in place to better challenge and counter the stampede of race baiting, hate mongering, or widespread discrimination? So far the Republican presidential candidates have not only echoed but even doubled down on former President George W. Bush's Manichean observation: "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists". Only now it seems that this motto has been upgraded to: "either you are with us or you are with everybody else that is not us".

In Carly Fiorina's case, as both the Planned Parenthood and the torture issues show, the problem is not that she lies, but that – in Benen's (2015) words – "she's aware of what the facts are, but she prefers her version of reality to everyone else's". Trump's rise to the top of the Republican primary presidential campaign during 2015, exposed the holes and flaws in the mainstream tapestry of political analysis. Taibbi (2015) points out that "most veteran political observers figured that the concrete impact of Trump's candidacy would be limited in the worst case to destroying the Republican Party as a mainstream political force". Instead, Trump's campaign so far had the opposite effect and galvanised the partisan base. The poll numbers paint an image where "the voter base of the Republican Party absolutely hates the Republican Party leadership and establishment", according to Steyn (Hanchett 2015). Trump does not have to win the Republican nomination in order to incur lasting damage to the Republican Party. Years earlier, the Tea Party used to be initially dismissed as an innocuous extreme fringe conservatism, only for it to quickly gain traction. At present, the Tea Party has not only been coopted by the GOP [Great Old Party – Republican Party], it has also pushed the party's narrative, even farther to the Right.

This phenomenon can explain why the public shifted towards a more pro-torture stance. Karlyn Bowman, a senior fellow and research coordinator at the American Enterprise Institute who analyses data on American public opinion considers that: "the shift might [...] be the result of an increased polarization among Republicans and Democrats" (Lyte 2014). If this is the case and if the 2016 primary continues to further enable an in-party radicalisation, it will leave a long lasting impact on what has been so far considered to be the traditional landmark of a liberal and free society, namely that of political compromise. This being said and with the caveat that the Democratic Party has its own problems and faults, the very purpose of compromise and negotiation is defeated when one side is not willing to compromise and the other should not have to compromise on programs and policies necessary to the wellbeing of the social fabrique in a democratic state. In absence of a counter-narrative not complicit in the rewriting of history – either from the media or the Democratic side – the effects of openly embraced hate speech are seen from the polling numbers that remain constant, to the unconditional support of the Conservative core, nostalgic for past glory days and hopeful – as Trump campaign's motto states: "to make America great again".

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Notes

1. Perlstein (2008: 419) quotes Nixon as stating: "I call it the madman theory, Bob [a.n.: Harry Robbins "Bob" Haldeman]", the Republican presidential nominee had told his closest aide, walking on the beach one day in 1968. 'I want the North Vietnamese to believe I've reached the point where I might to *anything* to stop the war. We'll just slip the word to them that 'For God's sake, you know Nixon is obsessed about Communism. We can't restrain him when he's angry – and he has his hand on the nuclear button'. And Ho Chi Minh himself will be in Paris in twodaysbegging for peace".
2. For an in-depth analysis of the U.S. "spectacle state", see Schwatzenberg, R.G. 1977. *L'étatspectacle. Essai sur et contre le star system en politique*. Paris: Flammarion.
3. Other polls such as a Public Policy Polling survey from New Hampshire – which is the first primary state – issued on August 25th, 2015, put Donald Trump at 35% approval rating, marking a 24 points difference, ahead of the second placed competitor, John Kasich at 11%. Trump will later lose the Iowa primary in favour of Ted Cruz. In third place was Carly Fiorina (10%), followed by Jeb Bush (7%) tied with Scott Walker (7%), Ben Carson (6%). Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio and Chris Christie scored 4% of the electoral support, with Rand Paul at 3%. A Monmouth poll from South Carolina – which is the "firewall" primary – also placed Donald Trump first (30%), followed by Ben Carson (15%), Jeb Bush (9%), Marco Rubio (6%), Carly Fiorina (6%), Ted Cruz (5%), Scott Walker (4%) tied with Lindsey Graham (4%) (Benen 2015).
4. Swers (2014: 178-179) frames it in party context where "the Republican brand focuses on messages of lowering taxes, reducing regulation on business, and strengthening national security. Therefore, women cannot leverage their connection to women's interests and women voters into power and authority within the Republican caucus as easily as Democratic women can. Moreover, for the dwindling number of moderate Republican women, the focus on feminist issues like reproductive rights alienates the social conservative base of the Republican Party and puts these more moderate women in an uncomfortable position. [...] Furthermore, because the number of women in the Republican caucus remains small and the political culture of the

- Republican Party focuses on individualism and is not responsive to identity-based policy claims, it is more difficult for Republican women to demand more seats at the leadership table for women”.
5. Popular Conservative Iowa radio host, Jan Mickelson, suggested that as far as illegal immigrants are concerned, he’d “put them on the end of the highway, [...] and I would just say this: ‘As of this date’ – whenever we decide to do this – ‘as of this date, 30’ – this is a totally arbitrary number, ‘30 to 60 days from now anyone who is in the state of Iowa that who is not here legally and who cannot demonstrate their legal status to the satisfaction of the local and state authorities here in the State of Iowa, become property of the State of Iowa. So if you are here without our permission, and we have given you two months to leave, [...], then you become property of the State of Iowa. And we have a job for you. And we start using compelled labor, the people who are here illegally would therefore be owned by the state and become an asset of the state rather than a liability and we start inventing jobs for them to do” (Angster and Colleluori 2015).
 6. Such an enterprise is concerned for example, with voter ID requirements in the facetious fight to prevent voting fraud which is not inherently about the low percentages or isolated registered fraud instances, in so far as it is about limiting which citizens have the right to vote and which are intrinsically blacklisted (poor, minorities, etc.). Murtyand McCamey (2014: 1304-1305) describe how “proponents of voter ID laws base their argument on two premises: first, there is a need to prevent voter fraud at any cost to have a fair election; and second, it is a matter of “common sense” to show a valid ID at the polls, just like we do it when boarding airplanes, buying alcohol, and engaging in other activities. [...] They are concerned that ineligible voters, including former felons, noncitizens, nonresidents, and those who had already voted may engage in illegally casting ballots without voter ID requirement. [...] Critics of the voter ID laws maintain they are expensive, time consuming, and unnecessary, not only for individuals but also for the states with such laws. In large part, it is viewed as Republicans’ way of blocking minority voters, whose support they seldom get because of their increasingly conservative political ideology. Richard L. Hasen (a professor of law and political science at the University of California, Irvine) is confident that ‘many Republican legislators and political operatives support voter ID laws for two purposes: first, to depress Democratic turnout, and second to gin up the Republican base’. [...] Empirical data show that the number of bona fide voters who would fail to carry IDs to voting booths is significantly higher than that of fraudulent ones. For example, the Ohio statewide survey found only four instances of ineligible persons voting or attempting to vote in 2002 out of over 9 million voters cast (0.00004%)”. See also Berman, A. 2011, August 30. ‘The GOP War on Voting’ in *Rolling Stones*. Available: <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/the-gop-war-on-voting-20110830>; Cohen, A. 2012, May 16. ‘How Voter ID Laws Are Being Used to Disenfranchise Minorities and the Poor’ in *The Atlantic*. Available: <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/03/how-voter-id-laws-are-being-used-to-disenfranchise-minorities-and-the-poor/254572/>; Mencimer, S. 2014, October 8. ‘Republicans Are Trying to Make Sure Minorities and Young People Don’t Vote This November’ in *Mother Jones*. Available: <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/10/voting-rights-november-voter-suppression-states> [Accessed 2015, August 28], etc.
 7. An article in the *The Economist*, entitled “Are the Republicans mad?” (April 2012), sums up Grover Norquist’s stance on cutting “the federal government down to a size small enough to drown ‘in a bathtub’”. Norquist, president of the advocacy group “Americans for Tax Reform”, argues that while some “say the Republicans have gone mad”, for him, it is about “the method in the madness”. Moreover, the article underlines the notion that while even some Republicans are critical of the party’s direction, and while “[i]t is perfectly true that the Republicans have moved sharply to the right since the big-government “compassionate” conservatism of the younger President Bush. But who says a political party is not entitled to change its mind? And what gives a couple of think-tankers the right to specify where the political centre is, or to dismiss as “an outlier” a party that chooses to stray from it?” (Lexington 2012).
 8. Unlike the contemporaneous hawkishness, Nixon’s strategy was aimed at de-escalation and in Perlstein’s (2008: 419) view, “[t]he strategy hewed to a Nixon maxim: the only time to lose your temper in politics is when it is deliberate. Privately, since 1966, he had said Vietnam was unwinnable in any proper sense, and that the job for the president was to end war on acceptable terms. The madman theory was his idea as to how: scare them to the negotiating table to give you those terms, on threatened pain of total incineration.”
 9. After Carly Fiorina’s sinter view with Yahoo News, mass-media abounded in titles highlighting Fiorina’s erroneous stance on torture: Jacobs, B. 2015, September 28. ‘Carly Fiorina endorses waterboarding ‘to get information that was necessary’ in *The Guardian*. Available:

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10. For analyses on U.S. maternity leave, see: Peck, A., and Covert, B. 2014, July 30. 'U.S. paid family leave versus the rest of the world, in 2 disturbing charts' in *Think Progress*. Available: <http://thinkprogress.org/economy/2014/07/30/3465922/paid-family-leave/>; Popovich, N. 2014, December 3. 'The US is still the only developed country that doesn't guarantee paid maternity leave' in *The Guardian*. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2014/dec/03/-sp-america-only-developed-country-paid-maternity-leave>; Talbot, M. 2015, January 22. 'America's Family-Leave Disgrace' in *The New Yorker*. Available: <http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/paid-family-leave-obama-work>; Kurtzleben, D. 2015, July 15. 'Lots of other countries mandate paid leave. Why not the U.S?' in *NPR – National Public Radio*. Available: <http://www.npr.org/stories/all/politics/2015/07/15/422957640/lots-of-other-countries-mandate-paid-leave-why-not-the-us>;
 11. In the novel *The Handmaid's Tale*, written in 1984, Margaret Atwood describes a dystopian society inspired by "neo-conservative religious and political trends" (Howells 2006: 161). The novel – evoking traces of a similar dystopian classic, George Orwell's *1984* – "features the ruminations of a female prisoner in Gilead – a theocratic dictatorship that evolves, in the near future, within America's borders. This oppressive regime measures a woman's worth solely by her reproductive capabilities (adhering to a "biology as destiny" philosophy), and women are not allowed to read, write, hold property, or have a job" (Bloom 2004: 24).
 12. For more in-depth analyses fact-checking the second Republican debate, see: LoBianco, T., Schleifer, T., Koran, L., and Liptak, K. 'Republican debate: fact-checking the candidates' in *CNN Politics*. Available: <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/16/politics/republican-debate-fact-check/>; Kiely, E, Jackson, B., Robertson, L., Farley, R. and Levitan, D. 2015, September 17. 'Fact checking the CNN Republican debate' in *FactCheck.org*. Available: <http://www.factcheck.org/2015/09/fact-checking-the-cnn-republican-debate/>; Riddell, K. 2015, September 18. 'Fact-checking candidates' claims from 2nd GOP debate' in *The Washington Post* [Online]. Available: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/sep/18/gop-debate-fact-checking-candidates/?page=all>; Sharockman, A. 2015, September 17. 'Fact-checking the second GOP presidential debate' in *PolitiFact*. Available: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2015/sep/17/fact-checking-second-gop-presidential-debate/> [Accessed 2016, February 18].
 13. As a matter of fact, the cited video is of a premature stillborn child and not of late-term abortion. See Weigel, D. 2015, September 23. 'Planned parenthood tries in vain to get Carly Fiorina to retract video claim' in *The Washington Post*. Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2015/09/23/planned-parenthood-tries-in-vain-to-get-carly-fiorina-to-retract-video-claim/>. [Accessed 2015, October 1].

THE ORDER OF ACQUISITION OF THE ENGLISH ARTICLE BY MONTENEGRIN ESL LEARNERS

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Abstract: *The paper investigates the order of acquisition and accurate use of English articles by Montenegrin students at three different levels - elementary, high school and university. On the basis of SOC measurement and on the existing classification of English articles (a/an, the, zero), data on article usage were obtained, analyzed and compared. The paper also comments briefly on the difference in English article acquisition byspeakers of other non-article languages, such as Russian, Polish and Chinese who study English.*

Keywords: *acquisition, accuracy, English article system, L2 learners*

1. Introduction

The acquisition of English articles represents a big problem for second language (L2) learners especially if their native languages are article-less and they do not acquire this system automatically as they become more proficient. As Master (1997: 215) points out the articles are among the most frequently used English words, but their successful acquisition by second language (L2) learners seems to be difficult and sometimes even impossible. Article acquisition appears to be rather late, and the reasons for that might be the fact that article choice is very complicated and sometimes beyond simple rules, that their usage depends on the noun and the context and that articles belong to a group of unstressed function or grammatical words and hence perceptually they are non-salient and semantically light-weight.

The aim of my paper is to investigate the order of acquisition and accurate use of English articles by Montenegrin students at three different levels, elementary school, high school and university (students of the English department) and to compare it with the acquisition of the English article by speakers of other article-less languages such as Russian, Polish and Chinese.

2. Theoretical background: research on article acquisition

Research on article acquisition should first focus on the identification of contexts in which articles appear. Based on Bickerton's semantic wheel model, Huebner (1983: 129-148) states that the use of English articles is determined by two discourse features of referentiality [\pm Specific Referent (\pm SR)] and [\pm Assumed Known to the Hearer (\pm HK)]. By taking these two aspects of referentiality into account, four basic NP contexts that affect article use can be distinguished:

- [$-$ SR, $+$ HK], (*the, a, \emptyset*): Generics;
- [$+$ SR, $+$ HK], (*the*): Unique, previously mentioned, or physically present referents;
- [$+$ SR, $-$ HK], (*a, \emptyset*): First-mention NPs, or NPs following existential 'has/have' or 'there is/are';
- [$-$ SR, $-$ HK], (*a, \emptyset*): Equative NPs, or NPs in negation, question, or *irrealis* mode.

This classification is one of the most widely used models for the analysis of English noun phrase (NP) environments. For my analysis I shall use this model in order to determine the acquisition order, as research on article acquisition relies largely on Huebner’s methodology.

When it comes to research on article acquisition by L2 learners, some studies did not pay attention to the article system in particular, but dealt with the acquisition of grammatical morphemes in general or with some unique features of the English article system (Liu and Gleason 2002; Mizuno 1999; Yamada and Matsuura 1982). Only Master (1987), Parrish (1987), Tarone and Parrish (1988) and Thomas (1989) studied article acquisition exclusively.

An outline of some of the most important findings on article acquisition is given in the tables 1 and 2.

Hakuta (1976: 37-53)	
Research Questions	What is the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes (including articles) in the interlanguage of an ESL child?
Informants	5-year old Japanese girl acquiring English in a natural way.
Procedures	Longitudinal-60 weeks. Every two weeks spontaneous speech was recorded while the girl was playing with peers.
Findings	Articles <i>a</i> and <i>the</i> acquired as a system. Performance on <i>the</i> was initially better than on <i>a</i> . Overuse of <i>a</i> and <i>the</i> involved specific/nonspecific distinctions as well as violations of “ <i>a</i> for singular NP only” rule.
Master (1987, as cited in Master 1997: 215-232)	
Research Questions	How does the English article system develop in the interlanguage of speakers of [+ART] and [-ART] languages?
Informants	Twenty ESL learners, speakers of [-ART] (e.g., Japanese) and [+ART] (e.g., Spanish) languages enrolled in an ESL program.
Procedures	Not specified.
Findings	Acquisition order of articles differs depending on subjects’ L1s. <i>Zero</i> dominates; it is the first article to be acquired. <i>The</i> emerges early, flooding all environments. For [-ART] learners, acquisition of <i>a</i> is delayed compared with <i>the</i> .

Table 1. Summary of research on acquisition of articles

Acquisition Order	Previous Study: Proficiency Level
$\emptyset > the > a$	Parrish (1987): Beginning Master (1987): Mid-Mesolang, High-Mesolang, the [-Article] group
$\emptyset > a > the$	Master (1987): Basilang
$the > \emptyset > a$	Master (1987): Low-Mesolang Thomas (1989): Low, Mid, High, the [-Article] group Yamada and Matsuura (1982): Advanced
$the > a > \emptyset$	Yamada and Matsuura (1982): Intermediate

Note: ‘>’ means ‘acquired earlier than,’ or ‘produced more accurately than.’

Table 2. Acquisition order in the previous studies

All these findings concerning the acquisition of English articles by speakers of article-less languages show that the order of acquisition varies widely depending on L2 learners' level of proficiency and methodological approaches used in the study of article acquisition.

3. Research description

3.1. Participants

Three groups of participants were involved in my research:

- a) 21 students from the secondary school (9th grade), whose knowledge of English corresponds to B1 (pre-intermediate) level;
- b) 20 students from high school (4th grade), whose knowledge of English corresponds to B2 (upper-intermediate) level;
- c) 19 students of English at university level – 4th year, whose knowledge of English corresponds to C1 (advanced) level.

There are two main methodologies used for article acquisition studies: longitudinal and cross-sectional. As the cross-sectional methodology is a type of observational study, which concerns a single point in time, I found it most appropriate for this kind of corpus based study. It is also based on the assumption that the overall findings revealed in a target group are typical of the whole group.

3.2. Method and material

The acquisition orders studied in various languages so far were all based on the SOC measure. SOC (*Supplied in Obligatory Contexts*) was devised by Brown (1973) and has been widely used in various morpheme studies to estimate an L2 learner's accuracy level. Apart from it, there are two other measures: TLU (*Target-Like Use*) and UOC (*Used in Obligatory Context*), used by Master (1987) to measure article use. SOC and TLU are generally used to measure article accuracy while UOC is used to observe the learner's overuse or underuse of the article.

For this analysis, I have used a simplified version of the SOC measure, which is formulated in this way:

$$\text{SOC} = \frac{\text{number of correct suppliance in obligatory contexts}}{\text{number of obligatory contexts}}$$

A multiple-choice cloze test was employed as the testing instrument to elicit articles from the participants. This type of cloze-test has been administered in several article studies, such as Yamada and Matsuura (1982: 50-63), Master (1994: 229-252) and Lu (2001: 43-78). The cloze test, borrowed from Master (1994), comprises 58 items in two parts: discrete sentences and a descriptive paragraph. The participants were asked to fill in the blank by circling the best article (*a*, *an*, *the*, or \emptyset) on an answer sheet.

3.3. Data analysis

Table 3 shows the results concerning the accuracy rates obtained by the SOC measure system; one can see that our participants do not master English articles really well and, regardless of their year of study, this is an ever-present problem. The average accuracy rates for each group and each article is given and it is easy to notice that the third group (the students of English, 4th year) is the best; an average

of 79.19 per cent of them use of the definite article correctly. One might conclude here that the use of *the* is probably overgeneralized; both Huebner (1983) and Master (1987) call this phenomenon “*the*-flooding”. The control over the correct article usage usually increases as the participants’ English proficiency level increases: thus, 63.54 per cent of the secondary school students are accurate in using articles, while students of English in the third group are the most precise, i.e. 72.68 per cent – only 9.14 per cent and 2.76 per cent better than the other two groups. However, one might speak here about the fossilization of these elements, which McLaughlin (1989: 61) describes as “the state of affairs that exists when the learner ceases to elaborate the interlanguage in some respect, no matter how long there is exposure, new data, or new teaching”. After more than ten years of instruction that Montenegrin learners received in the target language, it is obvious that they make no perceptible progress in the use of these linguistic elements, which in fact remain fossilized to the end of high school. The second group is better at using the zero article, while the first group – secondary school students – is the most accurate when using the indefinite article 77.35 per cent; this is most interesting, as the latter group has been studying English for a shorter period of time than the other two groups.

Group	Number of participants	SOC			Average (<i>the</i> , <i>a/an</i> , \emptyset)
		<i>the</i>	<i>a/an</i>	\emptyset	
Group 1	21	64.60	77.35	48.67	63.54
Group 2	20	72.16	72.27	65.33	69.92
Group 3	19	79.19	76.16	62.69	72.68
Total	60	Average accuracy for <i>the</i> 71.98	Average accuracy for <i>a/an</i> 75.26	Average accuracy for \emptyset 58.89	Total average 68.71

Table 3. Accuracy rates obtained by the SOC measure system

The biggest problem for the Montenegrin learners is the zero article and the contexts: [+SR, -HK], (*a*, \emptyset): first-mention NPs, or NPs following existential ‘has/have’ or ‘there is/are’; and [-SR, -HK], (*a*, \emptyset): equative NPs, or NPs in negation, question, or *irrealis* mode. For those learners whose mother tongue lacks articles [-ART], researchers (Master 1997; Parrish 1987) report that the *zero* article dominates in all environments in the early stages of L2 acquisition, or that it is the *zero* article that is acquired first, followed by the definite article, and finally the indefinite article.

However, the results of the present study prove the opposite, because my participants do not know very well when to use a noun without an article determiner and they tend to avoid article use rather than make the wrong choice; therefore, one cannot state that they have acquired the use of the zero article successfully.

4. Conclusion

If accuracy reflects acquisition, then the article acquisition order by Montenegrin learners can be summarized in the Table 4.

Acquisition Order	Level
<i>a/an>the>∅</i>	Group 1 (pre-intermediate B1) Group 2 (upper-intermediate B2)
<i>the> a/an >∅</i>	Group 3 (advanced C1)

Note '>' means 'acquired earlier than,' or 'produced more accurately than.'

Table 4. The acquisition order by Montenegrin learners

The findings of this study suggest that participants (group 1 and group 2) follow the natural order of acquisition found in L1 article acquisition studies (Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982), in which *a* dominates at early stages. At the same time, my data contradict the conclusions of the majority of L2 article acquisition studies, in which \emptyset emerges first, *the* early and *a* late (table 5).

Acquisition order by L2 in Montenegro	<i>a/an > the > ∅</i>
Acquisition order by L2 in Russia	$\emptyset > the > a/an$
Acquisition order by L2 in China	$\emptyset > a/an > the$
Acquisition order by L2 in Poland	$\emptyset > a/an > the$

Table 5. The acquisition order in other article-less languages

According to acquisition order studies, Russian, Chinese and Polish learners, who speak article-less languages, acquire the zero article first (Martynchuk 2010; Lu 2001; Ekiert 2004). Chinese learners seem to use the zero article most correctly, as already stated (Master 1997: 216), but it is difficult to deduce whether this is a correct use of the zero article or non-suppliance, i.e. underuse of any articles in those contexts. My findings do not support their conclusion that the zero article emerges first, like in other article-less languages. Our learners, at the very early stage of English instruction, first meet with the indefinite article as a means of marking definiteness/indefiniteness and its usage prevails over *the* and \emptyset .

This variability in article acquisition order has long existed in the literature. Many researchers regard it as due to the variety of methodological approaches, the different procedures used in collecting data, task effects, or sample sizes. First, all these studies use dissimilar methodological approaches, such as longitudinal and cross-sectional, or different measure instruments (*TLU*, *SOC* or *UOC*). Second, there was no shared placement standard for the participants' English proficiency – the learners' level of knowledge was determined by the grade and class they attended and the course books used as teaching materials. For instance, Yamada and Matsuura (1982) took into account the division between high school and college students, and Ekiert (2004) the division between ESL and EFL learners. My study limited itself to the data collected from a cloze-test exercise, in which learners had to fill in the blanks with one of three possible answers (*a/an*, *the*, \emptyset), as Master (1997: 230) also believed "that in cloze-tests, students may be more conscious in their efforts to supply articles".

Based on my analysis and findings, some pedagogical approaches can be used in order to improve the present learning and teaching process in Montenegro. In order to increase the learners' awareness of the English article system, English language instructors should teach this part of speech in several stages, combining information about it with knowledge about English nouns – (countability and uncountability, definiteness and indefiniteness, specificity and genericity) in English discourse. All of the pedagogical suggestions are expected to help

Montenegrin students improve their correct use of English articles in verbal or written communication.

Finally, the results of my study reveal one interesting phenomenon: the elementary school students – group 1 – achieved better accuracy rates than the other two groups of students in the use of the indefinite article *a/an*. This could serve as a good basis for further study of this group of participants particularly, and of their progress in using articles to mark the semantic and pragmatic category of definiteness.

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AGE-RELATED DECLINE IN THE USE OF AFFECTIVE LEARNING STRATEGIES

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Abstract: *The paper outlines the results of a search study aimed at comparing the use of affective strategies in different age groups of learners. The research involved 204 students aged 10 to 30. The results show that there are significant statistical differences between the groups and that the use of affective strategies declines with age.*

Keywords: *affective factors, affective strategies, age, language learning strategies*

1. Introduction

It is well-known that success in learning foreign languages may depend on a number of factors, such as the age of learners, their cognitive abilities, styles and strategies of learning, the learning environment and the learner's personality.

It was not until the 1970s that the important role of affective factors was truly recognised and given adequate attention in teaching methodology. A shift of trends that took place in the last decades of the twentieth century with the arrival of the Humanistic Approach, followed by the Comprehension Based Approach and the Communicative Approach, resulted in a greater awareness of, and a stronger focus on the learner's feelings and emotions in the process of learning.

Consequently, the language teaching methodology of the last two decades has been increasingly oriented towards creating a learning environment that provides an affective affirmation of the student and not only a good presentation of the language. Although work on affective factors may seem the sole responsibility of the teacher, much can also be done by the learner through the employment of adequate learning strategies. Good language learners are often those who know how to control their emotions and attitudes about learning (Oxford 1990: 140).

The aim of this paper is to investigate the overall use of affective strategies and the differences in their usage between five generations of students who are learning English as a foreign language in Serbia.

2. Affective factors in foreign language learning

The affective filter hypothesis was originally proposed by Dulay and Burt (1977) in the form of "affective delimiters," and then built on and revised by Stephen Krashen (1982), Krashen and Terrell (1988). The hypothesis states how affective factors relate to the second language acquisition process and recognises the impact of three personal variables – self-confidence, anxiety and motivation.

Self-confidence, or self-esteem, is defined as a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes that individuals hold towards themselves (Coopersmith 1967). It is considered to be one of the central drives in human beings. When their level of self-esteem is low, students may avoid taking the necessary risks to acquire communicative competence in the target language; they may feel deeply insecure and even drop out of a class (Rubio 2007: 7). On the other hand, relevant studies show that high self-esteem positively influences the

process of language learning and makes students willing to communicate (Lawrence 1996; MacIntyre et al. 1998).

Another important factor that determines success in language learning is motivation. Its significance is briefly summarised by Dörnyei (1998: 117):

Motivation provides the primary impetus to initiate learning the L2 and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process; indeed, all the other factors involved in L2 acquisition presuppose motivation to some extent.

Distinctions are often made between instrumental and integrative motivation in social-psychological approach (Gardner 1985) or between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan 1985, Deci et al.1991). In field literature, one type of motivation was usually favoured over the other, but recent studies in language methodology have taken a more multidimensional approach, considering the results of several different lines of research into motivation in order to identify types and enhance them in the learning environment.

Anxiety is defined as a feeling of uneasiness, frustration, self-doubt, apprehension or worry (Scovel 1978: 134). It is considered to be one of the most significant factors that may seriously affect the process of language learning, regardless of whether the setting is informal or formal (Arnold 1999: 59). A number of studies on anxiety in second language acquisition have confirmed its negative influence on language achievement (Horwitz et al. 1986; Horwitz and Young 1991; MacIntyre and Gardner 1991). Three types of foreign language anxiety have been identified: communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation, and test anxiety (Horwitz et al. 1986). Since test anxiety as well as fear of negative evaluation may hinder any other kind of learning, communication apprehension seems to be the biggest obstacle in developing the communicative competence of learners.

Research data as well as practical experience in the classroom have supported the affective filter hypothesis and lead to conclusions that are currently widely accepted as general principles – reducing anxiety as well as raising motivation and self-esteem in the classroom may considerably contribute to better performance in second language learning. These goals have been clearly set in recent developments in language teaching methodology, but modern approaches also emphasise the learner's autonomy and responsibility for raising their own self-efficacy in language learning.

2.1. Affective strategies

Language learning strategies, variously defined in the relevant literature (Stern 1983, O'Malley et al. 1985, Wenden and Rubin 1987, Richards and Platt 1992, Oxford 1990), could simply be understood as steps that learners take to make their learning of a second language faster, easier and more efficient. Since interest in language learning strategies first began in the early 1970's, a number of taxonomies have been proposed, but it was not until the 1990's that affective strategies were classified as a separate group and given appropriate attention.

In Rubin's classification, affective strategies were not even recognised as a separate category (Wenden and Rubin 1987), whereas O'Malley et al. (1985) combined affective and social strategies into one group. However, what "socio-

affective strategies” in their taxonomy practically involved was some sort of interaction (whether with peers or teachers) rather than controlling feelings, so there was still little emphasis on the affective domain of language learning.

In Stern’s taxonomy, consisting of five major groups, affective strategies are classified as a separate group and their importance is clearly stated. Affective strategies are seen as valuable tools students use to face the emotional difficulties of language learning and to overcome them, by drawing attention to the potential frustrations in learning (Stern 1992: 266).

Rebecca Oxford’s taxonomy, widely employed in a great deal of research nowadays, distinguishes two major classes of strategies, each divided into three more subgroups. Direct strategies involve some form of mental processing of the target language and consist of memory, cognitive and compensation strategies, whereas indirect strategies provide indirect support for language learning, without directly dealing with the target language, and involve metacognitive, affective and social strategies (Oxford 1990).

According to Oxford (1990: 143-144), affective strategies involve:

- anxiety reduction (using progressive relaxation, deep breathing exercises, utilizing music and laughter)
- self-encouragement (making positive statements, taking risks wisely and rewarding yourself)
- monitoring emotions (listening to your body, using a checklist, writing a language learning diary and discussing feelings with others).

Unfortunately, a number of studies show that affective strategies are still considerably underused (Ćirković-Miladinović 2012, Hong-Nam and Leavell 2006, Oxford 1990, Pilipović 2014, Wharton 2000), which is quite concerning, as negative feelings can stunt progress even for the rare learner who fully understands all the technical aspects of how to learn a new language (Oxford 1990: 140).

3. The research methodology

The aim of this research was to investigate the use of affective strategies by different age groups of learners in Serbia. It consisted of a quantitative and a qualitative part.

The instrument used in the quantitative part was the SILL questionnaire (*Strategy Inventory for Language Learning*), designed by Rebecca Oxford (1990). This questionnaire contains 50 close-ended items, divided into six categories that measure the use of six sets of strategies: memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective, and social. The participants were asked to give their answers according to the 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 to 5 (denoting the frequency of use from ‘never’ to ‘always’). Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 15.0) was used for the descriptive analysis, analysis of variance and independent sample T-tests.

The quantitative part of the research involved 204 students, who study English as a foreign language: 48 primary school students aged 9-10 (G10), 40 primary school students aged 12 (G12), 20 primary school students aged 13-14 (G14), 53 secondary school students aged 15-16 (G16) and 43 university students aged 20-30 (G20+). The different age groups were chosen with a view to

investigating whether cognitive maturation and psychological changes that take place during adolescence play any important role in students' strategy employment.

The qualitative part of the research involved 10 students – five from the group of students aged nine or ten and five from the group of university students. Qualitative data collection consisted of interviews carried out with the youngest and the oldest participants so that potential differences in their attitudes towards affective strategies could be revealed.

3.1. Results

The first step in the data analysis was to compare the use of affective strategies with the use of all other strategy categories. Table 1 presents the data obtained:

Strategies	G10	G12	G14	G16	G20+
Memory	3,07	2,66	2,64	2,44	2,72
Cognitive	3,60	3,06	3,21	2,79	3,04
Compensation	3,15	3,06	3,28	2,92	3,03
Metacognitive	4,09	3, 69	3,80	3,16	3,37
Affective	<u>3,18</u>	<u>2,78</u>	<u>2,60</u>	<u>2,38</u>	<u>2,47</u>
Social	3,70	3,30	3,35	2,94	3,21
Overall use of strategies	3,50	3,04	3,17	2,78	2,99

Table 1. The overall use of strategies

The reported frequency of affective strategies shows a steady decline (G10 - 3.18, G12 - 2.78, G14 - 2.60, G16 - 2.38, G20+ - 2.47). In the youngest group involved in this research, affective strategies ranked fourth, in the group of twelve-year-olds they ranked fifth, whereas in all other groups they ranked sixth, being the least employed strategy group. A decrease in the use of affective strategies shown in the descriptive analysis was additionally checked with the analysis of variance that confirmed significant statistical differences between the group of ten-year-olds and all other groups (Table 2).

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	691,705	5	138,341	5,579	,000
Within Groups	4909,525	198	24,796		
Total	5601,230	203			

Table 2. ANOVA – The Use of Affective Strategies –ANOVA

Post-hoc tests show that ten-year-old primary school learners tend to use affective strategies much more than all the other participants (G10/G12 $p=.01$; G10/G14 $p=.03$; G10/G16 $p=.02$ G10/G20+ $p=.00$). Another significant statistical difference was found only between the group of twelve-year-old and sixteen-year-old students ($p=.03$).

The aim of our further analysis was to find out which particular affective strategies are least used among Serbian learners of English and it shows that certain strategies are almost never used, regardless of the students' age.

Strategy	G10	G12	G14	G16	G20+
<i>Trying to relax when afraid of using English</i>	3.56	3.38	3.95	3.57	3.56
<i>Encouraging oneself to speak English even when afraid of making mistakes</i>	4.25	3.55	3.34	2.83	3.09
<i>Giving oneself a reward or treat when doing well in English</i>	3.31	2.48	2.34	2.11	2.02
<i>Noticing nervousness when studying or using English</i>	3.19	2.80	2.63	2.45	2.81
<i>Writing down feelings in a language Diary</i>	1.90	1.85	1.41	1.51	1.63
<i>Talking to someone else about one's feelings when learning English</i>	2.85	2.23	1.93	1.81	1.67

Table 3. The frequency of use of particular affective strategies

Independent T-tests showed significant differences between female and male learners in the group of fourteen-year-olds, in which girls reported a higher use of four of the six affective strategies (all but '*writing down feelings in a language diary*' and '*talking to someone about one's feelings when learning English*'). Since no significant differences in the use of affective strategies were found in other groups, these findings can most probably be ascribed to a different onset of puberty that causes certain emotional changes.

An analysis of variance was again carried out and it showed significant differences in the use of certain affective strategies between the groups involved. Namely, ten-year-old learners tend to use particular affective strategies to a much larger extent than other participants:

- *encouraging themselves to speak English even when afraid of making mistakes* ($p=.00$)
- *giving themselves a reward or treat when doing well in English* ($p=.00$)
- *talking to someone else about their feelings when learning English* ($p=.00$)

The qualitative part of this research was aimed at gathering more data on the use of affective strategies where a significant decline with age was observed as well as on the use of the strategy that was reported to be the lowest, regardless of the age of the learners – '*writing down feelings in a language diary*'.

Five students in the group of ten-year-old students (marked S1a to S5a) and five students in the group of university students (S1b – S5b) were asked to answer the same questions.

Interviewer: Do you use a language diary and do you write down your feelings in it?

S1a: No, I never use it!

S2a: I don't use it... I am not sure what it is.

S3a: No... Never.

S4a: I don't use it... We don't have language diaries... We have only a coursebook and a practice book.

S5a: No... the teacher doesn't ask us to do that.

Although the reported frequency of 1.90 shows that there are a few students who might sometimes use a language diary and write down their feelings, most of the ten-year-old students never use it and say that they '*do not have language diaries*'. The oldest participants were asked the same question and their answers were quite similar.

Interviewer: Do you use a language diary and do you write down your feelings in it?

S1b: No (laughing)! Should we be doing that?

S2b: No! It would be such a waste of time!

S3b: I don't think we even have language diaries. We had them a few years ago, but I didn't write about my feelings... I don't know... we wrote about what we learnt.

S4b: No. It seems ridiculous to me... childish in a way!

S5b: No, I never use it.

The responses given seem to reveal that learning diaries are not often used in Serbia and that university students are not at all eager to try them. Introducing the use of language learning diaries would probably be more effective if it were done from the very beginning of foreign language learning, because younger students seem to be more flexible and willing to adopt new styles and strategies of learning.

The interview went on with a question aimed at finding out why significant differences occur in the use of the affective strategy of '*giving oneself a reward or treat when doing something well in English*'.

Interviewer: Do you give yourself a reward or treat when doing something well in English and if you do, what kind of reward or treat it is?

S1a: Yes, I do it often. I let myself play computer games more.

S2a: No... My parents reward me if it is something important.

S3a: Sometimes I do. I buy myself a chocolate bar.

S4a: No... I don't do it.

S5a: I usually get a treat from my parents. Or I spend more time relaxing when I do something well because I know I deserved it.

Older students reported a lower use of this strategy, as reflected in their answers during the interview.

Interviewer: Do you give yourself a reward or treat when doing something well in English and if you do, what kind of reward or treat it is?

S1b: No, I am used to seeing success as 'normal' and not worth celebrating or rewarding...

S2b: I don't do it... I don't know why... I don't think I should, I don't need any reward... it's not a big deal.

S3b: I do reward myself... when I do something well... I usually go shopping.

S4b: No... My parents used to criticize me when something was wrong and every success was considered just normal...this is part of our culture... to focus on failures, not on achievements...

S5b: Not really... maybe occasionally... if it is something very important like passing an exam... then, I might buy something for myself.

Another strategy where a decline with age can be observed is *'talking to someone else about one's feelings when learning English'*. Both groups involved in qualitative data collection were asked the same question.

Interviewer: Do you ever talk to someone about your feelings when learning English (when you feel anxious, nervous, not really confident or satisfied)?

S1a: I sometimes talk to my mother, but not very often.

S2a: I talk to my parents before having a test, for example. I tell them if I feel worried. They usually encourage me and tell me not to worry.

S3a: I usually tell my best friend if I am afraid or worried... I am sometimes worried what my parents will say if I don't do well...

S4a: No... I like learning English...I don't think about my feelings.

S5a: Not really... The teacher is nice and I don't feel scared. I sometimes feel ashamed if I don't know something, but... I don't know... I don't talk about it.

The answers of the older participants to the same question, confirmed that their use of this strategy is even less frequent:

Interviewer: Do you ever talk to someone about your feelings when learning English (when you feel anxious, nervous, not really confident or satisfied)?

S1b: If I need some sort of encouragement, I usually rely on encouragement from teachers... I don't really talk to other people about my learning English

S2b: (laughing) We are not kids any more... if there is any sort of anxiousness, I deal with it myself.

S3b: No, never... I think I should know much better than I do... if I don't feel satisfied, this means I am responsible, I should study more...

S4b: If there is something really important... before the exam, for example, I might tell my friends that I am nervous, but generally, I don't think about the feelings I have when learning languages.

S5b: I don't feel so nervous that I have to talk about it... No, I don't.

The answers reveal that younger students tend to talk to their friends and their parents to get encouragement, yet at the same time they feel worried from time to time. On the other hand, while some older students seem to be more confident, others seem to have quite high expectations of themselves and suppress their feeling of insecurity, considering it shameful or childish. These attitudes might reveal two possible causes of the decline in the use of affective strategies: one being the higher confidence some learners feel when progress in language learning has been made, and the other being that they expect too much of themselves and are ashamed of feeling anxious. Since the analysis of variance shows that the crucial point in the decline of the use of affective strategies takes place when students are around the age of 12 (and the onset of puberty), it is reasonable to assume that greater confidence based on significant progress in language learning is not the key reason. The progress made by the age of 12 is usually not remarkably impressive, while, on the other hand, most students of this age do start feeling a sort of insecurity that is a common problem in puberty. This

may explain the change in attitude towards themselves, their success in learning and the strategies they employ.

Another reason for an insufficient use of affective strategies might be linked to the traditional teaching methods, still widely used, which fail to focus on strategy training adequately. In spite of the fact that strategies are generally steps taken by learners, most of them can be initiated and taught by teachers. However, raising strategic competence is a relatively new goal in foreign language teaching and a number of teachers are not familiar with practical techniques that might be of assistance. Rossiter (2003) points out:

Numerous authors (e.g., Campbell & Ortiz 1991, Crandall 1999, Crookall & Oxford 1991, Foss & Reitzel 1991, Hooper Hansen 1999, Medgyes 2002, Oxford 1990, Oxford et al. 1990, Phillips 1998, Rinvolucri 1999) have described activities for enhancing L2 learners' cognitive and affective experiences, such as discussion of the ideal language learner, cooperative learning activities, an 'agony column' (in which learners reply to letters expressing language learning difficulties), use of learner anxiety graphs, visualization, humour, cartoon storytelling, and rhythmic breathing exercises.

It is, however, possible that none of these techniques may be suitable for a particular learner group and a careful choice of the appropriate techniques can be best done by the teachers who have a real rapport with their students and sufficient background knowledge.

4. Conclusion

The goal of this research was to compare the use of language learning strategies by five different age groups of learners, with a particular emphasis on the use of affective strategies. The results show that the use of affective strategies (as well as of all other strategies) declines with the age of the learners and that affective strategies seem to be the least employed in most of the groups involved. Since affective factors play a very important role in foreign language acquisition, these findings require a deeper analysis, with a view to finding out the possible causes of this problem and ways of solving it.

Since a serious decline in the use of affective strategies starts with the onset of puberty, when students are not so likely to feel very confident about their language acquisition achievements, it may be assumed that the change of attitude and the lack of self-confidence that occurs in this period of emotional development might be the crucial problem that persists through adolescence, although some students may admittedly feel less need to use affective strategies, owing to their success in language learning.

Regardless of cause, affective strategies are reported to be the least employed strategy group in the teenage and adult groups of learners in Serbia, which might result in higher affective filters, and affect the development of communicative competence of these learners.

The approaches to solving this problem might involve making a greater effort in raising the strategic competence of the learners as well as in providing a supportive and encouraging learning environment, which is one of the main principles in modern language teaching.

As the findings of this study show, older learners seem to be less flexible and open to adopting new strategies, so better results might be obtained if strategic

competence is worked on from the very beginning of language learning. Chamot (2001) states that there is a continuing need for more intervention studies to determine the effects of strategy training on language learning and proficiency, but the studies so far have examined the success of strategy training over a limited period of time. Continuous, well-paced and well-chosen training would, no doubt, lower the affective filter and raise positive feelings in the classroom.

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DEVELOPING STUDENTS' MULTI-LAYERED TRANSLATION COMPETENCES: AN APPLIED COMPUTER-ASSISTED METHOD

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***Abstract:** In the age when professional translators work regularly with translation-specific software, translation training programmes need to keep up with the rapidly-growing requirements for high-level technicalities and practicalities. Using an interactive, active-participative approach, the present paper proposes a process-oriented teaching strategy, designed to develop a multifaceted perspective on translation competence with undergraduate translation trainees, while also enabling them as cultural mediators.*

***Keywords:** computer-assisted teaching model, intercultural communicative competence, thematic area competence, translators' multi-layered competences*

1. Introduction

Premised on an already validated topical perspective, namely that the teaching of translation training programmes needs to continuously adapt and improve, in full compliance with the steadily proliferating market demands, the merging of multi- and interdisciplinary academic themed-approaches must be acknowledged as the path towards a sustainable translation training mechanism. Striving for tangible goals, such a mechanism needs to be applied in order to facilitate the students' multifaceted perspective on the improvement of translation competences, which should enable them to mediate between the barriers of cultural identity in an era governed by globalized communication.

2. Prerequisites: charting a sustainable translation training framework

The goals that I have set forth envisage the development of the students' translation skills, while raising their awareness of nowadays' all-encompassing meaning of translation as a hybrid process within an integrated computer-assisted teaching model, meant to familiarise them with current trends, and to help them meet the requirements of the current translation market. Under the circumstances, the rationale of my paper lies in the design and implementation of an interactive and active-participative methodological toolkit, underpinning a process-oriented teaching strategy applied to second year students in the Translation and Interpreting Bachelor's programme at the University of Craiova.

I have developed and implemented an optional task assignment, i.e. a one-month computer-assisted project, meant to develop the students' translation competences. I was primarily interested in raising the students' awareness and in improving their skills and aptitudes – their thematic area competence, technological competence and intercultural communicative competence, while focusing on the interpersonal and text dimension.

At the same time, I have aimed to activate the students' transversal competences and to provide them with some resourceful support for their own research planning, based on an individual and groupwork effective management of time and information. The students' interpersonal communication competence has

been thus stimulated by actively engaging them in an interdisciplinary research project, designed to raise their awareness of both individual and group learning processes and needs. Accordingly, from a broader perspective, my methodological toolkit was applied in order to guide students and help them identify available opportunities, process and capitalise new information and expertise, and further apply them in real-life situations.

3. Setting up the scene

Provided previously with reviews of mainstream literature and seminal theoretical models regarding the twofold meaning of translation, as process and product, where the translator's task as a "bilingual mediating agent between monolingual communication participants in two different language communities" (House 1977: 88) is to decode the messages conveyed in one language for an intended readership and then to encode them in another language for a different target readership, students were then introduced to the theoretical background of text typology in general and text hybridisation in particular.

3.1. Week 1: Stage I – Preliminary phases: theoretical background and applied translation practice environment

By adopting inductive and deductive methods, I sought to activate the students' awareness of the translator's multi-layered competence. Thus, within the context of globalisation and the ever increasing demands on the translation market, students were familiarised with the current collaborative work across Europe with a view to defining a common framework of translator training programmes. Based on the EMT (European Master's in Translation) framework, a partnership project between the European Commission and the relevant academic community in Europe that aims at establishing a quality label for university translation programmes, a general outline of the core translation competences was provided to the students. Maintaining the focal point on the previously mentioned translation sub-competences, students were gradually taught that the translator's competence harmoniously combines multidimensional complex features, which, according to Vilceanu (2010), may be described as follows:

- *thematic competence*: the acquisition of encyclopaedic knowledge to secure functional adequacy. Accordingly, the management of information is based on the development of thematic maps;
- *technological competence*: the cutting edge software, CAT tools and other devices guarantee the translator's professional development and career management.
- *the interpersonal dimension*: translators need to interrelate, to initiate and maintain socio-professional relations, to establish networks in order to fulfil translation requests via cooperation;
- *text dimension*: the translator is requested to recognise, internalise and produce a variety of texts in a variety of formats.

At this preliminary stage students were also familiarized with the MAXQDA 10 (The Art of Data Analysis) software by means of online video tutorials.

MAXQDA10 provides a variety of research methods and investigation approaches, enabling users to organise, encode, annotate and interpret various data.

Centred on translation training applications, students learned how to input and analyse different text formats (TXT, RTF, DOC/X, PDF, JPG, GIF, TIF and PNG) in order to obtain easy-to-read reports, visualisations, Excel-sheets, all of them generated by user-friendly software applications, which also facilitate online networking, providing the users with the possibility of sharing opinions and results, of developing interpersonal competence.

3.2. Week 2: Stage II –Raising the students’ awareness of language functions and the interpersonal dimension

Raising the students’ awareness of language functions and text typology was the first step to undertake within the second project-week. Each student was provided with the English and the Romanian versions of four owner’s manuals in pdf format, issued by two multinational automakers for four vehicle models belonging to the same class, produced during two different manufacturing periods:

- Adam Opel AG: Opel Corsa1993-2000; Opel Adam 2013-2014;
- Ford Motor Company: Ford Fiesta 1.1 1993-2000; Ford Ka2014-2015.

Based on previous reviews of mainstream literature and seminal theoretical models regarding text typology, with special focus on the connection between text type and the translation method required, students were asked to recognise and characterise the dominant text type and the language functions specific to the texts mentioned above.

The interpersonal dimension was brought to the students’ attention as they were required to organise themselves in threeequal groups for the following departments: *Translators/Terminologists/Proof-readers*. Then, they were asked to note down their names according to their in-group membership and to make a list of each group’s responsibilities (Oțăt 2014: 75).

4. Applying computer-assisted methodological toolkit to underpin a process-oriented translation training assignment

From a macro-level perspective, based on an initial interdisciplinary computer-assisted corpus linguistics investigation of the 4 owners’ manuals pre-defined sample set, retrieved from official websites, the students were assigned to localise and exemplify recurrent problems in the translation into Romanian of the automotive owner’s manuals. Thus, organized in small groups, they were required to access the software, import, organise and process the same text material according to each micro-level group assignment, as to *word frequency lists, documents’ portraits, thematic word clouds*, i.e. to build their own linguistic and metalinguistic thematic maps.

4.1. Week 3: Stage III – Developing the students’ technological competence

Carrying out further the applied stage of my proposed methodological strategy, each group work was required to create two separate *document sets* in MQXADA 10 and to import the 4 pdf texts according to their corresponding *document set*.

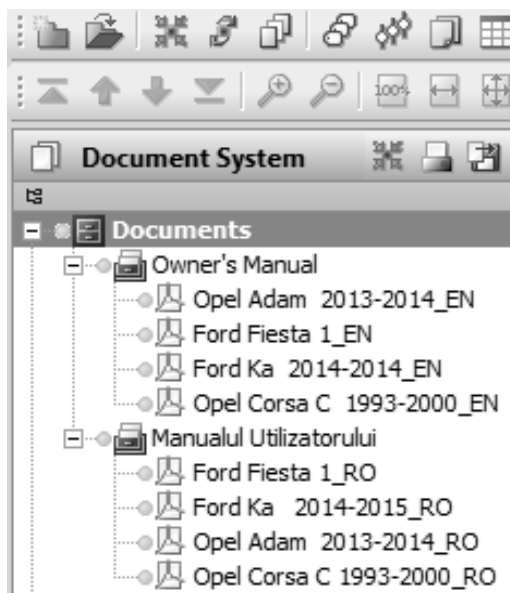


Figure 1. Print screen – Organising documents in document sets

Having designed the corpus, i.e. the import of the 8 text samples, the students could embark on their translation-oriented research activities by activating a series of drop-down menus and various user-friendly toolbars that provide easy access to different MAXQDA functions. Requiring the students to design their individual analysis model, I guided them to access various toolbars and menus, of which the *Analysis Menu* enabled them to develop various lexical searches and retrieval functions. Activating the lexical search options, the students were able to look through all the 8 documents, or in the activated document sets, in their memos or in some retrieved segments. In a matter of minutes, each group member, depending on his/her specific task, could search for certain words, phrases, or combinations. Moreover, each member could establish and search for certain keywords by choosing according to the various criteria for the segments to be found (e.g. OR, AND, logical combinations, NEAR, etc.) and then automatically encode them. The retrieved segments could also be filtered based on certain criteria in the *Retrieved Segments* window.

Another menu easily accessed and applied by students was the *Codes Menu*, which enabled them to create and apply new codes on all documents or only on the activated ones, or even to create a complete index of all codes assigned to all document segments. According to their particular group tasks, the students set out to encode the 8 texts as follows:

- *Translators*: translation methods and procedures applied in the TT;
- *Terminologists*: specialised terms in automotive manufacturing domain;
- *Proof-readers*: spelling errors in ST and TT, translation inaccuracies, translation gaps.

While increasing the students' awareness of the text dimension, improving their ability to recognise and produce a variety of texts in a variety of formats,

MAXDictio, another specific function of MAXQDA 10, enabled the students to determine the hybridisation level of the previously imported text types. At this level the students grew aware of another salient advantage of computer-based translation training and practice. By means of *MAXDictio*, they managed to display the frequency of each text key input, being also able to analyse the degree of hybridisation at the corpus level as well. Moreover, having previously organized the two *document sets*, the students selected all the texts within each *document set* and ran *MAXDictio* simultaneously for all the documents comprised in each set document. They could easily quantify the frequency rate of, for example, *internationalised word forms*, *bilingual synonyms* or *calques* in all 8 texts. Furthermore, the software provided them with additional information with regard to word length, helpful information to detect the text complexity, etc.

4.2 Week 4: Stage IV– Developing the students’ multi-layered translation competences

As already pointed out, by adopting inductive and deductive methods, I tried to activate the students’ awareness of the translator’s multi-layered competences; they were required to access and apply the software functions, in order to investigate translation-based issues, to network and interrelate so as to provide proactive and multidisciplinary approaches to a text type analysis, according to each micro-level group requirements.

a) Developing technological competence + interpersonal dimension + thematic competence

The students were required to activate the codes of the first two groups (Translators and Terminologists), to select the software function *Document Portrait* and generate a frequency portrait of text hybridisation concerning translation procedures and particular terminological specificities.

b) Developing technological competence + interpersonal dimension + thematic competence + text dimension

In compliance with the text type features, the students were required to test internal and external coherence at the text and corpus levels and to identify specific features of these texts types (owner’s manuals), while quantifying typical occurrences of standardised word forms and phrases.

My computer-assisted training method aimed to develop the students’ technological competence, while involving them in interpersonal tasks, whose purpose was to design thematic maps in order to observe textual particularities like terms frequency as well as internal and external coherence at text level. The students were asked to identify and quantify typical occurrences of standardised word forms and phrases, thus envisaging a twofold analysis. First, they tested the internal coherence of the text and the internal coherence of the standardised terms. This investigation involved the function *Tag cloud* within a single text sample of each document set.

c) Developing technological competence + interpersonal dimension + thematic competence + text dimension + intercultural competence

The final stage of my project requested the students to investigate, localise and indicate language and terminology variations in the ST and TT diachronically. Examining specific linguistic features of the ST and TT, the students were asked to analyze how the two specialised languages have evolved since 1993 by means of a computer-assisted contrastive analysis. Also, the students had to indicate the most frequently used terms (specialised and highly-specialised terminology) within the domain of automotive manufacturing by means of the *Document Portrait* function.

5. Conclusion

By designing and implementing the present computer-assisted translation training assignment, I have envisaged short-term and long term objectives alike.

As an interim measure, by means of my computer-assisted project work, the students could be easily and interactively guided towards immediate added value results, while providing them with: better insights concerning more effective task-oriented planning strategies for current assignments and forthcoming large-scale translation projects; thorough research methods within the field of translation studies and practice; technologised analysis models and design options for their graduation papers; interdisciplinary research activities developed in the field of corpus linguistics; a panoramic approach to multidisciplinary translation-related research fields and specialisation domains such as terminology, lexicology, lexicography, etc.

In the long run, the aim of my study was to raise the students' awareness of thematic area competence in the process of translation, by making them acknowledge the importance of the cultural variable within the context of a highly technologised and globalised consumer-oriented society, and thus motivating them to actively participate in the process of lifelong learning, following up-to-date career growth pathways.

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