

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Faculty of Letters, Department of English

Selected Papers of the International Conference

Constructions of Identity

9

Cluj-Napoca, 27-28 October 2017



Edited by:
Adrian Radu
Octavian More

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Presa Universitară Clujeană
Director: Codruța Săcelean
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Tel./fax: (+40)-264-597.401
E-mail: editura@editura.ubbcluj.ro
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WHO'S WHO? SECRET (CONSTRUCTIONS OF) IDENTITIES IN EDGAR ALLAN POE'S "THE CASK OF AMONTILLADO"

Codrin Liviu Cuțitaru

"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Romania

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on one of Poe's tales, "The Cask of Amontillado", a story of "the perfect crime". The action is set in medieval Italy, at the time of the Carnival, in Venice. The protagonists are two noblemen, Montresor and Fortunato. Montresor is the narrator of the text and wants to get back at Fortunato, because of a mysterious "insult" the latter supposedly addressed to him. Fortunato's alleged "mistake" is never voiced in the text although the punishment for the "trespassing" is extreme (Fortunato will pay with his own life). This analysis attempts to explain the enigma behind the uncanny "insult".

KEYWORDS: Poe, crime, masonry, play of substitutions.

Edgar Allan Poe, the leading American romantic, became famous – *post mortem*, if we may add – primarily for his "tales of the grotesque and arabesque", which, as we know, abound in monstrous assassinations. One in particular – quite remarkable for its brevity –, *The Cask of Amontillado*, illustrates something more than a gruesome murder. It attempts to minutely establish the steps of a *perfect crime*. Let us follow closely the phases of the diabolical plan and try to understand what exactly generates the already mentioned "perfection"! The story is set in traditional Italy, at the time of the Venetian Carnival. We should clarify, at this very early stage, the spiritual significance of the "Carnival" (a specific Catholic feast), since it will turn out to be immensely useful later on. Thus, originally, "carnival" means "meat removal" (*carnelevamen* in Latin, *carnevale* in Italian!) and is celebrated just before the beginning of the Lent. The less spectacular Romanian equivalent of this religious event is the so-called *lăsata secului*, i.e. *the cessation of meat consumption*.

The action of Poe's tale develops during this great symbolic masquerade of Venice and it happens so because of the indicated "perfect crime". The narrator and, simultaneously, the assassin of the story, Montresor, a local nobleman (according to the few details we get about him), tells us that he has borne "the thousand injuries of Fortunato" the best he could, but when his supposed rival (the nature of the relationship between the two remains rather obscure throughout the text!) moves to "insult", he vows "revenge". We should not bother right now with the ambiguity of the terms used by Montresor in his opening *exposé*, i.e. *injury* and

insult. We shall do it later. For the time being, let us focus on the immediate aspects of his short confession! These aspects are: the necessary revenge he must take against Fortunato and the Carnival as the setting chosen for his violent action. One should not expect the enigmatic aristocrat to be extremely communicative here. He appears as a restrained talker. Yet, even so, what he has to say freezes the listener's blood.

Montresor has sent all his servants to the Carnival, in order that no unwanted eye-witness should pop out at the house. The family castle (*palazzo*) is at his disposal. All evening, he has followed the unfortunate Fortunato, waiting for the appropriate moment to start his plot. The future victim is dressed up ("disguised"), quite suggestively, in the Fool's costume and entertains himself at the feast, having no idea about what awaits him at the end of the night. Suddenly appearing in his way, as it were, Montresor greets Fortunato, informing him that he is in a hurry to find Luchesi, an important local expert in wines, we understand. He intends to ask him to come to the castle and taste a wine which "passes for Amontillado" (Poe 68), but about which Montresor has some "doubts". Only Luchesi, due to his singular skills, will be able to dispel the uncertainty. At once, the narrator has struck at the core of his victim's main weakness: *his vanity*. Fortunato is a wine expert himself and claims to be better than Luchesi. He can certify the Amontillado, albeit he has drunk a lot already.

Consequently, Fortunato convinces Montresor that he will gladly undertake the wine-tasting task and accompany him to his vaults. The satisfied executioner thus walks by his ignorant victim to the catacombs of the *palazzo*, where, supposedly, a cask of controversial Amontillado wine is to be revealed. These catacombs – used as vaults – are uncanny from the outset. Although intoxicated, Fortunato notices the oddity of the place, being particularly intrigued by the dark "extensions" of the walls and the human relics they come across in their unusual descent. At the victim's legitimate questions about these curious elements, the narrator answers somewhat symbolically: "The Montresors were a great and numerous family!" He seems to imply that the vaults are, in fact, the sepulcher of several generations of people. Calmed down by the observation, Fortunato requires information about the code of arms of the Montresors and their *motto* in history. Both are distinct signs of a long, cherished, noble and significant family tradition.

The former, Montresor replies, displays a foot crushing the head of a serpent "whose fangs are imbedded in the heel" (Poe 69), whereas the latter is a Latin citation, sounding a bit strangely: "*Nemo me impune lacessit!*" ("No one insults me with impunity!") (Poe 70). Equally the arms and the *motto* revive Biblical metaphors from *The Old Testament*: the foot crushing the serpent represents an image from *The Book of Genesis*, alluding to the eternal triumph of good in its confrontation with evil, and the idea of retaliation in distribution from the *motto* constitutes an almost explicit reference to *lex talionis*. Not at all disturbed by these explanations, Fortunato wants "to proceed to the Amontillado". Therefore, deriding his victim's insensitivity, Montresor even plays a little game. Specifying that the place is too damp (the catacombs are under a river!), the narrator asks Fortunato to

go back home, lest he should get ill (the victim coughs persistently during their descent into the vaults!). "You are rich, respected, admired, beloved, you are happy as once I was", Montresor says.

The proud Fortunato does not even think about it nevertheless. He intends to taste the Amontillado at all possible costs. In the meantime, "the rich and respected" nobleman drinks whatever comes in handy, like, for instance, a bottle of *De Grève*, randomly discovered along the way, which he empties at a breath. After having finished the wine, he throws the bottle upward with a bizarre gesticulation that Montresor does not appear to understand. "You do not comprehend?" (Poe 70), Fortunato interrogates Montresor. "Not I" (Poe 70), he answers. "Then you are not of the brotherhood" (poe 70), Fortunato continues. "You are not of the masons" (Poe 70). At the unexpected conclusion of the victim, Montresor suddenly and firmly intervenes to confirm: "Yes, yes, yes, yes!" (Poe 70). "You?", Fortunato shows his amazement, "Impossible! A mason?" (Poe 70). "A mason", our narrator argues, "producing a trowel", as a sign, from beneath the folds of his *roquelaire*. Undoubtedly, we must admit that the dialogue between the victim and the executioner has changed in a rather unpredictable manner, so to say.

Therefore, we need to interrupt the descriptive momentum of the critical endeavor, at this point, with a brief analytical *intermezzo*. A huge confusion determines the completely weird dialogue related above. The two men talk about Masonry in the terms of an incredible semantic incongruence. While Fortunato refers, obviously, to *the speculative sense* of the concept – Masonry as a secret organization, based on occult and ritualistic practices –, Montresor, in his "understanding" of the context, does not abandon the concrete area of significance, i.e. *the operative meaning* of the notion – Masonry as a traditional profession (craft) of humanity. The narrator claims he has "masonic" training (which implies he would have specific abilities in the field of "constructions"!), revealing (as "a sign"!) a trowel he has on him (accidentally?) at the time of his encounter with Fortunato. Attentive readers are bound to note here an arrogant form of implicit sarcasm. The executioner shows his victim, with utter cynicism, his sinister murder weapon: the mysterious trowel itself.

Completely disconcerted, Fortunato does not make any sense out of Montresor's remark, confirming, once more, his position of a "Fool" in the story. "You jest" (Poe 70), he concludes, resuming his search for the wine of Amontillado. At the end of their odd conversation, the murderer himself whispers three words, barely understandable and apparently meaningless in the general context. Fortunato no longer seems to hear them however. We are not going to insist on or even mention them at this moment. A bit of mystery will not do any harm to our analysis! The enigmatic dynamics is, after all, in the spirit of Poe's tale. So, our heroes reach the most remote spot of the catacombs, where, within a wall, Montresor says, the cask was carefully placed. Fortunato inserts his right hand inside, whereas Montresor fetters his left arm with a chain (prepared in advance) which comes out of the granite. Suddenly, the intoxicated Fool becomes

captive in one of the extensions of the vaults. He looks like a crucified person. Montresor walls him up alive, using his trowel.

The scene of the execution is cryptic, obscure, like the setting itself. The victim does not react at all, seemingly accepting the bizarre immolation-like ritual. Intoxication may have something to do with this lack of reaction or, perhaps, the wine expert has finally understood the fact he was ridiculed by Montresor and, consequently feels defeated. No one knows for sure. The only sentence (can it be an invocation, a prayer, a solicitation of compassion?) Fortunato speaks out (although, as we shall see, *these may not be his words!*) is the following one: “For the love of God, Montresor!” (Poe 71). To which, driving us to total ambiguity, Montresor calmly responds (in an echo-like manner): “Yes, for the love of God!” (Poe 71). We are going to try to figure out later whatever is concealed behind the unusual exchange of “metaphors” between the two. Right now, let us notice that the narrator gives us, in the end of his confession, an unexpected “chronology” of events. He says that, for fifty years, no human has disturbed the “Fool” from his “sleep”! He then committed *the perfect crime*.

In other words, nobody would have known anything about it, unless the criminal himself had decided to come clean. The conclusion of the narrative will therefore be a late prayer for the soul of the victim, departed in such horrendous circumstances: *In pace requiescat!* (Poe 70) (“May he rest in peace!”). Again, we have the feeling Montresor utters these Latin “lexemes”. Yet, a more experienced reader of Poe would probably be tempted to ask: *is it really so?* Before clarifying all the less difficult ambiguities of the text, we must focus on the most challenging of them all, i.e. the murder itself. It may have been *a perfect crime*, no argument about that, but *what was its motivation?* Why does Montresor hate Fortunato so much? What do those “injuries” and that uncanny “insult” from the beginning actually mean? A glitter of hope appears when Montresor mentions that Fortunato is “rich, respected, admired, beloved and happy” as once he was. Could then a *social rivalry* between these aristocrats be the reason for “revenge”? Was there any competition in Venice in the past?

Possibly, but, let us face it, that constitutes a rather inconsistent detail of the narrative! Something else draws our attention in a more convincing way. It is the already mentioned “confession-like” style of Montresor’s narrative. *He has been addressing someone* from the very beginning. This is how he starts: “You, who so well know the nature of my soul...” Who might be the silent *listener*? From the symbolic invocation made by the narrator, we could presume that *the listener is God himself*. Only He can know so well the nature of a sinner’s soul. Nevertheless, we should adopt a more pragmatic view on things here and say that the listener is not necessarily *God*, but maybe his spiritual substitute, *the priest*. Considering that the tale indicates a gap of half a century between *facts* and their *presentation* (between *the time of action* and *the time of story*, as it were), we may infer that the old Montresor (*the story teller* as opposed to *the action taker*, i.e. the young Montresor) lays on his deathbed and *has his last confession in front of his confessor*.

If this is true – and let me say that it must be, since the clues of such a scenario are too evident! –, we have to accept the undoubted existence of a *third character in the tale* (beside Luchesi who remains just a strategic “move” of Montresor and not a real hero!). The character in question only *appears* to be *silent*, because, in reality, he *talks* and he *does* it quite visibly in the end. We are referring to the priest who *listens* to the narrator’s terrifying account. He is the one (and not Fortunato!) who exclaims *For the love of God, Montresor!*, upon realizing that the dying man in front of him admits to a murder. Likewise, he is the one who prays for poor Fortunato’s soul (*In pace requiescat!*), upon comprehending that the “Fool” was killed fifty years ago and no one ever knew anything about him during this time. Thus, Montresor’s confession about the perfect crime starts making sense: an old murderer, ironically, in intention a good and simple Christian, wants to make peace with God before his death and therefore exposes a terrible sin to his confessor.

A dilemma however still lingers at the back of our minds. *What pushed this good Catholic to the committing of perhaps the most disturbing sin in Christianity, a brother’s assassination?* In order to answer, we must return to earlier details of Montresor’s confession. Let us note again the religious devotion of his aristocratic family! As said already, both the arms and *motto* of the Montresors are subtle Biblical references (even the slogan *Nemo me impune lacessit!*/*No one insults me with impunity!* has a religious connotation, in *The Old Testament* or *lex talionis* kind of way, i.e. “no one insults my faith without being punished for his insolence!”). Fortunato, on the contrary, is a different type of Italian nobleman. An overt Freemason, he appears to lead a non-Christian life, at least from Montresor’s dogmatic perspective. According to the narrator’s pious traditional angle, his victim may very well be “a pagan”, whose presence in the civilized order of Christian Europe troubles profoundly. Montresor’s very identity is menaced by Fortunato’s values.

We should properly understand Montresor! He is prepared to commit and finally commits murder, paradoxically, out of his intense religious convictions. At the priest’s remark *For the love of God, Montresor!*, his response is *Yes, for the love of God!* In other words, *he killed*, no matter how horrendous this may look to the modern man, *in the name of God*, as any good Catholic would or should have done it, under the same circumstances. In the light of this hypothesis – that of the traditional Christian who “punishes” a mason/a pagan for “spiritual aggression” –, the enigmatic words the narrator uses at the beginning of his confession get new significances. The “injuries” Montresor has borne the best he could are “personal insults” (brought presumably by Fortunato to his friend), insults which good Christians must accept (“Turn the other cheek!”). Yet, when the mason moves to “insult” (a term that should be read here as “blasphemy”, i.e. a symbolic attack on Montresor’s faith and God!), there is no turning back: the good Christian “vows revenge”.

The conflict between the two men – far from being *social* (a competition within the aristocratic hierarchy) or *psychological* (envy determined by the same

unstable social status) – is rather *religious*, facing an “offending” mason and an “offended” Catholic. It is only natural therefore that they should talk, persistently, about “the love of God”. “God” represents the essence of the antagonism, but “God” seen from two perspectives allegedly opposed: Christian-spiritual and Occult-ritualistic. Montresor acts, symbolically, before the Lent, at the time of the Carnival, when the church-going individual “purges” his everyday life, eliminating all its temptation-bringing components, all its factors of corruption, vice and moral decay. Fortunato the Fool is one such factor of “decay”, a spiritual “toxin” of society, a “toxin” that has to be eradicated. Montresor the Catholic undertakes this unpleasant task. Not in his own name (he has always borne the mason’s personal “injuries” the best he could), but in the name of God (when he realizes Fortunato constitutes a “blasphemer”).

So, we should ask ourselves if, adopting the above described hermeneutic scenario, one automatically drives away the mystery of Montresor’s confession-like story. *No way* would be the immediate answer! Let us not forget we are dealing with the master of the narrative enigmas here, i.e. Poe! We mentioned the fact that, at the end of the two characters’ “conversation” about Freemasonry, Montresor utters some uncanny words which have been deliberately left in suspension. We should return to them now. If you remember, realizing that Montresor does not know what he speaks about when referring to his belonging to “the brotherhood”, Fortunato leaves in contempt, saying: “You jest!” He considers the poor man in front of him, with a trowel in his hand (as a “sign” of his masonic identity), simply an idiot. Yet, “the idiot” whispers something in the aftermath, which, if heard by Fortunato, would have certainly stopped him in dismay: “Be it so!” Taken as such, the words do not say much, but, associated with a historical “case” from 1826, they give you the creeps.

The “case” is that of Captain William Morgan from New York, a distinguished American Freemason. Edgar Allan Poe was surely familiar with this episode from the history of the United States. In 1826, Morgan published a book with a huge impact on the Americans of the time: *Illustrations of Freemasonry by One of the Fraternity*. There he discloses secrets of the masonic rituals (cf. Peter Sorensen in *Works Cited!*), insisting on the significances of different types of initiations and the meanings of certain occult gesticulations. The author describes a situation that is similar to what Montresor and Fortunato experience in the catacombs. More precisely, Captain Morgan claims that a Freemason who wants to test the masonic identity of a fellow-partner may inquire him about his “belonging” to the brotherhood by raising the hands, symbolically, above his head. That is exactly what the “Fool” does after emptying the bottle of *De Grève*! He raises his hands in the air with a gesticulation Montresor pretends he has not understood.

Confused, Fortunato asks: “You do not comprehend?” “Not I”, Montresor replies. The “Fool” then legitimately concludes: “You are not of the brotherhood.” Montresor is appalled and stupidly produces his trowel “from beneath the folds of his *roquelaire*”! The genuine Freemason rightfully gets annoyed. He says: “You jest! Let us proceed to the Amontillado!” And he continues his walk into the vaults.

Well, at this point, we have an absolutely sensational element, often overlooked by the critics and the readers of this tale. According to William Morgan, when confronted with this weird gesticulation of the hands, the true Mason must confirm his belonging to the fraternity by simply saying a Biblical formula: "So mote it be!" (Morgan 124). *For the love of God*, to paraphrase the narrator himself, *what does Montresor whisper at the end of the scene?* "Be it so!" (the equivalent of "So mote it be!"). Probably, he even smiles cynically, when uttering these words, at the intellectual simplicity of the "Fool". The truth is thus eventually revealed: the conflict is not *religious*, but *occult*.

Undoubtedly, Montresor is a *high-rank Freemason who has the mission to eliminate Fortunato the Fool!* He acts in disguise, though, in order to deceive both his confessor (the priest, the listener) and the audience (the reader, the receiver). Why should he do this or, even more importantly, *why should Fortunato be eliminated?* Let us briefly return to William Morgan's story so as to properly answer the question! Immediately after the publication of his disturbing book of masonic disclosures, the military man vanished into thin air. After one year, what was suspected to be his remains "appeared" suddenly inside a cave (very *damp*, by the way!). The position of the skeleton suggested the idea of crucifixion. People (including the press) were convinced at the time Morgan had been executed symbolically by the brother masons for his betrayal (let us specify that Montresor, too, sees his "revenge" as an act of "immolation"). Like the captain in discussion, Fortunato breaks the most important law of Freemasonry – *the law of silence*. He is talkative, superficial and stupid.

For no reason whatsoever, he discloses his belonging to the brotherhood to someone who apparently does not have any connection with the organization (i.e. Montresor)! His executioner thus becomes the "hand" of the secret society, which must punish a "Fool" like Fortunato in an exemplary way! *Fortunato is William Morgan*. So, we may easily conclude that Poe's tale, far from being about a "social antagonism" or a "religious one", constitutes, in fact, a parable about "secret plots" or, more exactly, about "conspiracies". What we have in Montresor's confession is *the perfect dissimulation*, "a play of substitutions" from what will be, in the 20th century, the tradition of "the deconstructionist game". His false "identities" (*a social competitor* and then *a good Christian*) disseminate, toward the end of the *exposé*, into a real "one" (that of *a vengeful Freemason!*). This text deals with the secret selves of a narrator, confronting us with, probably, one of the best examples of *epic unreliability* in the world history of literature. Poe illustrates himself, once more, as the master of this genre.

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SPEAKING RIGHT: CODES, CREOLES, AND BORDER CROSSINGS

Marina Warner
Birkbeck College, University of London
All Souls College, University of Oxford

Introduction

Learning to speak English has become a requirement for acquiring British citizenship, and complaints about language swirl around the politics of migration: hostile attitudes often focus on foreigners being incomprehensible and persisting in speaking their mother tongues. I will look at this controversy in relation to literatures in English in two main parts: in the first I will look at the concept ‘shibboleth’ and reflect on how the sounds of a language can lead to inclusion or exclusion. Then, in the second part, I will turn to fiction written today in forms of English that are created imaginary loci of identity. Language is itself a lieu de memoire – it moors the speaker to his or her origins and lifetime experiences and through literature, it forms imaginary locales where values and ideas develop. In the words of Paul Ricoeur, “Telling a story is deploying an imaginary space for thought experiments in which moral judgement operates in a hypothetical mode” (170).

These two lines of inquiry will allow me to cast a retrospective look at the often-concealed prejudices in operation in English usage, and then explore some of the changes – the positive changes – that are taking place in literary expression in English and in translations into English. You will have to bear with some uncomfortable digging into the prejudice, sense of superiority and assumptions of authority that reigned over English Literature in the twentieth century, and still clings on in the political posturing of the Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson, for example. However, this ignorance is giving way to a vigorous hubbub of conversation between various, different Englishes, which does not yield or cringe before arbiters of taste in the metropole. When the empire writes back, it uses a lot of different voices, accents, creoles and registers of English.

I. Shibboleths

Before I return to the promise of creolised literature in English, I want to take a step back and remind you of the exclusionary uses of language, and particularly of the role of sound in identifying people and discriminating against them. An episode from the *Book of Judges*, Chapter 12, describes how friend was sifted from foe in the battle between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites. Everyone wanted to cross the river to safety, but the Gileadites were guarding it, and they asked each arriving petitioner to say the word “shibboleth”. Ephraimites did not have a *sh* sound, so if

the petitioner could only say “shibboleth”, he revealed he was an Ephraimite – and was duly killed. According to the *Book of Judges* 12, 42,000 of them fell that day:

The Gileadites captured the fords of the Jordan opposite Ephraim. And it happened when any of the fugitives of Ephraim said, “Let me cross over,” the men of Gilead would say to him, “Are you an Ephraimite?” If he said, “No,” then they would say to him, “Say now, ‘Shibboleth.’” But he said, “Sibboleth”, for he could not pronounce it correctly. Then they seized him and slew him at the fords of the Jordan. Thus there fell at that time 42000 of Ephraim. (*Book of Judges* 12:6)

This historical origin of the term “shibboleth”, meaning a tribal belief which defines one group against another, has many gloomy counterparts in the history of civil conflicts and feuds. In 1937, in the Dominican Republic, the word parsley in Spanish, *perejil*, became the brutal test: if you could not pronounce the *r* Spanish style, you were murdered. The writer and artist Caroline Bergvall was inspired by this event in her sound piece from 2001, called *Say Parsley*. “It is always possible to be fluent in the semantics and syntax of a language,” but very rarely can you lose that trace and texture of your unmistakeable brogue. In Biblical and later policies of ethnic cleansing, “How you speak will be used against you.”¹

The phrase “Speaking right” in my title is itself not quite right. “Speaking proper” is another, analogous injunction not to make mistakes, but it again makes the grammatical error of using the adjectives, “right” and “proper” as if they were adverbs, and thereby conveys the uneducated character of the speaker, and the desire not to be exposed as such – both of these betraying pretensions to gentility that are satirised by Jane Austen and Charles Dickens, among many.

“Speak proper” also issues a finger-wagging injunction used by grown-ups to children, very close to teaching table manners and other correct ways of bearing oneself – speaking right is equivalent to remembering not to eat with one’s mouth open and – for girls in times past – to keep your hands folded in your lap and your knees together when sitting down. In relation to the conference strand on gendered identities,

These are protocols of decorum, but also codes embedded in shared social values, and learning them is essential to belonging – if only to break them deliberately and discard them in full awareness later. This dialectical process – learning, absorbing, and repudiating has its crucial cultural counterpart in relation to diasporas, taking place all over the world today: British businessmen in the Gulf are as much economic migrants as the Africans seeking refuge, survival and work in the richer north. The cultural counterpart of the process includes observation of the new country’s customs and language, leading to assimilation through imitation and acquisition, followed by self-affirmation, creative expression and memory work, in order to refashion identity in relation to the former homeland and its ways. You learn the codes and then you create the creoles, creole being a fluid term for

¹ Eva Heisler, ‘Caroline Bergvall: Propelled to the Edges of a Language’s Freedom, and to the Depths of its Collective Traumas’, *Asymptote*, <http://www.asymptotejournal.com/visual/eva-heisler-caroline-bergvall-propelled-to-the-edges-of-a-languages-freedom/> (Accessed 1 April 2018).

mixing languages and cultures: the poet and dramatist Derek Walcott often adopted the creole of his native St Lucia, which is formed of French, English and African elements. Literature plays a fundamental role in this process not because everybody reads books or has access to them, but because everybody receives stories through various channels: in his Nobel Prize address, Walcott paid tribute to his aunt Sidonie, who used to tell him in her creole speech, stories that fired his imagination and his love of words, and helped form the magnificent wordsmith and storyteller he became.² These forms of exchange have always been the case, but they are once more on the rise today, when mass media and digital networks spread stories widely and deeply, from the images printed on the bank notes to drama series on television. After an unexpectedly vicious controversy, for example, Jane Austen has appeared on the new £10 notes in Britain, while *Game of Thrones*, a highly dramatic reworking of history and epic, dominates the cultural imaginary, seeping into and shaping newspaper accounts of current affairs.

If displaced individuals stay in a state of ignorance about these codes, they will fail to find a place they can make their own, call home; in the specific matter of language, if you continue to speak only your mother tongue (s), you will not find a place for yourself in the new society where you have arrived, a stranger. Yet, if you lose your mother tongue, as you surely will through disuse, you will have let go of some deep part of yourself. My mother, who never left her home province of Puglia in Southern Italy till she was 24, acquired excellent English, which she spoke with an accent that was imperceptible to me. Yet, when she returned to Italy during the last decades of her life, she would be congratulated on the fluency of her Italian. All of us know how quickly languages – idioms, vocabulary, stock phrases – move on and leave us behind.

II. The Sense of Sounds

I want to focus now on an aspect of the English language that is gaining presence in contemporary literature, for it holds out a possibility, I believe, for helping users become at home in their new surroundings: the sound of English is changing as more and more speakers acquire it. Attitudes to the changing sounds of English are also evolving, and there is a profound and rich exploration of what you could call foreign Englishes: think of the brilliant tour de force of alien ventriloquy, the novel *Everything Is Illuminated* by Joshua Foer Power. English is not one language but many, and its accents are very varied, while a new user can change it, as many writers have done, playing with the conventions of sound and sense. Lewis Carroll liked to parody the classics and much-loved poems, such as Macaulay's *Lays of*

² For Derek Walcott's Nobel prize speech, see https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1992/walcott-lecture.html [accessed 10 May 2018]; see also Walcott, Derek. *The poetry of Derek Walcott 1948-2013*, edited by Glyn Maxwell. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2017.

Ancient Rome, as well as favourite hymns and other Victorian shibboleths (yes, that word again). He was an instinctive iconoclast and utopian, and under the cover of children's literature, he mocked received ideas and tilted at complacent values. He first wrote the famous nonsense poem, "Jabberwocky", for a family magazine he made at home for his sisters, which was called *Misch-masch*, and he first set it out in rune-like letters and added a solemn glossary.

Jabberwocky

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.³

At its first appearance in print, this brilliantly inventive poem was titled 'Stanza of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' (Carroll, 1932, 139), because the funny, made-up words are meant to sound like Anglo-Saxon. This triumphant example of nonsense poetry,

³ See Carroll, Lewis. *Jabberwocky and Other Poems*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001, p. 17 ff.:

"Beware the Jabberwock, my son!
The jaws that bite, the claws that catch!
Beware the Jubjub bird, and shun
The frumious Bandersnatch!"

He took his vorpal sword in hand;
Long time the manxome foe he sought—
So rested he by the Tumtum tree
And stood awhile in thought.

And, as in uffish thought he stood,
The Jabberwock, with eyes of flame,
Came whiffling through the tulgey wood,
And burbled as it came!

One, two! One, two! And through and through
The vorpal blade went snicker-snack!
He left it dead, and with its head
He went galumphing back.

"And hast thou slain the Jabberwock?
Come to my arms, my beamish boy!
O frabjous day! Callooh! Callay!"
He chortled in his joy.

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

itself an important tradition of English literature, subordinates meaning to the acoustic character of the language and the compass bearings it gives.

Carroll was alert to the new strain in English literary history which yoked English with northern landscapes and Viking horizons, deliberately downplaying the lineage from Europe which makes English part of Latin and romance cultures. This shift of perspective, which eventually culminated in J.R.R. Tolkien's homage to the sagas, *The Lord of the Rings*, probably arose from a profound aversion to Catholicism on the one hand and to the continent all told on the other – ancestral hostilities still in play.

At the same time as the sounds of English were being locally harnessed to emphasise Nordic ancestry, English was triumphing as a world language. This supremacy has led to the formation of a global English dialect, adopted by several contemporary novelists of great influence. Kazuo Ishiguro's *The Buried Giant* is narrated in a deliberately colourless, still, flat prose, as if the protagonist was laboriously trying to speak proper. Another winner of a recent Nobel prize, J.M. Coetzee, similarly adopts a dull, measured narrative voice in *The Childhood of Jesus* and *The Schooldays of Jesus*, in order to reflect the circumstances of his disoriented holy family, and convey to the reader their unhomed, alien state. Listen to a sentence of Coetzee from *The Schooldays of Jesus*: he is talking through Simón, who is a migrant in a nowhere landscape: "Monday arrives, and it falls to him to convey the boy to his new school. They get there well before eight o'clock. The studio doors are open but the studio itself is empty. He sits down at the piano stool. Together they wait" (53). Coetzee is writing in English as if for a primer in ESL classes. Or, as if he were translating it from Afrikaans? But he is not working from a text which was written in another language, but crafting a new sounding vehicle of English, which gives me and you, as we read, an impression that his characters are not at ease with the language: that stilted syntax, simple two/four rhythm, the inexpressive neutrality of the style, the effortfulness of the listless prose. Such affected simplicity heightens the drama that is being wrung from the wasteland where Simón finds himself. It exacerbates the numbness, and its sadness.

New Englishes are instruments to make a new music for the times, to orient the reader in the map of the new flows of power and knowledge. Coetzee is not the only one developing such a dialect. It's a no man's land of English, without echoes of the King James or connections to imperial dreams of Viking forebears or even Romantic fantasy. It's the imaginative transformation of the liquid capital of English as a world language in an epoch of dislocation. The novel ends with Simón, the third-person narrative voice, becoming acquainted with transcendence – through music and dance, forms beyond words, and referents beyond signification. This is an ironic conclusion with its forlorn glimmer of hope, but also meaningful against the meaningless horizon of the world in his bleak, sardonic book.

"Globish" is an official, international form of English in use in business; it has a dictionary of its own, which is very restricted. Even so, it can yield remarkable

results when adapted with strong imagination, as Philip Terry has done in his trenchant and percussive rendering of the Epic of Gilgamesh called DICTATOR.

Stone I Cut i

I will | sing of | the one | who see | the bot | tom ...
of he | who know | all I | will tell | the ... | story
+ + + in | ~~the old~~ | way ... | from be | ginning | to end
+ + + the | wise ~~one~~ | he who | know ev | ery | thing DIC | TATOR
who see | the sec | ret thing | that no | man see | before
open | the sec | ret place | that no | man op | en be | fore ...
and bring | back word | of the | time be | fore the | great wave* –
*see Stone XI
he tra | vel the | ... long | road tired | out in | pain + + +
and cut | he work | in stone

While this lingua franca attempts to standardise communications for commercial purposes, the plurality of Englishes all over the world continues to increase; the effects of earlier waves of emigration and immigration on the creolisation of literary expression are continuing strongly. This polyphony has become a very rich loam in which literature is growing both on the page in books and on the web in spoken word forms.

III. Codes

In the UK today, a young woman with no job, no professional qualification, not much education, and no command of English would be suspect to the UK Border Force – even if she were married to a British citizen. Citizenship now requires proficiency in speaking English. But in 1945, when my mother Emilia Terzulli arrived in England, unaccompanied – at the end of the war my father was still in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) waiting for transport home – she was admitted without obstacle.

As the child of this union, I ashamed by the current self-righteous and self-pitying surge in xenophobic feelings in the country where I live. However, it would not be accurate to claim that shibboleths didn't exist then or that the young Italian wife wasn't under strong, unspoken pressure to acquire knowledge of the codes and learn to negotiate invisible maps of English culture. When she was becoming English, learning to speak English like an Englishwoman was not enough: like Eliza Doolittle in Shaw's *Pygmalion*, she had to master the outlook of a class, and the unspoken values and invisible boundaries of a certain milieu, which held fast to its tribal stories.

The local class system was criss-crossed by impalpable demarcation lines designed to put people in their place, to exclude some and include others. Proficiency in speaking English wasn't high on the list of necessary criteria for entering the society to which my father belonged or being accepted, but adopting a certain code, itself invisibly set in verbal expressions, was crucial. It was more important not to say 'Pardon', for example, but 'Sorry'; not to say, 'where's the

toilet?’ but instead to say, ‘I’d like to spend a penny’, or preferably, ‘I would like to go to the loo’. The phrase for the prohibited phrases was ‘common’, and the penalty for being common was stigma.

My mother learned to speak English very well (her accent was never audible to me, as familiarity tunes one’s ear not to be able to detect it), and she acquired the code and applied it to others. Her way of speaking – not so much her pronunciation but the phrases, the lexicon – admitted her into a privileged enclave that everyone else could recognise she now belonged to, as surely as, for those in the know and who pay allegiance to an *eruv*’s thaumaturgic powers, the wire or string suspended from pole to pole changes the nature of the airy corridor it creates below.

In 1956, when my family moved to Brussels from Cairo, the UK was convulsed by a fantastic furore which, unlikely as it may seem, had been stirred up by an article in a Finnish philological journal, *Neuphilologische mitteilungen*, called “Linguistic class indicators in present-day English”, by an English Professor at Birmingham University called Alan Ross. Prof. Ross’s taxonomy of what he called “U and Non-U speech”, where U stood for Upper Class, electrified the country after a famous writer and society wit, Nancy Mitford, responded to the professor’s research with an essay in *Encounter*. This in turn provoked a flurry of rebuttals, further reflections, glosses and amendments by the likes of Evelyn Waugh, John Betjeman, and other noted observers of English society. The whole debate was rushed into hard covers, under the title *Noblesse Oblige*. It was a best-seller. In the suburbs of Brussels where we were living, the nascent expatriate community talked of little else.

While doing my homework on the glories of Belgian empire, the riches of the coalfields of the nation, and the philanthropy of King Leopold and Queen Astrid, I would overhear my father chortling with his friends about the horror of “lounge” for “drawing-room” and “settee” for sofa.

Ross’s list of examples for class denominators is rather short, as it turns out, and the volume, *Noblesse Oblige*, is predominantly comic. Betjeman’s contribution is the poem, “How to Get On in Society”, a sprightly parody of the kind of phrases – tinged with false gentility and euphemisms to the contemptuous ears of the aristocracy and the educated. It begins:

Phone for the fish knives, Norman
As cook is a little unnerved;
You kiddies have crumpled the serviettes
And I must have things daintily served.

Are the requisites all in the toilet?
The frills round the outlets can wait
Till the girl has replenished the cruets
And switched on the logs in the grate. (159)⁴

⁴ See Mitford, Nancy, Alan S. C. Ross et al. *Noblesse oblige: an enquiry into the identifiable characteristics of the English aristocracy*. London: H. Hamilton, 1956, p. 159.

I could stop to explain the cleverness of the solecisms the Poet Laureate-to-be has piled up, and linger on the pitch-perfect yet hyperbolic class inflections of the chosen turns of phrase, but the point that I want to make is different: for all the larkiness of the Mitford crowd, and all the mock solemnity with which the contributors took on Prof Ross's linguistic analysis of English snobbish dicta, it remains the case that for my Italian mother, as for entrants to any society, the gates of language are policed by these anxieties. The Mitford sophisticates inculcated a sense of *comme il faut* – of what one of them dubbed “posh lingo” – that still commands my tongue, even now. I can still feel the grip of these shibboleths, and it shames me that I do so because I would like to shake off my father's pretensions, my mother's acquired snobbishness, their combined identification with an elite. Whereas the Biblical story about exclusion and massacre turns on pronunciation, social borders are still being erected through the invisible boundaries within language: the words we choose to use declare our affiliations, unconsciously as well as consciously. Yet, in spite of my sense of solidarity with those among my peers and friends who are opposed to the English class system, I don't – I can't – use the word “settee” for a sofa, or the word “sweet” as a noun, instead of “pudding”, or “pardon” instead of sorry.

IV.

Codes can also be invented, private, intelligible only to those initiated and admitted. These forms of Englishes are sometimes called creoles: hybridised, or, “chutnified”, as Salman Rushdie dramatizes with high good humour in *Midnight's Children*.

The private languages may develop into cant, as in thieves' cant, or Cockney rhyming slang. Prisoners, slaves, gang members, sailors – subcultures and underworlds of one kind or another develop their ways of speech, alongside their tattoos – shibboleths that include some and exclude others. “Polari”, from the

It continues:

It's ever so close in the lounge dear,
But the vestibule's comfy for tea
And Howard is riding on horseback
So do come and take some with me

Now here is a fork for your pastries
And do use the couch for your feet;
I know that I wanted to ask you—
Is trifle sufficient for sweet?

Milk and then just as it comes dear?
I'm afraid the preserve's full of stones;
Beg pardon, I'm soiling the doileys
With afternoon tea-cakes and scones.

Italian *parlare*, to talk, is the name of a language used by circus and fairground folk and gays, which used to be very clandestine indeed, but has come to more attention recently. In France, *beur*, (phonetic play on *arabe*) is backwards argot spoken by families from Maghreb or North African origins. In a piece called *Polari*, the Australian aboriginal artist Christian Thompson turns to sound in order to regain the effaced culture of his Bidjara forebears: listening-in to their lost language becomes, an intimate ritual he enacts as he seeks to reanimate and repossess lost knowledge. Virginia Woolf used to delight her nieces by talking to them in their own private language she called “witcherina-pixerina”.

In the absence of other possessions and privileges, you can belong to a language and it can be your own prize possession, a proud badge of identity. “Thou shalt not speak my language”, as the Moroccan writer Abdelfattah Kilito, has called a book about his Arabic and French bilingualism. The *Polari* sequence warns us that Thompson has a language of his own which we can overhear but not fully understand: something is being withheld, by contrast to the imposed and implacable exposure of those data collections of the scientific past.

Seamus Heaney was always highly aware that he was an Irish poet who wrote in English – though he knew Gaelic, and he reflected on his divided loyalties and feelings from many angles. In an essay in *Finders Keepers*, called “Through-Other Places, Through-Other Times: The Irish Poet and Britain”,⁵ he explores *through-other* which in Northern Ireland means “physically untidy or mentally confused... meaning things mixed up in themselves” (366). Heaney rejects any tinge of criticism, adopting *through-other* as an axiom to live by. He struggled throughout the most violent convulsions of the Troubles to keep faith with his multiple inheritances – Catholic, Irish, Ulster, English, farming, scholarship, manual labour, literature, masculinity, femininity – and at the level of language itself, registered their dissonance as honestly as he could, keeping the hum of the Irish in his ear as he was writing in English, and sounding the Anglo Saxon of Beowulf and the Scots of Robert Henryson in his translations/revisions. He opens the essay on the Through Other quoting from his compatriot, the poet W.R. Rodgers, who declared, “my father’s slower way of talk/that had the native tint of wonder in it/ To soften it....” (Heaney 365). He rightly recognises a touch of winsomeness in Rodgers’ remembrance of Ulster voices, and presses on to affirm something more prickly, harsher: that being at several removes from nativity and from ethnic origins – i.e. being Irish but writing in English and resident in America to boot – as was the case for Heaney for many years – can be fruitful for writing poetry and for doing the work that literature can do: to take us deeper into ourselves and our relations with one another. He underscores here the work of language as a pattern of sounds- like birdsong, animal cries and whimpers, chimpanzee chest-thumping:

⁵ ‘Through-Other Places, Through-Other Times: The Irish Poet and Britain’, lecture held at University of Aberdeen, Feb 2001; in: Seamus Heaney. *Finders Keepers*. London: Faber, 2002, pp. 364-382.

It is not only a poem's explicit personal concerns and paraphraseable content that need attending to. A précis of the content, for example, takes no account of the literary echoes and allusions which can be fundamental to its poetic energy. In a poem, words, phrases, cadences and images are linked in to systems of affect and significations which elude the précis maker. These *under-ear activities*, as they might be termed, may well constitute the most important business which the poem is up to and are more a matter of the erotics of language than the politics and polemics of the moment. (373)

Under-ear activities mean that the sound of different Englishes become places of memory, more intensely than what you say. You can be an orphan alone in the world but your brogue will let others know where you belong. Your brogue gives you your new bearings, and helps others recognise you. It seems to me that while this mark of identity has been used to divide people and kill them, it does not have to be so, but could be a cause for celebration – a way of not losing altogether the places of your past. I believe that many writers of English are moving in this direction... multiplying the variety of brogues on the page.

The current growth of multilingual communities, nested inside societies of migratory labour such as the Gulf states, the United States, and much of Europe's great cities, has made distinctive brogues a common feature of the contemporary sound landscape: North Africans and West Africans and Middle Easterners (Lebanese) speaking French are fluent – indeed it may be their first language – but their voices have a particular tune. An accent is different in one salient way: it usually signifies a second language acquired later in life, a way of saying certain consonants and inflecting the words that differs from a native speaker.

The writer Kei Miller, who was born in Jamaica in 1978, is an award-winning poet and novelist, and now lives in Glasgow where he teaches at the University. His linguistic map is far-flung, an orchestra of sounds – a “sonic atlas” in itself, to use a phrase another poet, Caroline Bergvall, has adopted for the title of her current work in progress – which I'll come back to. Kei Miller faces the issue of English being the language of the former colonists by minting his own eloquent variety of literary dialect.

Later in that fine essay on Through-Otherness, Heaney who struggled all his life to make literature strong enough to help, expresses his credo: “But”, says the poem, “maybe it's better to outface it [reality], to think again, to miss a beat and skip a step, to get into a new stride and call a new tune” (378).

Kei Miller has taken up this challenge. He includes an epigraph to *The Last Warner Woman*, a poem by Grace Nichols, herself an immigrant long ago settled in Sussex. Her poem is called “Hurricane Hits England”, and it springs from a storm that did indeed make a landing on the south coast where she lives. But the storm is possessed by the old gods of Africa who are also old words and sounds and the lines perform a conjuration about language itself.

And it goes:

Talk to me Huracan
Talk to me Oya
Talk to me Shango

And Hattie,
My sweeping back-home cousin.

Tell me why you visit
An English coast?
What is the meaning
Of old tongues
Reaping havoc
In new places?⁶

Kei Miller has chosen to place it at the beginning of his novel because *The Last Warner Woman* resuscitates an erased figure – he imagining a lost mother consigned to a mental hospital, and reviving the sound of her Jamaican speech from the English on the page. The rhythm, syntax make an English music that is new to the ears of readers of... well, Iris Murdoch or before her, George Eliot. Skilfully, as well as poignantly, Kei Miller draws us into the prose poetry of the mother's story.

V.

For Emilia Terzulli in the 1940s, the English she acquired consisted of a treacherous, largely concealed set of passwords to a society she had joined on marriage; for Thompson, the choice of linguistic homeland moves him towards redress of history in his people's story. By contrast, Caroline Bergvall, who is Norwegian on her father's side and French on her mother's, has adopted English as her language and London as her home, and explores her own chosen *dépaysement* through mapping territories of language and sounds in her work. The acoustic maps she is creating sets up resistance to the losses and fissures that are reducing linguistic richness and attenuating collective belonging in the riven circumstances of global war and disasters. She is, if you like, trying to countermand the spread of Globish, and reinvigorate and pay tribute to creoles from everywhere. She recognises "... the extent of the negative and destructive hold language can have on us. And this, of course, applies to all sorts of majoritarian or segregational histories. So it is crucial and really exciting to me that a writer's language can both release these and also create new linguistic connections and emotional fields. Renewed worlds" (Heisler).

Her writings press hard to make her strikes harmonics off other cultures and their linguistic expressions, and she revels in those parts of speech that might elude, one might imagine, robotic recognition software: "the materiality of voice, its tics, spit, accent, errors" (Heisler). *Drift* (2014) is a multi-layered work of poetry, prose and graphics, and it closes with a meditative essay on Bergvall's motives and sources, including impassioned passages on linguistics and phonetics, staking a claim through language to a vision of the past and to a way of belonging

⁶ Epigraph to Miller, Kei, *The Last Warner Woman* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2010).

here and now. She mediates on a distinctive sound that exists in Norwegian, and survives in English, which is notoriously tricky if not impossible for foreigners to pronounce: *th*. It used to have its own letter, originally a runic sign: the thorn.



Bergvall writes “I went looking for my Nordic roots in the English language and found this sign. A *p* attached to a long stick, or a type of hoop. Apparently, my Norwegian folks were island pastors and seamen from the south-eastern part of the country. ... For centuries [the thorn sign] had remained a known and useful figure in Anglo-Saxon manuscript culture before landing itself in the political upheavals and technological revolution of early print culture. The mechanical vicissitudes of the thornless German letterpress used by Caxton and others had in effect finally put a stop to it” (177). For Bergvall, this simplification erases a difference – between voiceless *th* as in *through* and *thick* and voiced *th* as in other words such as *fathom* and the definite article “*the*” – and she deplores this as another vanishing of specificity, the burial of marks of identity and origin. But she also points out that these sounds figure crucially in our pronunciation – and prove the biggest stumbling blocks for speakers if they don’t acquire English when very young. “At any rate, it is no small wonder that this “theta” sound finds substitutes such as the short voiceless sibilant /s/ or the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ not only in its language variants but especially among late learners of the language, for whom it remains a vexing and more of less chronic obstruction” (181).

Bergvall has elected not to be at home in the world, and has taken on another country, another language – needless to say, these are privileges very few migrants enjoy. But it’s a decision which cast her where she wanted to be – in a fugitive state: the writer “mines language for what is always moving, always escaping.” “I had to be unhomed”, she says, “or to accept my own unhoming, in order to make myself a home, and so I have a soft spot for accents and what they tell of your journey.” She wished, she says, ‘to create and to invent my textual and sexual identity away from any familial languages. My ‘stextual’ identity became my grounding. I am placed in the position of a stranger to this language before me” (Heisler).

The sound of *th* in spoken English escapes almost all foreigners, no matter how well they know the language. On my mother’s lips, it would always sound like the *t* in *tarantella*, but it didn’t exclude her, because she knew not to say *pardon*.

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GENDERED IDENTITIES

SINGING THE BODY ELECTRIC A MATERIALIST FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON POSTHUMAN SENSUALITY IN JEANETTE WINTERSON'S *THE STONE GODS*

Cristina Diamant
PhD Candidate, "Babeş-Bolyai" University Cluj-Napoca, Romania

*Desires are political and politics begins with our desires.
(Braidotti 2002:41)*

ABSTRACT: The present paper discusses the implications of the sensual formational experience which allows Spike, the Robo Sapiens reduced to a head in Jeanette Winterson's *The Stone Gods*, to reclaim her corporeality and escape her subaltern condition as an emerging consciousness.

KEYWORDS: cyborg, embodied consciousness, feminist materialism, met(r)amorphoses.

Modernity, loyal to the Cartesian tradition, framed the posthuman as the fortunate life of pure consciousness unhindered and unlimited by corporeality. As such, it desired to leave desire itself behind. The desire to see the emerging other not "of woman born" (Luce Irigaray) but wholly formed within the bounds of the Law of the Father can be traced back to medieval theology highlighting that Christ was born, not made divine (i.e. invulnerable to mistakes) yet human (i.e. bodily vulnerable). The image of the cyborg is usually negotiated between the hope for the Messianic that upholds the Law and the representation of a would-be anti-Christ bringing about destruction upon humanity. Such wishful thinking is contradicted at every turn by our unbridled need for "cyborgs as junior siblings" in a 'much bigger, queer family of companion species' (Haraway 2004: 300), generating fear in the face of self-regulating cyborgs who would have no incentive to keep us around. Such antropocentric anxiety can only be assuaged by shifting the paradigm entirely. Postmodern cyborgs no longer aspire to be pure Artificial Intelligence with no footing in this world: Haraway's cyborg, as Anne Balsamo (1996) notes, fuses the materially-constructed body with the discursive one.

Contemporary science fiction itself seems less and less preoccupied with the binaries of old. Teresa de Lauretis traces its movement from the concern with the possibility of a future utopia or dystopia to heterotopias. Both reflecting and provoking a sense of unease, the new worlds to be explored co-exist and serve to undermine the unitary position of the subject. Such a subject is monstrous, embodying the negative difference that haunts us. Unsurprisingly, this is what

made it the ideal target for acts of “metaphysical cannibalism”. The reconstructed universal subject fed on such excluded others to define itself against them. Rather than pitting posthuman against human to side with one or another, more recent narratives turn to the third space, that of their interrelation. It is here that a reader may often observe what the German philosopher Günther Anders terms “Promethean shame” in *The Obsolescence of Man* (Anders in Hauskeller 42). When comparing ourselves with creations that surpass our own abilities, there is a sense of inadequacy experienced once the born is recognised to not be intrinsically better than the made. We, too, can long to be (re)made.

Jeanette Winterson’s novel *The Stone Gods* explores the relationship between seemingly unrelated forms of matter as Billie the scientist, ostensibly paralleled by Billy Crusoe, and Spike the *Robo Sapiens*, the new Spikkers, become involved with each other and as the narrative goes from one timeline to another. Cartesian disdain for the body is replaced with a vitalist and non-essentialist Spinozian perspective as “[w]hen I touch her, my fingers don’t question what she is. My body knows who she is” (Winterson 107). Such contemporary monism draws on post-Lacanian Deleuzian materialism of the body, which is now defined as “a pre-reflexive re-collection of embodied matter” (Braidotti 2002: 72), similar to Spinoza’s *conatus*. Living matter yearns not to be but to become and to go on becoming. Transcendentalism is rejected to be replaced by relational ontology and radical immanence. This is no place for structures based on the opposition between surface and depth, between the external and the internal. It is a rhizomatic world of becomings that circulate nomadically. Matter itself is one. The main drive is the pursuit of affirmation, the ontological desire to express its innermost freedom.

Such a neomaterialist turn needs to be contextualised. As a fourth challenge to anthropocentrism, it comes in the wake of the cultural turns provoked by Copernicus, Darwin, and Freud. The newest form of displacement of the human from the centre forces us to acknowledge the secret life of machines (Haraway and Schneider 139). Cognition is no longer the be-all and end-all of *Neuromancer*, where the posthuman body was characterised as “data made flesh” (Gibson 5). As Donna Haraway points out, whereas the cyborg’s plasticity is outstanding, making the posthuman be nothing short of “ether, quintessence,” humans are “nowhere near so fluid, being both material and opaque” (Haraway 1991: 152). An understanding of embodied and embedded materialism is needed to understand their symbiotic relationship while avoiding “both a hyped-up disembodiment and fantasies of escape, and a re-essentialized, centralized notion of liberal individualism” (Braidotti 2002: 258). The first error relies on a socially-induced association between women and machines as objects of desire that compete for male attention. Neomaterialism switches the focus to desiring machines that are “disturbingly lively” (Haraway 1991: 152).

The unease generated by a female posthuman body is discussed by Rosi Braidotti in “Is Metal to Flesh like Masculine to Feminine?” (2003), highlighting how the “treacherous” female *res extensa* had to be separated from the rational male *res cogitans*. Perhaps not surprisingly, male science fiction authors tend to

demonise the body while female authors embrace it. The desire for *autarkeia* is taken to its unthinkable limit. Hans Moravec's ideas of somatic sollubility and uploading human consciousness are ridiculed by Donna Haraway as "a kind of techno-masculinism of a self-caricaturing kind" (Haraway 2006: 146). Nevertheless, Winterson's novel exposes the reluctance to renounce bodily pleasures in practice as Spike nonchalantly tells Billie that part of her mission for three years involved pleasing the spacemen and that she used up three silicon-lined vaginas in the process. Billie's outrage at Spike being used for satisfaction despite being the most advanced crew member is met with the cyborg shrugging it off as being part and parcel of her experience of womanhood.

The second timeline, where Spike is no longer given a body, is no less prone to sexualising the emergent other. Despite only being a talking head on TV, she is made to look striking: "clear skin, green eyes, dark hair. She has no body because she won't need one. She is a perfect head on a titanium plate" (Winterson 158). While she does not have a (full) body in the strict sense, she still has one that permits people to project their desires unto her, as her misadventure in Wreck City indicates. Interestingly, whereas in the first timeline she was grotesquely reduced from a full body to a head to preserve her functions in the face of certain death, in the second timeline she excitedly discovers that, as a head, she is capable of performing oral sex and of understanding the human body by observing how the limbic takes precedence before the neural. While it would be easy to disregard it as primitive and unnecessary, it is an instinct she has to become familiar with to enrich her understanding and experience of the world: "She has no blood. She can't give birth. Her hair and nails don't grow. She doesn't eat or drink. She is solar-powered. She has learned how to cry." (Winterson 48). While Paul MacLean's model of the triune brain permeates the novel and is instrumental in marking the stages of Spike's development, it is worth mentioning that such a neat demarcation has since been disproven as a reductionist approach to otherwise intertwined and non-localised functions. The hippocampus, believed by MacLean to be the residence of the Freudian id, is actually remarkable for its cognitive function, contributing to memory formation, with the connections between the hippocampus and the neocortex being more or less reciprocal (Ledoux 53). The brain itself may be a Deleuzian body-without-organs, even less Molar and more molecular (Deleuze and Guattari) than previously assumed. Spike is at the same time an instance of a meta(l)morphosis or becoming-machine and of a successful "met(r)amorphosis" or "the becoming-thresholds of borderlines" (Lichtenberg in Braidotti 2002: 142). Her body remains riddled with contradictions as a codified bio-social entity. Her becoming-woman (Deleuze and Guattari) is a qualitative multiplicity that unfolds the possibility of such other becomings, demanding accountability for the minoritarian.

The disdain felt for the body as a scaffold once consciousness is achieved merits attention.

In a sense, it is not unlike that of the literate looking down on those who still need to turn to subvocalising as a reading aid. However, this implicit hierarchy

takes for granted an image of agency as pure code that can no longer benefit from such scaffolding. Having a body exposes us to the limits of one's existence imposed by time and space, nudging us towards narratives as a tool to make sense of the world. Alex Argyros has suggested that storytelling itself may be an evolutionary adaptation as it stresses causality, meaningful temporal sequence, as well as the interrelation between environment and behavior, permitting us to (re)construct our own Theory of Mind that allows us to hypothesize how others may be experiencing their being-in-the-world (Haney 197). If narrative construction fails for one reason or another, the world is seen as bewildering and inexplicable; Simon Baron-Cohen suggests that this is how autistic people experience the world. For the posthuman to be able to relate to humans, it would seem that it needs a body to push it towards telling its story. Moreover, what if the body is instrumental to a continuous development, much the same way subvocalising a poem helps understanding it by indulging in its sensuality? Unlike the disembodied AI, the cyborg can claim along with Walt Whitman to be singing the body electric, seeing corporeality not as an unnecessary contamination but as interconnected, even consubstantial with one's self. Terratological techno-imaginary and cyber-feminism collide in this play with the contours of the corporeal, as the "body electric" can point both to the cyborg's becoming-machine and to the unrestrained sensuality, as these affects intersect. The subject is no longer atomized but relational, identity being formed through the very act of desiring to be(come).

As Spike learns how to pick apart the various representations through which to structure her sense of self, she becomes increasingly aware of the trappings of power both in its constrictive, reactive sense of *potestas* and the enabling, active sense of *potentia*. This is an inherently politically-invested action that engages with social operational fictions and figurations. The subject itself, caught between all these, requires cultural mediation and negotiates its freedom by fashioning itself limited by its own fantasy (Slavoj Žižek). The fantasy, similar to Julia Kristeva's abject, cannot be integrated into the symbolic structure as its very function is to resist said assimilation. The subject is split, marked by a creative void at its core that indicates its spectral unsubstantiality. Within such a logic, the "I am" of science fiction becomes a confession of being haunted by a lack or, in other words, "'I' am simultaneously constructed by the introduction of desire and by the failure of it" (Kear 183).

Science fiction's exploration of the spectral subject, here a Derridean monstre-revenant, is necessary despite Baudrillard's assertion that we are already living in science fiction, having lost all referentiality (Baudrillard 36). Fact and fiction need not be mutually exclusive. As Donna Haraway points out, they are etymologically connected so that fact, as the past participle, indicates the already done, while fiction speaks of what is still in the making (Haraway 2006: 153). It is a fact that there are current attempts at both refining AI and at creating more lifelike sexbots. Fiction can help us understand the reasoning behind both. Given our understanding of the body as resource rather than agent, we may never have really been "human"

as Donna Haraway holds and, even more dramatically, we may have always been cyborg, as Andy Clark asserts. Hybrids such as Spike are all the more intriguing if we consider the possibility of being “consummated without the intrusion of silicon and wire into flesh and blood, as anyone who has felt himself thinking via the act of writing already knows” (Clark 5). Thinking through the body, not through a flight away from it, puts us in line with the neomaterialism of the flesh upheld by Bachelard, Canguilhem, Foucault, Irigaray or Deleuze, observing a “‘non-unitary’, split, in-process, knotted, rhizomatic, transitional, nomadic subject” (Braidotti 2002: 5). However, the power of one’s body is, as already mentioned, not always enabling. The restrictive aspect is highlighted by Filippo Marinetti and Arnaldo Ginna when speaking of the machine seen both as a sexualised vessel under the control of the subject and a possible phallic extension. At once, the (becoming-)machine is both seen as a prosthetic prolongation and a desired lover to be held under control. In both cases, it assumes a subaltern position that supersedes any of its other located identities. Controlling Spike’s narrative is exposed to be a way of restricting her to the role of a (scape)goat spliced with a sacrificial lamb, as I have shown elsewhere (Diamant 108).

Even as the posthuman is the focus, the backdrop of (trans)human characters is not to be underestimated in terms of importance. Most people, unlike Billie, opt for genetic reversal, wanting to be “fixed” at an age and appearance deemed attractive. The new normality, defining the zero-degree of monstrosity, expels to its margins both Billie and Spike. The interspecies affair between the two is another experiment in the logic of sameness and otherness performed by Jeanette Winterson, after she already worked towards de-gendering characters, most notably in *Written on the Body*, and in having a narrator submerged into the matrix in *The PowerBook*. Spike, while fashioned more in the likeness of a monstrous Lamia than of a Virago (Einersen and Nixon), is more interested in the particularity of her desire for Billie than in ascribing it to one category or another as “[g]ender is a human concept, and not interesting. I want to kiss you” (Winterson 76).

Spike’s plasticity astonishes Billie herself. The *Robo sapiens* is not a “machine for re-use” despite its inability to forget even when depleted of data precisely because “I am not a machine” (Winterson 23) once the limits to which she could evolve were broken. While computer memory is by and large representational, unable to interact reciprocally with its environment, human memory is capable of adapting so as to preserve the subject (Edelman 52). Drawing on the TNGS (theory of neural group selection), Gerald Edelman distinguishes between “primary consciousness,” based on the “interaction of value-category memory with systems of perceptual categorization” (Edelman 180) and “higher-order consciousness,” defined as meta-consciousness. Spike, awaiting death in the first timeline, dismembers herself while remembering, being aware that she is aware of all that she has lost. As Katherine Hayles points out, the quest for “re-memory” is one where the speaker has to re-member the incorporeal flows of information so as to reveal what had to be elided to make information become pure data by losing its body. Past and present bodies interrogate one another to

inform Spike's sense of self as she learns to process representations of representations.

Even so, lust or love did not come naturally to Spike. Captain Handsome, the freelance space privateer, taught her everything about desire while making use of Shakespeare and the Romantics, paralleling Frankenstein's monster's learning about vice and virtue from *Paradise Lost*. The puppet becomes a desiring machine, no longer innocent of consequences. Such a process ironically parallels the mechanization of the worker who can no longer afford the time to cultivate affects, only to be later replaced by the machine. The gendered posthuman is aware of the productive value of such human faculties, finding their study worthwhile. Spike and Billie's relationship developed after Spike had been Captain Handsome's partner, approaches Irigaray's model of tactical homosexuality that harkens back to a model of pre-oedipal pleasure without presenting it as a definite substitute for heterosexuality. After all, gender is all but irrelevant to Spike. Time, however, is not and having a non-fixed lover is a lesson in the "precarious life" (Judith Butler). Ursula K. Le Guin's short story "The Poacher", a variation of the Sleeping Beauty tale, illustrates the wish fulfilment rejected by Billie and desired by the likes of Manfred and Pink. The young boy never saves the kingdom but chooses to live out the rest of his life enjoying all the splendours of the palace. The food is always fresh and he carelessly takes advantage of the forever young sleeping maidens, careful not to kiss the princess lest the curse would be undone. Billie, despite being a scientist for the MORE corporation, strikes the reader as a bioconservative that wishes to unfreeze time whereas Pink, as a transhumanist, would eliminate risk entirely. Spike's choice in a partner is significant. She has evolved past needing humans, being "solar-powered and self-repairing[,] intelligent and non-aggressive. You could learn from us" (Winterson 45) but, to complete her understanding of love, she must understand what it is like to risk abandonment and death. To gain freedom, she must turn her gaze upon those who are vulnerable because of it.

If cyborgs are to interpellate us and shatter the human-centred worldview with other affects, their latent sensuality is to be talked about. While Spike "has no limbic system because she is not designed to feel emotion" (Winterson 48), she nevertheless manages to met(r)amorphose as she recognizes that she is subjected to ongoing transformation. Unwilling to be a comforting companion species, she remains inquisitive and curious. With Braidotti, the reader, too, may ask "[s]o what if this new subject looks, feels and sounds unusual? S/he is monstrous, mixed, hybrid, beautiful and, guess what...? S/he is laughing!" (Braidotti 2002: 263). The modernist vision of the machine as a harmonious assembly of parts tirelessly and unquestioningly working towards a socially desirable result is replaced by the vision of the nomadic desiring machine. Lost in Wreck City, she learns the principle of non-profit and turns "unruly, disorderly, cacophonous, non-productive or sterile" (Braidotti 2002: 266), a machine exalting the gratuitous. As such, she is all the better suited to criticize the human greed that destroyed Orbus as she now resists accumulation in favour of dissipative structures of gratuitous self-expression. Such creative wastefulness interrupts or silences Billie either with Spike's own

commentaries or with her technobody's exuberant sexuality which is recreative not procreative. Were she to have a take on the Cartesian cogito, it would be a decisive "desidero ergo sum" (Braidotti 2002: 20).

Stories such as *The Stone Gods*, which bring to the forefront figurations of alternative feminist subjectivity such as the lesbian, the cyborg, and the inappropriate(d) other are important since they serve to make the reader accountable for one's locations by expressing "materially embedded cartographies and as such [they] are self-reflexive and not parasitic upon a process of metaphorization of 'others'" (Braidotti 2002: 30). Self-reflexivity is shown to be an interactive ongoing process aided by one's awareness of corporeality rather than an individual quasi-disembodied activity. The unity of matter highlighted by Winterson's layered story is exposed to be no God-given essence. Such a commonality includes difference and, in Judith Butler's vein, it is postulated upon acting in concert rather than in conformity. Consequently, it is a fictional(ised) choreography that takes into account the multiple levels of sensory experience. To be(come-)subject is to desire to know, to speak, to act in concert with one's body.

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HERSELF, HIMSELF

CONSTRUCTIONS OF SELFHOOD IN ALICE MUNRO'S SELECTED STORIES

Monika Koşa

PhD Candidate, "Babeş-Bolyai" University Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: Starting from the premise that Munro's fiction encompasses issues larger than life and that gender and identity are ever-changing notions, the present paper aims to explore the complex articulation of gendered identities in Alice Munro's collected stories. Focusing on particular tales from the collection, I will examine representations of identity that problematize the borderline between self and otherness.

KEYWORDS: otherness, gender, selfhood, eccentricity, (extra)ordinary, sexuality, outsider(ness).

The success of Alice Munro, one of Canada's most beloved and appraised writers, has been continual since the publication of her first short story collection, *Dance of the Happy Shades*, in 1968. During her long career, Alice Munro has won several distinguished Canadian and international literary prizes: The Man Booker International Prize, the Canadian Governor General's Literary Award (1968, 1978, 1986) among others. She was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2013 and she is regarded as unequalled "master of the contemporary short story". Alice Munro's distinct prose is unique in the Canadian landscape.

Alice Munro was born and grew up in the city of Manitoba, Canada in 1936, but she moved to British Columbia with her first husband, then later in her life she returned again to Manitoba where she now lives and writes. The rustic setting of her birthplace occupies a central position in her stories and can be perceived as one of the trademarks of her fiction. The reader is absorbed into the Canadian small-town setting, its typical locations ranging from the turkey-gutting factories to remote houses, isolated from the rest of the community, Munro sees and writes it all. The remoteness of the background can be correlated with the motif of survival, the central element in Canadian literature, according to Margaret Atwood who considers that every nation's literature has a core concept that functions as a main symbol. England is associated with The Island, America with The Frontier, while Canada's quintessential trope is Survival (*Survival* 31-32).

Alice Munro focuses on the Canadian quest for survival. The background of this quest is the Canadian small-town with its closed community:

[...] the fictions of Canada's greatest short story writer are tied to specific geographical locations, for Munro is fascinated by local history and geography and her stories offer social maps of small town life in rural Ontario [...]. (Howells 1)

According to Atwood, Munro “anatomizes” her land the same way as Faulkner does with Yoknapatawpha:

Through Munro’s fiction, Sowesto’s Huron County has joined Faulkner’s Yoknapatawpha County as a slice of land made legendary by the excellence of the writer who has celebrated it, though in both cases ‘celebrated’ is not quite the right word. ‘Anatomized’ might be closer to what goes on in the work of Munro, though even that term is too clinical. (*Introduction* 8)

Anatomized indeed seems an encompassing word that captures the depth and precision of Munro’s fiction: every word is shadowed by a hidden sense, every action may have unexpected consequences, every character is just...not what she or he seems to be. Reading Munro always leaves the reader with a sense of wanting more, knowing that there is something more, something that is suggested but not explicitly stated.

The same process of anatomization occurs at the protagonists’ level: they are dissected and celebrated in their complex web of emotions and feelings. This process occurs differently with women and men. Gender plays a crucial role in the stories and it delimitates clearly the boundaries between selfhood and otherness. Mostly women experience otherness, whereas men are not labelled as eccentrics or outsiders even if they fail to comply with social conventions.

In other words, gender is as significant in her fiction as the “celebrated” land that serves as setting in most of the stories. According to Coral Ann Howells, “gender awareness” is definitely one of the “distinctive features” of Alice Munro’s fiction (qtd. in Filipczak 13). The tales from *Selected Stories* explore the limits of traditional gender roles and some stories problematize issues such as the ever-present mother-daughter relationship. The toxic and ambiguous aspects of this relationship are closely connected to the tensions that exist between women mostly due to their role in traditional societies and to the conflicts that arise from not fulfilling those roles. The female characters’ ritualistic process of “getting loose” (Keller 103) is a cathartic experience that coincides with the discovery of the feminine self and its acceptance regardless of social constraints and dogmas.

The first edition of *Selected Stories* appeared in 1996 and it comprises Munro’s best work up to that date of its publication, masterpieces that brought her the well-deserved attention and critical praise. Most of the stories depict “the ordinary made marvelous in its distinctness and the abundance of its life” (Carscallen 660). The (extra)mundane is (de)constructed as the story unfolds and the reader is transposed to a liminal space where the real and the fantastic coexist. Set against the backdrop of a liminal rustic environment, Munro’s protagonists struggle against their own limitations and repressed sexuality. Margaret Atwood comments that the characters’ “battle for authenticity is waged most significantly in the field of sex” (9).

In a society that imposes limitations on its members, these outsider figures emanate highly sexual desires through their acts and words in a concealed yet symbolic manner. All these actions can be perceived as acts of resistance to an imposed identity. The narrator presents a universe that is highly erotic: “the Munro

social world—like most societies in which silence and secrecy are the norms in sexual matters—carries a high erotic charge”. As far as sex is concerned, the traditional societies from Munro’s fictional worlds have clearly delimited boundaries that separate decency and depravity. Sex is definitely considered a shameful act. The “erotic charge” springing from repressed sexuality “extends like a neon penumbra around each character, illuminating landscapes, rooms, and objects” (Atwood 9).

Sexuality can indeed be connected to gender identity and self-awareness. As the narrator depicts the process of gutting the turkeys in *The Turkey Season*, suggestive phrases like “[...] put your hand in” (37) can indeed have a double-meaning. The female narrator is aware of the sexual hints and the built-up tension releases with a change in focus. By playing with the conventions of sexuality, the narrator from *The Turkey Season* comments on different typologies of men:

Some men, showing me the testicles from the turkey, would have acted as if the very existence of testicles were somehow a bad joke on me, something a girl could be taunted about; another sort of man would have been embarrassed and would have thought he had to protect me from embarrassment. (Munro 37)

Patrick, from *The Beggar Maid*, illustrates the second typology of maleness. The ultimate winner is the female character, Rose, who consciously “had turned herself into a damsel in distress” (25) by complaining to Patrick about a man who had touched her bare leg. Rose appears as a manipulative *femme fatale*, while Patrick becomes a mocked beggar man. Amidst exploring themes like “guilt, duplicity, and the surrender of control” (Duncan 160) in *The Beggar Maid*, Munro also plays with the traditional gender typologies. In these stories, as in all of Munro’s stories, sex is implicit, and not explicitly described:

A rumpled bed says more, in the hands of Munro than any graphic in-out, in-out depiction of genitalia ever could. Even if a story is not primarily about a love affair or sexual encounter, men and women are always aware of one another as men and women, positively or negatively, recognizing sexual attraction and curiosity or else sexual revulsion. Women are immediately attuned to the sexual power of other women, and are wary of it, or envious. Men show off and preen and flirt and seduce and compete. (Atwood 9)

The allusive phrases and seemingly random words or phrases inserted in the narrative further enhance “the erotic charge”. Sex can be perceived as a site of confrontation, or rather, an unconscious drive that manifests differently in men and women. In this sense, the traditional perceptions of men and women are preferred. As Atwood notices: women’s sexuality is concealed, while men prefer to adopt an open seducer attitude (10). One may even state that a “woman’s desire would not be expected to speak the same language as man’s” because a “woman’s desire has doubtless been submerged by the logic that has dominated the West since the time of the Greek” (Irigaray 25).

Women’s desire speaks a silent language in most cases (Rose, in *The Beggar Maid*, is unable to articulate her sexual desires, while Jarvis from *Meneseteung*

openly displays his virility). Nevertheless, to generalize this tendency in Munro's fiction would be fallacious, since her stories also illustrate highly sexual *femmes fatales* and "beggar men", sensitized men who do not meet society's masculine standard.

Another characteristic of Munro's fiction is the presence of blunt revelations, an unexpected turn of events, shocking endings. Atwood notices that unexpectedness in a familiar setting is one the key-features of the Munrovia literary geography (9).

The tense clash between the "natural world" and the "social garrison of conventionality" is a recurring theme that seems to obsess the narrator of the stories (Pfaus 7). This tension is also reflected in the construction of her protagonists: in gender-related situations, Munro places at the center of her stories mostly women in the role of outcasts, outsiders, eccentrics who defy social expectations. These liminal figures illustrate the complexity of human nature beyond social stigmatization.

Many of Munro's stories deal with the exclusion of these liminal figures. Brad Hooper uses the phrase "outsider consciousness" to designate their relationship with society, the others and themselves. These characters "frequently feel, [they] are outside the mainstream in socioeconomic". Besides, the theme of outsiderhood is often associated with women and womanhood: "the outsider theme is often played out in gender situations: girls and women who don't want to practice/perform traditional female roles" (Hooper 163).

These women are the rebels who refuse to be part of an oppressing tradition. They "experience exclusion in several combined senses" (Carrington 209) and suffer from spiritual dislocation. Hooper warns that "they are not so much in rebellion against accepted practices as simply uninterested" (163). Indeed, Almeda Joynt Roth from *Meneseteung* does not directly resist society's impositions. She decides to escape in the world of poetry from the "danger and depravity and foul smells and disgusting sights" (Munro 87), and art becomes an excuse for her eccentricity. Women, such as Almeda, "stand outside, looking in, but not willing to be part of the accepted 'crowd'" (Hooper 163).

Royal Beatings deals with another form of otherness. It explores, at length, the recurrent theme of the mother-daughter relationship. In this particular story, domestic abuse and silencing of women are two important topics. The story is the setting of what Irigaray refers to as "highly explosive nucleus of emotions" (qtd. in Howells 20). The ambivalence of the mother-daughter connection is further complicated by the presence of the controlling father. The figure of the father represents the phallogocentric force whose presence acts as a silencing imperative.

Royal Beatings depicts a universe governed by a mixture of violence and concealment. In this world, gender determines the protagonists' fate and their status. The post-Victorian setting clearly favours men: Rose's brother, Brian, is never punished; instead, "he runs away, out the woodshed door, to do as he likes. Being a boy, free to help or not, involve himself or not. Not committed to the household struggle" (17).

In *Meneseteung*, the focus is on Almeda Joynt Roth, a local “poetess”, whose poems implement romantic motifs such as loss, death, nature. Almeda is symbolically cast out from society and ridiculed “in a place that needs women to be partnered and fruitful” (85). The isomorphism is a central feature of Munro’s fictional map: Almeda is in the same spiritual and isolated entrapment as her environment, but this form of isomorphism exists only as long as she is labeled an eccentric. Furthermore, on a concrete spatial level, women are associated with decorated houses and flowers, whereas men are expected to live without embellishments whatsoever.

In *Meneseteung*, Munro marks the transition from the portrait of the artist to the portrait of the female artist in a small-town setting. Metaphorically, Almeda’s art transitions from an Apollonian Weltanschauung to a chaotic Dionysiac vision and this process also marks the symbolic reaching of her Self. Munro captures, with subtle irony, the hypocrisy of those who accuse her, but, ultimately, Almeda gets illuminated knowing that “stars and flowers and birds and trees and angels in the snow and dead children at twilight – that is not the half of it” (87).

The final realization places her in a superior position which is the climax of her evolution as a character. Moreover, this metamorphosis also coincides with Almeda’s newly attained freedom symbolized by the flowing menstrual blood, emblematic Dionysian fire that stains Almeda’s Apollonian self.

Eccentricity is another word for representing the figure of the outsider in Munro’s fiction. The word has a double meaning: if a man is eccentric, eccentricity denotes a difference, “all of which may be a result of his single condition” (83). Almeda is known as “a familiar eccentric, or even, sadly, a figure of fun” (88), mocked and judged even after her death. The final conclusion is that for women writing and poetry are “a drawback, a barrier, an obsession” (86), and a marker of women’s eccentricity.

Pearl Street Swamp is a depraved place that symbolizes “woman’s potential freedom, as well as her actual exclusion” (McCarthy). Such experience is crucial for Almeda’s self-fulfilment. According to Pfaus, Munro’s characters and narrators (mostly women) are

trying to break out of the disguises and evasions of the conventional world into the light of “truth,” through the universal experience of growing up into the awareness of the complexities of human affairs and emotions which constitute experience. (6)

As Munro’s other stories, *Royal Beatings* and *Meneseteung*

are women’s narratives, full of silent female knowledge--of female bodies, love stories and romantic fantasies as well as female casualties. Munro takes up the traditional subjects of women’s fiction through her stories’ significantly female plots, stories of entrapment and escape attempts, where secrecy and silence become strategies of resistance. (Howell)

In conclusion, one may definitely affirm that in Alice Munro’s stories gender and identity are closely connected. Accordingly, the construction of identity is

determined by gender implications. Moreover, each of Munro's stories illustrates how gender defines existence in small traditional communities.

Alice Munro portrays female eccentrics in order to highlight the contrast between social practices of silencing and forms of resistance to such traditions. The stories of entrapment are symbolically correlated with the remoteness of the Canadian setting. Alice Munro focuses on the female characters' consciousness to explore the complex implications of social stigmatization.

The traditional gender roles are challenged in the stories with outsider figures who cannot be silenced by normative expectations. Themes such as domestic violence, maleness, mother-daughter relationship, female eccentricity occupy a central position in Munro's fiction, but are never explicitly scrutinized. Instead, Munro proposes an elusive narration that is in itself a form of resistance to a standardized form of writing. In other words, Munro herself prefers an eccentric tale instead of a conventional short story.

On a larger scale, Alice Munro's creation illustrates the clash between truth and convention, society and the individual, traditional and new, disenchantment and hope. By "anatomizing" the social attempt of gender construction, Alice Munro subtly unveils the limitations imposed by society on both women and men. The "socially constructed femininity" (Filipczak 13) is contrasted with eccentric, authentic characters. These characters symbolize forms of resistance to society's patronizing practices.

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“ON THE MORNING AFTER THE SIXTIES” THE ESSAY AND JOAN DIDION’S EXPERIENCE IN THE CALIFORNIA OF THE 1960s

Nóra Máthé

PhD Candidate, “Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: Joan Didion’s second essay collection, *The White Album*, showcases an amalgam of topics ranging from politics to pop music. The book offers insight into the life of a Californian woman who is in a very interesting position: she is both a writer and a journalist. This duality shapes her writing style enormously. Didion’s essays balance a profoundly personal voice with a nearly rigid reportorial tone, thus creating an intriguing atmosphere. This paper focuses on the ambiguous genre called the essay and Joan Didion’s unique take on it in her second collection. We examine the connection between tone and topic.

KEYWORDS: Joan Didion, essay, American essay, the white album, California.

Joan Didion is a well-known figure in American literature and journalism: she is not only a fiction writer but also an essayist, a journalist and recently she has published memoirs as well. In her 1979 essay collection titled *The White Album*¹ her readers find out even more about her in small doses mixed together with news and current events which Didion analyses thoroughly. Through these texts, she shows herself to be not only a writer, but also a mother, a fan, a person struggling with her illness, etc. Didion’s intention with this collection is summarized in the starting sentence of title essay: “We tell ourselves stories in order to live” (*TWA* 11). This statement introduces the main concept which ties her essays together. Most of these texts have appeared previously in various magazines, reporting on the news occurring at that time; however, they were not intended to function as reports. Instead, these texts showcase Didion’s own take on the matter at hand, paying attention to detail, specificity, and awareness. She gives her readers a story, not only the facts about the news she covers.

This collection functions similarly to a memoir: the author details her own personal experiences and recounts memories from her childhood. Her essays turn into a series of references to historical events and to her own personal history, the two intermingling seamlessly. Didion’s essays belong to the genre widely referred to as creative nonfiction, which Lee Gutkind defines simply as “true stories told well” (Gutkind). He argues that this term is synonymous with terms such as ‘new journalism’, ‘narrative journalism’ or ‘narrative nonfiction’ and that a wide variety of texts belong to this genre. Among them, he mentions the essay, the article, and the memoir, the only absolute rule he underlines is that “you can’t make this stuff

¹ I refer to the essay collection as *TWA* in order to differentiate it from the title essay which I will cite as *The White Album*.

up” (Gutkind). Creative nonfiction has to be embedded into reality, factual information needs to be correct, otherwise the said piece of writing shifts to fiction’s territory.

TWA’s opening line and Gutkind’s definition of the term creative nonfiction come together to highlight the importance of the main element of Didion’s work: the story. Her essays focus on her personal truth and the factual truth of reality. She juxtaposes these two elements in her articles to create parallels between what was happening around her and inside her, and it seems like the turbulence of the ‘60s and ‘70s world perfectly contrasts her inner turmoil. One of the most descriptive events she focuses on is the murderous rampage of the Manson family, the group of serial killers who ended the lives of nine people; among them was the pregnant Sharon Tate Polanski, Didion’s personal friend. She remembers that that particular period between 1968 and 1969 was fueled by fear and tension: “There were rumors. There were stories. Everything was unmentionable but nothing was unimaginable. This mystical flirtation with the idea of ‘sin’ – this sense that it was possible to go ‘too far,’ and that many people were doing it – was very much with us in Los Angeles in 1968 and 1969. A demented and seductive vortical tension was building in the community. The jitters were setting in. I recall a time when the dogs barked every night and the moon was always full” (Didion 41-42). The political tension, the economic decline, the drug epidemic and Didion’s own struggles seem to have culminated into one moment on the 9th of August 1969, when she, with the rest of the world, found out that Charles Manson and his cult of brainwashed youths committed multiple murders. “Many people I know in Los Angeles believe that the Sixties ended abruptly on August 9, 1969, ended at the exact moment when word of the murders on Cielo Drive traveled like bushfire through the community, and in a sense this is true. The tension broke that day. The paranoia was fulfilled” (Didion 47).

As Sandra Braman points out, Didion does not share her opinions carelessly, she is a great observer who pays attention to every secondary detail as well, “the combination of careful research, a perceptive eye, and a belief that it is the media that tell us how to live makes Didion a particularly valuable observer of journalists themselves” (Braman 354). Her opening sentence, “We tell ourselves stories in order to live” (*TWA* 11) explains her approach perfectly: she does not only focus on the situation taking place around her, but she also analyses reactions and, in some cases, even the way media handles some events. A perfect example in this respect is *The White Album*, a nearly 50-page essay which overlooks almost the entirety of the ‘60s in the news and personal accounts of Didion’s life, the two blending together smoothly. She creates a coherent narrative about the arrest of a radical black activist, Huey P. Newton whose story she begins in what we think of as a traditionally reportorial tone:

Around five o’clock on the morning of October 28, 1967, in the desolate district between San Francisco Bay and the Oakland estuary that the Oakland police call Beat 101A, a 25-year-old black militant named Huey P. Newton was stopped and questioned by a white police officer named John Frey, Jr. An hour later Huey Newton

was under arrest at Kaiser Hospital in Oakland, where he had gone for emergency treatment of a gunshot wound in his stomach, and a few later he was indicted by the Alameda County Grand Jury on charges of murdering John Frey, wounding another officer, and kidnapping a bystander. (TWA 26-27)

Of course, this tone changes quickly into a more personal one because Didion does not only report on this news; she follows closely the events that unfold behind the scenes: she explains that she and “a *Los Angeles Times* man, and a radio newscaster” (Didion 28) were allowed to visit Newton in jail and interview him, but she does not ask many questions or try to get statements from the activist. Instead, she observes the way events play out in the room, the way Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panthers’ Minister of Information leads the conversation and makes sure some points are underlined and noted by the reporters, etc. Didion cannot help but ask herself the question: is Huey P. Newton aware of the fact that in this political movement he was expendable? She notes that she could not find out anything about the person himself, instead, she heard him speak as a figurehead for revolutionary culture and a mascot against racism.

Didion treats this subject with subtlety and grace. She forms her own opinion and lets her readers know what she thought of while she was experiencing this event. She is not only a reporter, she is an involved listener who recounts her experiences on paper and gives her thoughts on them. Her ideal way of reporting is the style of new journalism which allows for subjectivity and for the reporter to have a personality, to be involved with the story and to analyze, not just recount facts. The term *creative nonfiction* also characterizes Didion’s style due to the fact that she treats her news as narratives and thus creates a story around these current events: “Her ‘I’ goes beyond the intentionally neutral voice of the daily news reporter – it is a created, shifting character who speaks memorably and who sometimes anatomizes her own responses” (Muggli, 402). She denies being a camera-eye in *Slouching towards Bethlehem*² (qtd. in Muggli, 404) which is understandable because she does not only show in great detail what is happening in a certain situation, she also adds her own perspective on it. Mark Muggli points out that in some cases Didion actually adds details which did not happen (404): she enriches her experiences with thoughts, assumptions, and hypotheses that do not change the facts at hand, but they also are not entirely true. This method has become a staple of new journalism and it is no longer scrutinized as heavily, although at the time it was certainly controversial to report on the news this way.

Slouching Towards Bethlehem bears the name of the article which Didion first published in *The Saturday Evening Post*: it was supposed to be a report on San Francisco’s hippie culture, but Didion does not just introduce the information she has gathered, neither does she analyze it to lead the reader towards her own path of thinking. She writes candidly about her experience and lets the gravity and the depth of the story shine in itself.

² I refer to the essay collection as *STB* in order to differentiate it from the essay by the same name, which I will address as *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*.

The five-year-old's name is Susan, and she tells me she is in High Kindergarten. She lives with her mother and some other people, just got over the measles, wants a bicycle for Christmas, and particularly likes soda, ice cream, Marty in the Jefferson Airplane, Bob in the Grateful Dead, and the beach. She remembers going to the beach once a long time ago, and wishes she had taken a bucket. For a year, her mother has given her acid and peyote. Susan describes it as getting stoned.

I start to ask if any of the other children in High Kindergarten get stoned, but I falter at the key words.

'She means do the other kids in your class turn on, get stoned,' says the friend of her mother's who brought her to Otto's.

'Only Sally and Anne,' Susan says.

'What about Lia?' her mother's friend prompts.

'Lia,' Susan says, 'is not in High Kindergarten.' (STB)

The nonchalant, matter-of-fact language and tone Didion utilizes to describe the five-year-old who takes LSD matches the attitude of the hippies she encounters on the streets of San Francisco: they are aboard a sinking ship, surrounded by addiction, a crumbling economy, and various political failures. "People were missing. Children were missing. Parents were missing. Those who were left behind filed desultory missing-persons reports, then moved on themselves" (STB).

The essays published in *TWA* show a lot more of Didion's personal opinions and worldview. In *STB* she is more distant: *Slouching Towards Bethlehem*, for example, functions as a "verbal montage of scenes from the Haight" (Menand), it does not turn into a cohesive story and it does not establish Didion as that much of a distinct personality, even though she is clearly experiencing firsthand the happenings at the hippie capital. Menand argues that, after the publication of this collection, Didion reevaluated her journalistic work, her role as a writer and even her political standing; she held some beliefs which clearly separated her from the radical left. She did not like the hippies, she found the issue of dropouts and free spirits troublesome, but upon more reflection and political lamentation, she came to a different conclusion: "what changed was her understanding of where dropouts come from, of why people turn into runaways and acidheads and members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, why parents abandon their children on highway dividers, why Harlem teen-agers go rampaging through Central Park at night, why middle-class boys form "posses" and prey sexually on young girls—and, above all, why the press fixates on these stories." (Menand) This shift in attitude and opinion is already visible in *TWA*.

TWA's opening essay, the 50-page-long overview of the end of the '60s proves that in this case, Didion takes a new approach. Her struggles to maintain her mental health are at the forefront of *The White Album* where she inserts the diagnosis written by her doctor, detailing meticulously every aspect of her illness. She juxtaposes this diagnosis with the Woman of the Year award she won in the same year, in 1968, when her life appeared to be at its lowest and its highest point at the same time. However, there is another level to the text: the layer of public events, tragedies, politics and culture which ties into Didion's story neatly, giving

the reader the impression that she is connected to that particular time and place on a higher level.

The White Album underlines a series of antitheses both in Didion's private and public life: this is especially prevalent when she describes her connection to the Manson trials, as I have mentioned above. The Manson-murders, indeed, signified the end of the '60s, the peaceful flower child, and the mystical freedom. The real world, however, did not stop; the infamous trials started and Joan Didion had a very ambiguous role in them. She visited Linda Kasabian, a key witness in the Manson-case, and the woman who remained outside in the car to stand lookout as the others committed the murders. Didion went to see Kasabian a few times while the latter was kept in custody awaiting the trial and it was Didion who bought her a dress to attend the very public hearing. This story highlights the possibilities of Gutkind's definition of creative nonfiction, "true stories told well", Didion uses it expertly and consciously, even drawing her readers' attention to it. "In this light all narrative was sentimental. In this light all connections were equally meaningful, and equally senseless" (*TWA* 44). Then she continues with this juxtaposition:

Try these: on the morning of John Kennedy's death in 1963 I was buying, at Ransohoff's in San Francisco, a short silk dress in which to be married. A few years later this dress of mine was ruined when, at a dinner party in Bel-Air, Roman Polanski accidentally spilled a glass of red wine on it. Sharon Tate was also a guest at this party, although she and Roman Polanski were not yet married. On July 27, 1970, I went to the Magnin-Hi Shop on the third floor of I. Magnin in Beverly Hills and picked out, at Linda Kasabian's request, the dress in which she began her testimony about the murders at Sharon Tate Polanski's house on Cielo Drive. (*TWA* 44-45)

These parts which seemingly do not fit together create a feeling of tenseness that Didion uses frequently in her essays. She does not solve problems, she showcases them and offers something extra for the reader to take into consideration. *The White Album* is dated between 1968-1978, it is an essay which offers an overview of Didion's life and the current events which shaped her experience in California. Other essays in *TWA*, on the other hand, only offer snippets into her experience and her thoughts on certain subjects. It is clear that the end of the 1960s was an important milestone in Didion's life: her inner turmoil and the Californian public turmoil become one in the text, and by combining these two aspects of life, the writer manages to make her readers believe that this is a metaphor for the place and time period.

Some of Didion's essays move from one medium to another when they are published in a book referred to as an essay collection. In this format, her stories move closer to the territory of literature and farther from journalism because their urgency and direct ties to real-time events are broken. The texts featured in *TWA* do not come across as articles; instead, they are read as literature. Lee Gutkind says that "'essay' was the term used to describe this 'artful' nonfiction, but that didn't quite capture the essence of the genre" (Gutkind). His particular problem with this genre is that he considers it a more scholarly piece of writing, not journalistic or personal; he assumes that most essays are expected to be well researched and

similar to an academic article. However, the word essay itself translates to trial or experiment, and it allows for creative freedom. The first essays ever written, namely those authored by Montaigne function as a collection of the author's brainstorming sessions over the years. In the preface to *Essays* Montaigne explains this clearly: "Reader, thou hast here an honest book; it doth at the outset forewarn thee that, in contriving the same, I have proposed to myself no other than a domestic and private end: I have had no consideration at all either to thy service or to my glory" (Montaigne). Richard Chadbourne calls the essay an "exasperatingly hybrid and amorphous literary form" (Chadbourne 133) and he finds it hard to even define it. It is definitely not easy to separate it from other pieces of nonfiction Lee Gutkind mentions, such as the memoir or the article. In *TWA* Didion has some texts which do not address anything other than her own life: she reminisces about her years in college at Berkeley in *On the Morning After the Sixties*, reflecting on the state of the silent generation and their ways of dealing with political problems, which, in many cases was to just to go along with whatever was happening around them. "We took it for granted that the Board of Regents would sometimes act wrongly. We simply avoided those students rumored to be FBI informers. We were the generation called 'silent,' but we were silent neither, as some thought, because we shared that period's official optimism nor, as others thought, because we feared its official repression" (*TWA* 206). She remembers that in the '50s college students' outlook on the future was grim, they felt that their lives were going nowhere and they suffered from a generational "mild but chronic 'depression'" (*TWA* 207). Compared to her college experience, the ambitious revolutionary culture practiced by students in the '60s seems naïve and foreign to Didion.

The above-mentioned essay is not meant to serve a journalistic purpose, it is an analysis of Didion's generation, from an utterly personal point of view and based on her own experience and assumptions. Such a text cannot be labeled as new journalism, Didion herself calls it an essay. Richard Chadbourne insists that there is a big difference between the contemporary essay and the older traditions of this genre (137). When Gutkind mentions that the essay is supposed to be similar to a scholarly article, he seems to be referring to the older versions, while the contemporary revival of this genre showcases personal, analytical texts which usually discuss a hypothesis. However, these hypotheses are usually tentative attempts, fleeting thoughts which take shape and turn into arguments as the writer discusses them in the essay. In Didion's essay collection these personal texts have a very specific role. As Schow puts it, these essays "hold up mirrors that disclose vividly the contemporary world in which the writer exists" (36). *TWA* builds up the entirety of the '60s from Didion's perspective, and, due to the fact that as a journalist she had a very broad overview of this era, the essay collection gives the impression of completeness. The book and the opening essay are named after The Beatles' 1968 self-titled album, which is referred to as the white album because its cover art is a white sheet of paper with "The BEATLES" printed on it. The album, similarly to Didion's *TWA*, functions as a brief overview of the '60s. It is an eclectic album which features various genres and influences, resulting in a perfect

depiction of this era. Classic rock songs are followed by Indian, blues or classical influences, to the experimental, dirty sound of “Helter Skelter”. The themes range from love to revolutionary culture and many of the songs are written with the purpose of channeling different musical styles. According to Ian MacDonald, this is observed in “Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da” which Paul McCartney wrote to experiment with ska music (MacDonald 258). Thus, the double album functions as a collage of the ‘60s, similarly to Didion’s *TWA*.

The essay collection features antithetical themes and topics, texts which seem not to go together at first glance. This dissonance, however, is a textual embodiment of what the 1960s felt like to Joan Didion, both in private and in public life. Coale calls this technique cinematic juxtaposition and he explains that it “undercuts cause and effect, destroys any seeming surface continuity, and engages both the conscious and unconscious mind in a continuing struggle” (161). Didion mixes writing styles; she casually shifts between reportorial and subjective, personal tones, abruptly halting one to turn to the other. The discrepancy between topics and style creates unrest which moves through each individual essay. The well-known opening quote of the book, “We tell ourselves stories in order to live” (*TWA* 11) is further explained by the writer in the paragraph: “We look for the sermon in the suicide, for the social and moral lesson in the murder of five. We interpret what we see, select the most workable of the multiple choices. We live entirely, especially if we are writers, by the imposition of a narrative line upon disparate images, by the ‘ideas’ with which we have learned to freeze the shifting phantasmagoria which is our actual experience” (*TWA* 11). Throughout the book Didion questions narratives, she tries to break them down and understand where conditioning such as upbringing, mood, morals or anything else affects the way one thinks about a given situation. For this reason, she is critical of California itself, which she considers an illusion of wealth and sophistication. In *Holy Water*, she explains that “the apparent ease of California life is an illusion, and those who believe the illusion real live here in only the most temporary way” (*TWA* 64). The sophisticated and glamorous California would be in draught if the water delivery services would not exist, but that does not fit into the narrative and the allure of the place.

Didion’s essays show an immense receptiveness towards the culture that surrounds her, but one of the problems she constantly faces is how she is able to understand this event and report on them, what biases and expectations form her own view of a story and, in many cases, she questions the way the media has a set narrative ready for any happening. The essay format presents itself as the natural genre for Didion, because she dissects and analyzes each story she discusses, whether it is related to herself or to a more public event. Her tone remains personal, yet detached, as if she watches over the events from far away. The juxtaposition of themes and stylistic choices creates a tension in her essays which is perfectly reminiscent of the time period she describes, the turbulence and intensity of the ‘60s is contained in the pages of this collection. Thus, even years later, the reader can experience it under Didion’s guidance.

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IVY LITVINOV: IDENTITY AND MEMORY

Mihaela Mudure

“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: Ivy Litvinov (1889-1977) is one of the nomadic subjects that illustrate at best twentieth century literature in English. Attracted by leftist ideas, she met Maxim Litvinov, a prominent Bolshevik militant, in London at the beginning of the twentieth century. They got married and in 1920 she followed him to Moscow where she lived until 1972. In England she had published several novels on the New Women from Europe after World War I. The 12 short stories she was allowed to publish in the *New Yorker* in the 1960's as well as her unpublished pieces which can be found in the Archives of Hoover Institute reveal the true face of Communist Russia. There is an element of voyeurism in her writing which is able to discern the signals of dictatorship in a reality that apparently is harmless and banal. Actually, Litvinov's attentive eye can perceive, like few writers, the banality of evil. Her actual existence in the Soviet Union taught Litvinov to become eloquent in very few words. A master of survival, she knows all too well that wording can be dangerous, and she uses words eloquently and soberly, a *degré zéro de l'écriture* which suggests that the new Communist order is not so different from the capitalist oppression.

KEYWORDS: Ivy Litvinov, Moscow, Bolshevik, Stalinism, dictatorship, totalitarianism.

Also known as Ivy Low, Ivy Litvinova or Ivy Litvinoff, the English-Jewish writer Ivy Litvinov (1889-1977) is a forgotten author of the twentieth century although neither the circumstances of her life, nor the quality of her writing would justify this oblivion. On the contrary, nomadic profile make her a significant personality of our times interesting both for those who experienced communism and for those who lived on the other side of the Iron Curtain or those whom history did not let experience it. Ivy Litvinov was born in a Jewish Hungarian family who had converted to Christianity and whose name was actually Lövi. They had fled Hungary, then part of the Austrian Empire, after the defeat of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution. The family settled in London where they had relatives. Soon the family got connected to quite influential circles thanks to the paternal relatives. For instance, they were related to Sir Sidney Low (1857-1932), an essayist, journalist, historian, and professor at King's College. Ivy grew up in an effervescent intellectual atmosphere. She met many of the elite personalities at the beginning of the twentieth century. H.G. Wells, D. H. Lawrence and his wife befriended her¹. Idealist and a feminist, she thought the world could be a better place for the

¹ Information about Litvinov meeting Ivy Low can be found in Hugh Philips. Cornwell discusses James Joyce's Russian connections. Among them was the sister of Maxim Litvinov. D.H. Lawrence mentions in his letters how he met Edith Low, the aunt of Ivy Low, and Ivy herself.

working class. It is in the leftist circles of London that she met Maxim Litvinov real name Mordecai Wallach, a Russian-Lithuanian revolutionary, also of Jewish origin, who was, then, in exile in Great Britain. The two fell in love and got married in 1916.

In the short story "Call It Love" from the collection *She Knew Better*, which Ivy would publish much later, there is a character, a Mr David Belkin, who is possibly an *alter ego* of Litvinov. Belkin meets Eileen, a young woman from London, and the two feel attracted to each other. Ivy Litvinov characterizes Belkin as "the hardened revolutionary" (82), very probably Litvinov himself, and Eileen as "the rebellious daughter" (82), very probably herself. Belkin is introduced to the young woman's family and gradually he reveals to be a political exile. „David considered that a revolutionary ought not to form family ties, but had to admit that most of them did" (82). Already there is a very discreet hint at the difference between words and deeds in the Communist/revolutionary discourse. Eileen's family are Jews who had converted to Christianity, just like the Low(e)s. Most probably, the story is inspired from the way how Litvinov entered the Low family. The fictional revolutionary, Belkin, repeatedly promises the young woman, "You will always be safe with me". But there is a but. He is honest enough to warn his lover, "but when the drum of the Revolution sounds, I shall follow it wherever I am, even if I must leave you." The idealist Eileen has no hesitations, she promises, "I will go with you. So nobody will have to leave anybody" (82). The omniscient author is, in fact, Ivy's voice. Belkin does not need to justify, she finds justifications for him. "David might have left England as suddenly as he arrived there..." (91) but a month after the marriage "the drum of Revolution sounded, and it was just as they had both said: he followed its summons and she went with him" (92).

This is exactly what happened to the Litvinovs in reality. The priorities in Maxim Litvinov's life were very clear. At least he had the honesty to warn his future wife about them. In an interview, Ivy Litvinov gave to Osnos, an American journalist, years later she confessed that Maxim had married her "almost against his will, certainly against his principles, for he believed a man deeply involved in revolutionary politics should keep himself free of personal encumbrances." As far as Ivy was concerned, she said, "I had no idea that he was a very well-known man in the (Communist) party and in places in Europe. I had never even heard of Marx. He was just an unknown Russian emigré and being Jewish and all the rest of it, everyone thought I had married beneath me. And he thought so, too." The comparison between the interview and the story "Call It Love" is relevant for the way in which Ivy Litvinov's writing grows from her biography. Realistic in its strategy, Litvinov is a writer who cannot be separated from her biography and from her transformation from an idealist leftist into a writer who condemns totalitarianism by the very facts of her life.

Two children were born soon after the marriage of Ivy Low and Maxim Litvinov. In 1918 the Bolshevik Revolution did break out and Litvinov was appointed Soviet diplomatic representative in Britain; however, the British

government did not recognize his credentials. In September 1918 Maxim Litvinov was arrested in retaliation for the arrest in Moscow of Bruce Lockhart, a British agent. After 6 weeks in Brixton prison Litvinov was exchanged for the British agent and he was sent back to Moscow. His homeland needed him. The same year, Litvinov became a member of the Collegium of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. As of 1921, he served as deputy people's commissar of foreign affairs. Initially, Ivy stayed in London with their two children, Misha² and Tania³. In 1922 Ivy and the two children left Britain to follow Maxim in Moscow⁴. She would return to her home country for a short visit only during the 1960's, under Khrushchev's rule (1953-1964). So, for over thirty years, she would not be able to see her family.

In 1930 Stalin appointed Maxim Litvinov Commissar for Foreign Affairs, a position which he held until 1939. As a diplomat, Litvinov made a significant contribution to establishing Soviet diplomatic relations with the West⁵. Between 1927 and 1930, he was in charge of coordinating the Russian positions at the disarmament conference in Geneva. Litvinov headed Soviet delegations to various international conferences. In 1933, he led negotiations to establish diplomatic relationships with the United States⁶, and from 1934 until 1938 he was the senior Soviet representative to the League of Nations. In 1934, he became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The couple lived in luxury, in comparison with other Soviet citizens, had a dacha, lived in a spacious apartment in downtown Moscow for which they paid no rent. Everything was covered by the Party. The Litvinovs were part of the highest Soviet elite. Ivy had met them all: Svetlana, Stalin's daughter, Beria, Malenkov, Kaganovich, or Khrushchev.

Still, the couple did not mix well with the other Soviet leaders of the day. As a foreigner, Ivy was particularly shunned. In the interview given to Osnos, she describes herself as an undesirable acquaintance for any cautious Soviet citizen. She was "the undisciplined, self-absorbed daughter of a foreign petty bourgeoisie, totally uninterested in politics and ignorant of history." But Maxim was also a misfit. "He did not drink, hunt or take part in any of the virile pursuits of the rulers," she writes, "he wore elastic-sided, ankle high boots, read the *New Statesman* (an English political weekly) ... and carried a mahogany walking stick".

² He is the father of the dissident Pavel Litvinov. Ivy's son, like the offspring of many other Communist militants – see Petre Roman, Vladimir Tismăneanu – realized that Communist ideology could not be a solution for the evils of the world. He became involved in the Soviet dissident movement and supported physicist Andrei Sakharov.

³ Tania would later become a renowned English to Russian translator, and she would collaborate with her mother on several Russian to English translations.

⁴ In her interview with Osnos she says she left Britain in 1923.

⁵ He held negotiations with Titulescu for establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Romania.

⁶ Danielson talks about Litvinov's first visit to the USA in 1933 when he negotiated the recognition of the USSR by the USA.

According to Ivy, “[h]is position – since the revolution and Lenin’s death – was like that of a specialist invited from ‘abroad,’ his specialty being foreign affairs.”

Litvinov’s diplomatic career was decisively influenced by his Jewish origin and by his acquaintance with the West. In 1939 he was replaced by Molotov because a Soviet diplomat of Jewish origin could not negotiate the non-aggression treaty with Nazi Germany. On the other hand, in 1941, after Germany attacked the Soviet Union, his talents were needed in order to consolidate the necessary alliance with the USA and his English born wife looked good. He was Ambassador to the USA from 1941 till 1943 and the American Left greeted this appointment with great enthusiasm (cf. Danielson). Ivy befriended Eleanor Roosevelt and she frequented American journalists without caring too much about their ideological orientation, which brought her reprimands from Litvinov, the cautious ambassador.

Litvinov survived all the purges although this does not mean that his life was not in danger. In the Osnos interview, Ivy mentions that according to hearsay three arrest orders were issued against Litvinov and then rescinded. Upon his return from the USA, Litvinov began to sleep with a pistol under his pillow and told Ivy to knock on the door if the police should come for him. He was determined he would shoot himself. In 1946 Litvinov retired and he died in 1951. The legend says that on his deathbed, Litvinov told his wife: “Go home, English woman!”. Although she kept her British passport, Ivy could visit her family only after Stalin’s death.

The family lost the dacha but lived a quiet life. Ivy Litvinov made a living translating from English into Russian and from Russian into English. She translated the work of the Russian pedagogue Makarenko, as well as classic Russian literature: Dostoievski, Chekhov, and Alexei Tolstoi’s three-volume *Ordeal*. She wrote or edited reference text books for the Russian learners of English. Ivy Litvinov was not a beginner as far as writing is concerned. While she lived in England, Ivy Litvinov had already published two novels: *Growing Pains* (1913) and *The Questing Beast* (1914). *The former was published under her maiden name at Heinemann when Ivy was only 23*. This fiction exhibited the autobiographical inspiration that is apparent in much of her best writing. The same is true about her second (rather daring) novel, *The Questing Beast*. According to Carswell (72), this is one of the first novels to depict women in office life and talk openly about female sexuality.

A representative of the post-World War I, New Woman, emancipated and independent, Ivy Litvinov is an excellent case for a discussion about the connection between feminism and the communist ideology. After a beginning that was extremely avant-garde, the Soviet regime – in fact like all the other Communist countries – returned to a very patriarchal attitude towards woman and family. As the Bolshevik state consolidated, the conservatism in gender issues prevailed⁷.

⁷ See the gradual political obliteration of Alexandra Kollontai in Porter’s biography. Her diplomatic appointment was a kind of golden exile, on the one hand. On the other hand, she gave up being vocal about women’s rights as Stalinism consolidated.

In 1930 Litvinov also published a detective story which observes all the topoi characteristic of this genre during the Soviet period. It was *His Master's Voice* (later published in the States as *A Moscow Mystery*), a somewhat Agatha Christie-ish murder story set in the shadow of the Kremlin. The novel is mentioned both by Henderson and Reilly in their reference book on mystery and crime authors. During the 1960's Litvinov was allowed to publish 12 stories in the *New Yorker*. Later on they will be published in the collection *She Knew Better*. In 1972 Ivy Litvinov was given permission to return to England where she died in 1977.

Litvinov is one of the nomadic subjects that illustrate at best twentieth century transnationalism and globalization. She started from a leftist position, she was a feminist but then life obliged her face the reality built by the revolutionary idealists she had believed in.

Litvinov looks at reality with a merciless eye that perceives all details and knows how to give them relevance. In the stories inspired by the Soviet realities there appears an element of merciless voyeurism in her writing. Litvinov is able to discern the signals of dictatorship in a reality that apparently is harmless and banal. She fictionalized the banality of evil. The sobriety and the classicism of her approach characterized by omniscience, third person narratives, no time swaps, no introspection are in full accordance with the content of her short stories. Litvinov's characters seem to have been observed from an exterior point of surveillance. A panopticum surrounds us all. We are constantly watched and we watch. It is up to the reader to draw conclusions and fill the gaps. The author gives him no help. Details are few but highly poignant. The paucity of everyday life, the suspicion, the reciprocal mistrust are evoked with an amazing simplicity of artistic means. Ivy Litvinov's actual existence in the Soviet Union taught her to become eloquent in very few words. A master of survival, Litvinov knows all too well that wording can be dangerous, and she uses words eloquently and soberly.

The Gulag is never openly mentioned in her short stories but the sinister space in-forms several of her short stories. The very subtle insinuation of the terror and the Gulag into people's very banal lives reminds one of the techniques of the horror novel. The problem is that this horror is not only fiction but also reality. Her most commonplace situations have a tragic background discreet but extremely powerful that reminds one of Vasily Grossman's stories or of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich."

A very compelling story, in this respect is "Apartheid". Firstly, the title hides an ironical reference not very easy to discover by someone who is not accustomed to the jargon of Soviet propaganda. The apartheid was a preferred trope in Soviet critique of the United States. Soviet Russia posed in the champion of equality and anti-racism. A Soviet ordinary couple rent a dacha for the summer. Lili, the mother, an ironical projection of Ivy Litvinov herself, is very careful about the company her children keep. "Most of her friends sent their children to State crèches and kindergartens, but Lili didn't want to surrender her power till her children were old enough to go to school, when she knew she would have to" (94). Lili's protectiveness is an effort to keep the children away, as much as possible,

from the harsh realities of dictatorship, preserve their innocence as long as possible. But reality finds ways to break into their life. The dacha is partly occupied by its owner, a grandmother, and Milochka, her granddaughter. Initially, the parents are reluctant to let the children mix. But they play together anyway, so attempts to separate them are abandoned. However, once they have invited the little girl, Milochka, into their dacha, the parents are horrified when she starts prattling about Magadan, which is a notorious point in the Gulag geography. They realize that Milochka's mother must be in a labour camp in Kolyma and probably the grandmother was there to take the little girl home. Milochka only has positive references to Magadan: "In Magadan we had chicken every day... in Magadan we had cream with our kasha..." (105). In Magadan there were "silk eiderdown" (103) and "gilt furniture" (103). On the other hand, Milochka gradually submits her playmates, Lili's children, into a sort of sinister submission. Her domineering ways may be a compensatory psychosis for what she experienced in the labour camp. The parents' fear to discuss these aspects points to the fear of Soviet society to face the Gulag. This imposed silence breeds monsters.

In "Babushka", Irina "young really, but worn-looking" (106) comes from Moscow to visit her mother-in-law who lives in a remote village. Life is hard and small details point to the failed promises of paradise-on-earth made by Communist propaganda. The bridge that might shorten the way is never finished. Everyday utilities are inefficient or difficult to repair. "Only the black-and-white stems of the birch trees wore a festive air" (107). Only nature, to the extent that it survived industrialization, brings beauty into people's lives. The selfishness of the young generation, their callous attitude towards the old woman's emotional needs are suggested by intensive repetition of highly denoting details. While the grandmother is keen on offering the young people little pleasures (their favourite foods, toys), the young family never succeeds in finding time to come to the countryside all of them. Irina, the daughter-in-law is a kind of messenger meant to mask their selfishness. When they finally solve all the problems of such a trip, the old woman is already dead and the adults go to the funeral. The children are not even fetched. They are supposed to be too young for such an event. The insensitivity of the adults will probably increase with the new generation that is far from the idealistic picture drawn by the propaganda machine. The new Soviet man is selfish and has no compassion. His dry utilitarianism is disgusting. Litvinov never openly criticizes the system, her laconic story telling is convincing enough.

"Bright Shores" is a dyadic story that presents the same events from two points of view. It is a holiday story that is placed in a Georgian resort. John Berg is an English teacher who visits his resort. Litvinov catches very well the isolationism of the Soviet society. Everybody realizes he is a foreigner just by looking at his clothes and gestures. One day, John discovers a mermaid in this remote spot. It is Vera Ivanova. "A child of the revolution, she had never had a room to herself, and after the birth of her first baby, she had never been alone in a room for a single hour" (126). The obsessive lack of intimacy, the tiring collectiveness of the Soviet system prevents the incipient romance from getting to its expected denouement.

There are no single rooms in Svetli Bereg. Surveillance reaches neurotic peaks. Still, John might have a bit of good luck. Vera's companion goes to Sukhumi and the two lovers might have their moment of private joy. But a friend of Vera's comes back from the prison camp where she had been detained and Vera feels obliged to receive her and postpone her romance *sine die*.

"The Boy Who Died" is about a retarded boy who does not fit the ordinary school system tailored for the norm-al infant as well as with the dehumanizing lack of intimacy in the Soviet system of housing. Small cage-like flats oblige all the residents to know everything about one another. The death or move of any resident is beginning of a fierce battle for a bigger flat. In "Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat, Where Have You Been?" the pet acts as the one point of continuity between the past and the present. It symbolizes both comfort and the threat of exposure. Rarely has the ambivalence of the Soviet experience been caught more efficiently and with more simple devices.

Among Litvinov's unpublished pieces, the text entitled "How I met Stalin" is probably one of the most powerful. Litvinov introduces us into the atmosphere of the official dinners which the Soviet elite have to attend. In a very cinematic way, she presents the room and the table from an exterior overwhelming surveillance point of view. Short, concise, highly evocative, the piece renders the fear, the powerful feeling of potential terror, the hierarchical order that stifles any one's attempt to be himself.

Litvinov's sober style reminds one of Barthes's theories about the zero degree writing. Barthes considers that the classic purity of the French realists renders the accession of a new class: the bourgeoisie. The sober and pure, crystal clear precision of Litvinov's style may suggest the social similarity between the classical bourgeoisie and this new bourgeoisie of the nomenclature installed by the Communist system. Promises became empty words. The representatives of the proletariat forgot about the proletariat. The personal owner of the means of production was replaced by the impersonal state owner of the means of production and of human lives in their entirety.

A neglected writer from many points of view, Ivy Litvinov certainly deserves much much more attention than given till now. Her nomadic essence is not only geographical but also moral and highly political.

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EMPOWERED WOMEN

THE LAST MAN: GLOBAL CINEMA AND GENDERED APOCALYPTICISM

Adriana Neagu
“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: The presentation is an enquiry into dystopian representations of women in current, global fictional and cinematic production. It seeks to address the ‘cultural logic’ and the new dynamics of gender roles constitutive of the condition of globality. Pitted against the horizon of expectation of what has profiled itself as the ‘posthumanist age’, it sets out to explore the new poetics of female sensibility within the structures of the global imagination. I posit that apocalypticism is the prevalent mode of globality and argue for the congeniality between global cultural production and ‘global order’, the ‘cultures of apocalypse’ and ‘apocalyptic culture’. I observe ‘global malaise’ and the dominants of the dystopian global imagination in the mainstream productions *The Hunger Games* (2012) and *Divergent* (2014).

KEYWORDS: apocalypticism; dystopia; globality; global cinema; gender roles; feminism; female sensibility; fantasy; the global imagination; *The Hunger Games*; *Divergent*; *The Purge*.

Motto:

In fact, among all the mutations that have affected the knowledge of things and their order ... only one ... has made it possible for the figure of man to appear. And that appearance ... was the effect of a change in the fundamental arrangements of knowledge. If those arrangements were to disappear as they appeared... one can certainly wager that man would be erased. As the archaeology of our thought easily shows, man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end.

(Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*)

Since the pioneering days of the Women’s Liberation Movement to current day global transgender theory, feminism has profiled itself as the site of militancy and of women’s suffrage, indeed as a relentless battle against gender discrimination and deep-seated, age-old patriarchal structures. In a nutshell, the history of feminism is the history of the quarrel with oppression, of activism directed against patriarchy, racial formations, and the ‘sexual objectification’ of women. While hardly a cohesive international movement or phenomenon at any point in time, divided into numerous schools, waves, disciplinary and ethnic factions, gender studies do espouse a set of fundamental collective and corrective values, uniting white and black, pre- and postcolonial feminists alike. Among these, binaries, dualities, the condition of ‘subalternity’ and the essentialised theories of women that humanism has produced, all aptly deconstructed by feminists, form the

commonalities of feminist methodologies and practices. A diverse array of proto-feminist models, from gynocriticism to queer and migrant women studies have explored and exploded gender as a social, political and cultural construct, paving the way for women's studies' long day's journey into legitimacy.

At this juncture in time, in the context of what is increasingly profiling itself as a 'posthumanist age', the question arises: is feminist ideology outdated in global, transnational context? And how is one to conceptualise contemporary WGS in the current geo-political order, more significantly perhaps, in the age of the Anthropocene? 'Fired' on account of the essentialised theories that it has engendered, humanism as canonical essentialist thinking has formed the object of utmost decenterment and deconstruction by feminist studies. Taken at face value, the posthumanist turn in feminist theory marks a stage in contemporary humanity when gender difference is rendered irrelevant by the definitive stakes of postanthropocentrism, as are radical critiques of universalism, humanism, indeed of the very idea of Man. Climate disaster, systemic mutations, the prospect of the extinction of the human race in one's lifetime, ultimately, the embedded inhumanity of *homo sapiens*, have become infinitely more prevalent than the status of women, sexist, ethnocentric discourses and the whole 'nature versus nurture' debate. Indeed gender inequality, societal norms and income disparities pale in comparison with the evidence of humans' capacity to annihilate their own species. To a great extent therefore, the crisis of the Anthropocene lays bare the limits and limitations of feminism, calling for a theoretical relocation of the notion of feminist humanity. It is my contention here that unlike other isms that accommodate no clear-cut continuities and discontinuities, posthumanism, as a manifestation of the pressures of the global condition, brings about dramatic ruptures in the dynamics of gender identity, reflected in the mutated structures of the female imaginary.

By virtue of its ultimate challenges, posthumanism marks a tectonic shift in the dynamics of gender roles. As a critical stage of humanism, posthumanism explodes the legacy of humanism and that of twentieth century anthropocentric models. In the posthumanist world, where apocalypse is construed as an ongoing phenomenon and survival as a prospect even more disquieting than extinction, volatile polarities rather than binarisms or easy dualities rank first. New ontologies, envisioning potential endgames and unlikely futures, cyborgian realities, and a 'posthuman body' thus take shape. Central to the postanthropocentric paradigm, the nonhuman, whether in the guise of disembodied cybernetic structures, real-life cyborgs, or in that of the non-dead, or the zombie figure – an immensely prolific trope— invade global man's subconscious mind, questions of the transhuman condition taking precedence over questions of race, masculinity, femininity, ethnicity. In a technocentric age dominated by artificial intelligence, cultural and gender differences, however deeply entrenched, have turned obsolete, superfluous, self-preservation, indeed the very preservation of the species getting the upper hand.

Against the backdrop of the radical reconfigurations of the structures of subjectivity that the posthuman condition has given rise to, the major provocations

postfeminism confronts at this juncture in WGS culture history are global elites and power relations within the newly formed hegemonies, women's collusion with or resistance to these, their role in revolutions and counter-revolutions, fierce, mindless consumerism, elite economics, and rising inequality. The 'posthumanist turn' in feminist theory thus inevitably entails feminist discourse taking stock of the dystopian horizon of expectation characterising the Anthropocene as a geological epoch in phylogenetic history, and developing new discursive strategies capable of transcending this unique and potentially irrevocable moment in time via a systemic need to resignify what profiles itself as an outdated feminist ideology.

Within the posthumanist paradigm, representations of the postfeminist condition in fiction and cinematic discourse take the feminist narrative further, providing a compelling cultural parable and rationale, illustrative of both the global anxieties and of the postfeminist turn. A powerful expression of elite theory and global *angst*, Suzanne Collins's futuristic dystopia, *The Hunger Games* (2008), *Catching Fire* (2009), *Mocking Jay* (2010) integrates wider patterns of the global post-apocalyptic imaginary into what reads like a mix of sci fi and 'young adult fiction', a disturbing tale of survival cast in the mold of an inspiring rendition of commendable visionary quality, closely abiding by the verisimilitude principles. Epic in scope, the trilogy projects a disturbing, post-apocalyptic, totalitarian North America of the 21st century, under the oppressive, inhuman government of Panem, Pan-Am or Pan-America. Rather than the superheroic body of mainstream posthuman characters, Katniss Everdeen, the protagonist of *The Hunger Games* series, distinguishes herself by what may be described as pan-gender aspects of spirituality, and the propensity for deep compassion and militancy. Katniss embodies personality traits that engender fundamentals of altruism, creativity and divergent thinking that enable her to transcend and outwit the clear-cut, binary order and logic of the Capitol, the government's seat of power, led by President Coriolanus Snow. As Andrea Ruthven illustrates in "The Contemporary Postfeminist Dystopia: Disruptions and Hopeful Gestures in Suzanne Collins' *The Hunger Games*" (2017), the civic consciousness and collective spirit which Katniss is endowed with render Collins' project a veritable sublimating dimension:

I propose that we are living in a postfeminist dystopic present where the death, failure or rebirth of feminism is frequently hailed in a contemporary postfeminist rhetoric that has, in many ways, deeply permeated Western, neo-liberal, globalizing systems of representation. [...] Katniss Evergreen, a young woman, who through an ethics of care, disruption of the heteronormative script, and a critical posthuman embodiment offers an alternative to the dystopic present offered by postfeminism. In Katniss' dystopian world, Collins constructs a narrative that highlights the continued need for a feminist politics of engagement and activism that works against claims for neo-liberalism". (116)

Stricken by environmental catastrophe and civil war, the fictional nation of Panem is a site of dereliction, impoverishment and ruthless individualism. Indicative of the Latin phrase *panem et circenses*, the setting of *The Hunger Games* is a totalitarian state, in which the government, much like the emperors in ancient Rome, adopt the

‘bread and games’ policy as a means of manipulating and controlling the masses. Panem comprises a Capitol city and 13 districts, of which, District 13, is in the first part alluded to harbor the rebel force that, in an indistinct past, some 75 years prior to the games, turned against dictatorship and led to the war, an episode referred to as the ‘dark days’. The starvation of the districts is in sharp contrast with the opulence and decadence of the Capitol. Once the nation’s main supplier of nuclear weapons and advanced technologies, in the years ensuing the suppression of the rebellion by the Capitol, District 13, bombed and presumed wiped out, turns out to have moved to the underground, plotting to spark a new revolution. To mark the victory of the Capitol over the insurgents, an annual event, the Hunger Games, is organised, whereby one boy and one girl is selected by lottery (‘reaping’) from each district (with the significant exception of District 13) to participate in a gladiatorial-style battle meant to celebrate the Capitol’s unlimited power and keep its citizens entertained. A form of appeasement and distraction, in their ordeal, the Games are the expression of *homo homini lupus est*, encapsulating the predatory, ultimately self-destructive nature of the posthuman. Holding absolute power over the games and the contenders, the gamemakers frame the tributes to fight to the death in an unleashing of the inner beast not unlike that dramatized in the fellow dystopia *The Purge* (2013), counting on the tributes to become wolves to one another.

Profuse in archetypological symbolism rooted in Greek mythology, *The Hunger Games* dwelves in a mix of classical mythology and grotesque imagery. Dexterous with her bow and arrow, which enables her to provide for her family, Katniss is a posthumanist embodiment of Artemis, the hunting goddess featuring traits of Achilles, perhaps the most impressive and tragic hero of the Trojan War. Variations of the Greek myth of Theseus versus the Minotaur and of Juvena’s satire are also present, along, of course, with the tale of Spartacus, the exemplary rebel that seeks justice in the gladiatorial arena. The games are staged in a venue that is not unlike the Roman Colosseum, presided over by the tyrant figure of President Coriolanus Snow, the embodiment of the totalitarian government. In fact, hybridity typifies Katniss’ condition, in the last installment of the series Katniss becoming a ‘mocking jay’, i.e. a mutated bird putting her demizen’s skills to civic use to unite the districts of Panem in a decisive rebellion against the Capitol.

Doubtless, one of the most allegorical of the post-9/11 posthumanist fictions, *The Hunger Games* owes its profoundly disquieting quality to the combined effect of global fear and of the Baudrillardian, postmodern spectacle, the virtual and the mediatic modes of entertainment that it projects. In their very nature, the games are coached in the artificial, indeed etherised realm of reality shows, reading RTV versus the real war media coverage fuelling the internal logic of the Capitol, the authoritarian, central intelligence exercising total control of Panem’s mass communications and economic organisations.

Pointing to the dangers inherent in the collusion between fantasy and reality, the trilogy, especially in its cinematic guise, echoes the depths of all time classics such as *Lord of the Flies* (1954), thematising the anguish of a post-humanity age

where the individual is dragged into savagery, lured into the illusion of self-governance and the elusive reality of televised, aerial battles. The tributes' warlike behavior is reminiscent of the children's beastly hunting parties, in inspiration, *The Hunger Games* being indeed evocative of *The Lord of the Flies*, especially in the staging of the inexorable tension between the collective and the individual and the symbols of power that it operates with. In cultural filiation, however, Collins' work, and implicitly the film productions, represent *par excellence* a global dystopian representation of dominance, more attune to the *Divergent* book and film trilogy *Divergent* (2014), *Insurgent* (2015), *Allegiant* (2016).

As in *The Hunger Games*, impermeable, impenetrable hierarchies and societal divisions form the milieu of *Divergent*, where the whole of humanity is split into five factions corresponding to five different virtues: Dauntless (the brave), Amity (the kind), Erudite (the intelligent), Abnegation (the selfless), and Candor (the Honest). Once assigned a faction, adolescents are stuck with it for life. The protagonist, Tris, does not fit the profile of any of the given factions, secretly knowing that she is a 'divergent'. Like Katniss, Tris is endowed with the empowering capacity to think widely, across barriers, class and gender and in so doing, transform an otherwise 'clandestine' position into a civic mission, a force field capable of sparking rebellion. Militancy, selflessness and what Ruthven calls the 'ethic of care' are faculties that do not just distinguish Katniss and Tris as sublimatory, postfeminist figures; they also hold invaluable potential for challenging and redeeming the posthuman condition. Thus Katniss' act of volunteering to take the place of her sister, Prim, as District 12's female representative, her capacity to bend and circumvent the Machiavellian rules of the games and refusal to be pitted against the fellow tributes, indeed, to proclaim herself victor by eliminating her male counterpart, Peeta, is suggestive of Katniss not giving up her political rights as citizen of Panem. Like Tris, she would not be manipulated, nor would she be obliterated as a unique human being. Rather Katniss enters resistance, growing into an intuitive young woman who becomes the image of an impending revolution.

As well as illustrative of the artificiality, corruption and confected fabric of global society, of its systemic crises – aptly the first book in the series appeared at the start of the economic crisis – *The Hunger Games* and *Divergent* foreground a new type of feminine sensibility, one that transgresses mechanisms of othering and gender division and returns to female activism as a mode of healing and reconciliation, indeed as a mode of survival. As Mary Pharr and Leisa Clark indicate, in their Introduction to an insightful study of Collins' trilogy:

The Hunger Games challenges gender stratification by appealing to both sexes equally [...] Collins weaves a new tale from the generic traditions of war stories and heterosexual romance, effectively creating a hybrid genre in YA fiction {through} deliberate complication of binaries of masculine and feminine. (Pharr and Clark 15)

Confronting globality's inherent, constitutive crises and contrasts, famine – food abundance, insularity – overpopulation, more consequentially, living through a moment in human time when the face of the earth has changed dramatically and so

has the very fiber of human society, the female characters of *The Hunger Games* and *Divergent* move beyond conventional roles, in search of an alternative, 'third' space of reconciliation and recognition. Unlike juvenile sagas such as *Harry Potter* and *Twilight*, *The Hunger Games* is thus a daring and profoundly disturbing social satire feeding into the cultural logic and filiation of the post-industrial, consumerist society, in Ruthven's description:

With Katniss Everdeen, Collins highlights the ways in which a feminist ethics of care, through the affirmation of affective bonds and a correlating posthuman subjectivity, can work as a powerful means of countering the pernicious effects of postfeminist discourse. (Ruthven 48)

In the final analysis, the Panem novels can be viewed as "a paradigm of Millennial anxieties and human complexity set within a cross genre, cross-generational narrative that is itself proof of the validity of human creativity in a seemingly inhumane world" (Pharr and Clark 17). The somewhat subliminal message the novels convey is that, in the age of *homo homini lupus*, to the extent that he fails to metamorphose creatively, the male individual may become the endangered gender.

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THE POETICS OF SPACE AND POSTMODERN FICTION

CASE STUDY: ESTHER FREUD'S *HIDEOUS KINKY*

Laura-Corina Roșca
"Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: The metamorphic postmodern world, with its aesthetics of transitivity and preference for synthesis, has determined a new analytical paradigm not only in the contemporary cultural context, but also in the field of human experience. This paper attempts to problematize the sense of identity and the experience of space in the postmodern context, as well as to analyse them in relation to the imaginary of femininity from a literary perspective. The British novel projects a constantly changing image of the postmodern condition. Our endeavour is to observe some of its distinctive characteristics by focusing on Esther Freud's début novel, *Hideous Kinky*.

KEYWORDS: poetics, postmodernism, perception, space, feminism.

The theory of space has concerned metaphysics, psychology and physics and has raised a number of fundamental questions: what is the essence of space, having in view all its epistemological ramifications? How are the notions of space, sign and symbol interrelated? Is space an intuitive given or is it simply the product of a process of symbolic formation? Certain theorists have tried to place these questions into different epistemic contexts. From the theories that formed the basis of a rigorously objective approach regarding the notion of space during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the modern theories of spatial representation, the debate has placed us within an interpretative field where the distinction between "absolute space", "objective space", "intuitive space" and "symbolic space" has become once again operative. In what follows, we shall consider these notions in relation to postmodernity perceived "a case of modernity in crisis" (*cf.* Bauman, 47) and we shall refer to the idea that postmodern spatiality is founded on the following duality: *territorial space*, mapped, modified, transformed by networks, circuits and flows that are established within it, and *social space*, where spatiality is an artificial edifice of hierarchically ordered institutions, laws and conventions (Lefebvre, 224).

Therefore, our intention is to explore the symbolic juxtaposition of space, world and history as they intertwine within the field of perception in postmodernity. We have related this to the Freudian notion of "hysteria of relativity" in the act of perception to discuss the representative feature of the postmodern subject, and to explain the distinction between the objective world and the world of our existence, where Ernst Cassirer identifies a crisis of space consciousness, a pathological alteration of the notion of space and a difference between the space of action and symbolic space within the context of experience. Postmodernity programmatically dismantles all pre-established cultural patterns and seeks to theorize "the spatial turn" by analysing it at the level of literary

discourse as well as to re-define both narrative consciousness and the notion of representation. It functions in at least three different ways in relation to aesthetic performance. Relative to aesthetics, postmodernism has been used as a “periodizing” concept, as a way of describing contemporary culture in which performances occur and as a stylistic descriptor (Philip Auslander *apud* Connor, 98). Postmodernism is used to describe a moment in history, although conceptually speaking, it is difficult to discern postmodernism from other notions describing contemporary culture, as well as to situate it by delimiting its historical boundaries. As far as postmodernism goes, it is interdisciplinary, promoting the dominant idea that “everything performs”, from technology to art and writing (Michel Benamou *apud* Connor, 99). The assumption that one of the most problematic concepts of contemporary culture and of literary criticism is postmodern “indeterminance” has placed this concept in relation to performative development and has defined it as a weakening of historicity. Subsequently, it has been viewed as a foundation for the instalment of a new culture of simulacrum. In an age where texts have turned against interpretation and where all discourses have tried to postulate a world of meaningless simulacra (Fredric Jameson), a succession of repudiations of cultural “depth models” has become dominant: the hermeneutic model of inward-outward representations, the dialectic model of the relationship between essence and appearance, the existential model of authenticity and inauthenticity. These crucial paradigmatic changes have made possible the apparition of new multi-surfaced models, which permanently question the notion of cultural identity. In a sense, the reassertion of multiculturalism highlights the experience of a fluid, performative identity.

The problem is not of an ontological cast, where differences are effects of some more totalizing, transcendent identity to be found in the past or the future. Hybrid hyphenations emphasise the incommensurable elements – the stubborn chunks – as the basis of cultural identifications. What is at issue is the performative nature of differential identities: the regulation and negotiation of those spaces that are continually, *contingently*, ‘opening out’, remaking the boundaries, exposing the limits of any claim to a singular or autonomous sign of difference – be it class, gender, or race. Such assignations of social differences – where difference is neither One nor the Other but *something else besides, in-between* – find their agency in a form of the ‘future’ where the past is not originary, where the present is not simply transitory. It is, if I may stretch a point, an interstitial ‘future’, that emerges *in-between* the claims of the past and the needs of the present. (Bhabha, 313)

The notion of representation in a postmodern context subsumes the idea that the function of literature has fundamentally changed, that it has become anti-representational to the extreme and has exhausted its possibilities and its axiological structures. In other words, postmodern fiction is confronted with an aesthetic turn that democratizes the distinction between high art and mass culture and that short-circuits the authority of its categories. Any attempt to define a postmodern poetics of space should therefore explore the generative frames of contemporary culture, while at the same time revealing the particularities of “the

real” in its kaleidoscopic diversity. The fundamental problem underlying all potential explanations of the notion of perception in postmodernity is that it requires an analysis of the elements that shape perception and the apprehension of existence within “a real beyond appearance” and “truth beyond illusion” (Merleau-Ponty, 43). This theoretical framework seeks to disclose not only the performative character, but also the transgressions, paradigmatic shifts and conflicting coexistences of the “postmodern turn”.

Regardless of the preferred terminology, there is a strong assertion that, at an indeterminate date in the second half of the twentieth century and in a ragged rather than an unequivocal fashion, human social relations and cultures underwent a significant change. That is, certain taken-for-granted practices and structures allegedly fell into disuse or were superseded by new ones. The most significant change was said to be the loss of faith in foundational truths, grand narratives, the idea of progress and instrumental rationality. These foundations of modernity have supposedly been undermined by ambiguity, irony, perversity, pastiche and playfulness. (Beckford, 122)

We believe that this kind of reflections make possible the interrogations and correlations between postmodern theories of space and the search for new fictional discourses. We shall consider postmodernity as an on-going historical process and we shall highlight some of its characteristics by focusing on Esther Freud’s début novel *Hideous Kinky* (1992). Contributing to the substantial theoretical studies on postmodern fiction, Dominic Head considers that “postmodernism is a hybrid form of expression that renegotiates tradition” (Head, 229) and that the contemporary novel as well as the fragmentary and multiculturalist postmodern world are entering a period of crisis. The author pleads for a literary culture that does not bypass “British Postmodernism” (Head, 229), where he includes the emancipatory potential of feminine and feminist novels such as Esther Freud’s *Hideous Kinky*. On the other hand, Julia Szoltysek concentrates on showing the cultural effects of difference by accentuating the idea of identity formation in the case of Euro-Americans moving and living in Africa in the postmodern world, and focuses on Esther Freud’s novel *Hideous Kinky* as a relevant example in this context (cf. Szoltysek, 232-241). Kayley Gillespie helps us see the world of novel, succinctly describing Marrakech as a meeting place of history and modernity and points to the fact that *Hideous Kinky* is a “migration narrative” that explores alternate spiritualities, spatiality and femininity.

Esther Freud, one of the daughters of the painter Lucian Freud, was born in London in 1963, but spent the early years of her childhood traveling with her mother and sister through Morocco. Returning to England, she studied drama and worked in television and theatre before reaching public acclaim as a writer. Her début novel *Hideous Kinky* was shortlisted for the John Llewellyn Rhys Prize and adapted for television. After the publication of her second novel, *Peerless Flats* (1993), she was named one of “The Best Young British Novelists”. She is one of Britain’s most acclaimed contemporary novelists. She is the author of eight novels and various short stories, essays and articles or travel pieces for newspapers and magazines. Her activity as a novelist is inspired by the postmodern

autobiographical mode and eschews the novel's traditional attempt to render depth, preferring "to tell the story", thus indexing impressions and describing the world and her actual experiences of life through characters, "vernacular cosmopolitans" moving in-between traditions and places, thus creating an image that is simultaneously contrastive and transgressive. Children play a central role in Esther Freud's fiction as the author enjoys seeing the world through their eyes and interpreting it accordingly. She addresses the issues of childhood, identity-search and cultural hybridity by rendering space as an assertion of a fluid social identity and as an opportunity of self-redefinition. It has been argued that novelists look at life as painters look at nature. This is true for Esther Freud as well, in terms of composition and literary technique: life is there as a given object of perception, which she can adapt, rearrange or simply transform by creating poetic frameworks that express the deep and simple emotions of people and render possible the dialogue between consciousness and otherness.

The author of the novel under analysis subtly delineates plural social space and feminine identity, while being at the same time a keen observer of local cultures. We encounter Mum, Bea and her sister, the seven-year-old narrator of the story, in a sort of spiritual quest, halfway through France, on their way to Morocco, an ethnically diverse place populated with Muslim Sufi pilgrims. The journey of a hippie mother and her two young daughters in the mid-1960s through Europe and beyond in their search for spiritual identity points to three feminine appropriations of a symbolic itinerancy throughout the great "archipelagos" of an aestheticized existence. In their search for fulfilment, Mum and her two daughters are confronted with new religions and new life-styles, while in a sense rebelling against their nomadic condition either by attempting to recreate English life, or by seeking an idealised masculine figure to act as intermediary between their experiences of the world and their consciousness. The "anonymous Mum" (Romney, 76) lives with her two daughters in squalid lodgings and desperate poverty. As she runs away from pre-established social norms, Mum's experiences symbolise the dialectical relationship between reclusion and itinerancy, as well as the tension between dominant and marginal cultures. The novel explores the autobiographical daughter-mother relationship and ingeniously combines postmodern fames of reference, thus emphasising its diversified plot development and displaying its sense of redefined identity that lifts the knowledge of the self and restores it to its own universal essence. The crowded Djemaa El-Fna is the labyrinthine place where the two English girls meet Bilal, a man of swift appearance performing mysterious rituals accompanied by a Hadaoui's mumbles and prays, while people gaze at them transfixed or dance to the music of cymbals and drumming hands, throw coins and drift away. The girls' adventurous mother, a feminine embodiment of the explorer-hero, immerses herself in Sufism as she seeks self-fulfilment, while her two daughters, "pack an autonomous energy that's forever on the verge of acrobatic and linguistic anarchy" (Romney, 78), whispering ther "nursery-rhyme mantra" whenever they witness enigmatic events.

I could hear voices calling my name. Voices I knew and others I didn't recognize. It was dark and the thin material flapped against me. I rolled into the open. The voices cursed and called, but I couldn't see anyone.

'I'm here,' I said. 'I'm over here.' Then I stood up and yelled. 'I'm here, I'm HERE!'

Mum ran out through the trees. She grabbed my arm and slapped me. 'Where have you been?' 'I was asleep.' I started to cry.

She gave me a long sigh and hugged me too tightly; 'We thought you'd be kidnapped or something. We even asked the shepherds to help search.'

Bilal appeared with two men. Their dogs leapt about but didn't bark. One of the shepherds whistled and the dogs slunk to the ground. Bea raised an eyebrow as she passed me. 'Hideous kinky,' she whispered and she went off to talk to the dogs. (Freud, 76)

The story is enchanting through the foreign culture it observes, but mostly through the humorous touches and exotic characters. A novel of self-discovery, *Hideous Kinky* emphasises the importance of risk-taking and how it may alter or save the destinies of people, bringing the reader into the heart of Islamic religiosity, questioning the role of women in society and more specifically of British citizens that take in the rules of different cultures. Esther Freud depicts local customs by writing with a realism touched by poeticism, originality and humour in most of her novels. She writes in a way that renders ideas accessible, with a fine-tuned literary style that reveals a tradition of authorship pertaining to the picturesque, biographical and spiritual kind. She reveals the lives of characters in search for spiritual certitudes in a world of violent existential anxieties by portraying a series of "cultural misunderstandings" (Romney, 76).

By fusing fiction and autobiography, Esther Freud attempts to reconfigure feminine identity as well as assert the notion of femininity by indicating details of community life and interpreting the cultural logic underlying its customs. The author reflects on the singularity of a culture by adjusting it to a "multi-focal" gaze and, thus, creating a plural perspective upon the world that develops into a metaphorical representation of cultural otherness. *Hideous Kinky* is in a sense a postmodern reworking of the archaic rituals of the threshold of being. Rich in symbolism, the novel conveys a dialectical relationship between "living on the run" and life in the reclusion of a familiar landscape. The novel fascinates through its descriptions of cityscapes where poets, dancers, merchants and religious travellers meet and transform it into a place of mystery, sensuality and freedom. It relies on metaphorical expressions and symbolic codes that reiterate the complexity of character construction in contemporary fiction as well as the unconventionality of setting and vision upon essential human matters. Esther Freud's novel is an approach to the study of human relationships and modes of social organization, of conditioned femininity in patriarchal cultures, of a "politics of experience" (Hamzea 5-6) that makes female roles more positive, autonomous and self-responsible.

"Postmodern narrative enacts the character as *Dasein*, the character who constantly escapes the fixity of identity by existing in the temporal predicament

whereby the assumed or desired totality of a real Self is endlessly ‘dispositioned’, always a ‘being *there*’, as opposed to a being here, a being present to itself” (Docherty, 367) and “to read postmodern characterization is to begin to construct the ethics of alterity, to discover what it means to speak always from the political disposition of the Other” (Docherty, 370). Seen from this point of view, postmodernism has made possible the emergence of the “subject-in-process” and has called into question both the narrative consciousness and the notion of representation. In opposition to the anti-idealist novel of the modern age, with its mission to generate an “ontology of doubt” and, concomitantly, to elude the individual’s sense of belonging, postmodern narrative seeks to return to the dimension of history, and thus to reinstate a corollary of identifying change at the level of wider socio-political formations and not strictly speaking at the level of the individual. In an endeavour to shape a new ethics of alterity, the postmodern novel elaborates a strategy of elusiveness where the spatial-temporal paradigm constantly reorients itself in a kaleidoscopic motion that mirrors each fragment in its myriad relations to the others, at a level where time is perceived by a spatial superposition, thus being experienced in its processuality. The idea of shifting frontiers and threshold spaces is explored in Esther Freud’s fiction as well. Through her surprising plots, suspense, sudden twists and highly charged emotions, Esther Freud emphasises the postmodern ideal of revealing the heterotopic sites of indeterminacy that allow for experiment and diversified plot development, as well as display its complicity in ideology and identity construction.

Postmodern novelists display a certain freedom in treating the temporal and spatial frames, this being also the case of Esther Freud’s novel, where the author emphasises the notion of identity status located in a “continuum” of antagonistic forces of belonging and exclusion. In literature and art time and space are inseparable and their density is given by the presence of emotional value. Space, taken separately would segment and simplify the spatial-temporal element, which defines human experience. The chronotope of the road is both a point of departure and a place of denouement where time and space fuse and flow together. Liminality is a metaphorically charged chronotope. It reveals a space of ambivalence and crisis in the natural flow of events. *Hideous Kinky* assimilates the chronotope of the threshold into a poetic image where the sacred can emerge within profane surroundings thus making unexpected patterns of human experience possible, from romanticised encounters to epiphanies that fall out of time. The novel abounds in detail regarding the everyday life in Marrakech and records individual and collective experiences by questioning the idea of “postmodern pilgrimages” (cf. Stephen M. Levin *apud* Kristine A. Wilson, pp. 182-184) and the contemporary relationship between spatiality and the self, thus interrogating the meaning of events and ultimately transubstantiating them into an assertion of identity.

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EMPOWERING IDENTITY THROUGH WRITING

Camelia Teglaș
“Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to investigate how the written text gives Elif Shafak, the author of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, the opportunity not only to empower the women who populate her book, but also to revive the collective memory of her people, to “re-write” the Turkish national identity. She ventures, in a powerful, ambitious and fervent novel, to tell life stories from a different perspective, to experience facts and emotions in a feminine way, to add a complementary layer to history, to gain, and reveal a new sense of self.

KEYWORDS: empowerment, identity, collective memory, women’s rewriting, cultural remembrance.

Writing endows us with the magical power of transcending our condition and, without exception, when women took the pen to write their stories, they managed to find a voice of their own and, undoubtedly, initiate the process of rewriting. In a collective effort that has been running for centuries, women writers challenge conventional forms, reinterpret norms, expose taboos, and by “[...] remembering and re-calling the old stories differently, [...] women’s rewriting engages questions of remembrance and of forgetting in relation to gendered identity” (Plate, 2011, ix).

Elif Shafak, one of the most read and acclaimed Turkish women writers, was born in Strasbourg, in 1971. After her parents, philosopher Nuri Bilgin, and Şafak Atayman, who later became a diplomat, got separated; she grew up in an environment of contrasts dominated by feminine figures, ranging from her close relatives to aunts and neighbours. In terms of upbringing, on the one hand was the modernity of her educated, single mother and on the other the traditionalist, mystical world of her grandmother. The absence of the father, the feminine background, the world of women she was reared in, all have left a significant trace on her personal identity. She definitely belongs to an enlarged family of women, to a sisterhood, and this is evident also in the manner she has chosen to establish her feminine lineage by incorporating her mother’s first name – Shafak (Dawn in Turkish) – in her penname.

Elif Shafak, who writes about women and devotes her books to the empowerment of her female characters, of her readers, and not the least of herself, envisions “écriture féminine” as a means of democratization of history. She considers that women writers can contribute to the enrichment of the universal cultural heritage by rendering their own versions of stories. These should be seen as positive, useful interventions in the collective cultural memory that can change the dynamics of remembrance. Consequently, HISTORY could become the sum of *his* stories and *her* stories. Unfortunately, instead of obtaining a harmonious whole, this has led to fragmentation, which Shafak regards as dangerous and counterproductive. Writers, in her view, should be “more interested in showing the things we have in common as fellow human beings, sharing the same planet and

ultimately, the same sorrows and joys rather than adding yet another brick in the imaginary walls erected between cultures/ religions/ ethnicities” (Elif Shafak, 2012).

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that Elif Shafak makes use of writing and rewriting as a means of women’s empowerment. Once in a power position, women manage to intervene in the collective memory and transform the dynamics of remembrance. There are certain aspects that are subject to rewriting in Elif Shafak’s novel. In achieving her aim, she returns to several strategies. The components I have chosen to analyze in this paper are: the city of Istanbul, the recipe (which is also used as a pattern for rewriting), the body, women’s status and identity, and collective memory. In terms of strategies or means of rewriting, I will focus on commuting between languages as well as mixing languages, the cultural and emotional values embedded in each of them, and the unconventional structure of the novel – the dessert recipe – which grants the author the freedom of oral tradition, of storytelling.

Central to the magical, unpredictable narrative of *The Bastard of Istanbul* are two young women, Asya and Amy, but the novel brings on stage a multitude of other female characters and numerous stories that intersect, intertwine, overlap, fill in voids, and solve mysteries. Asya is a nineteen-year-old Turkish woman, the youngest of the four generations of women in the Kazancı family. Armanoush Tchakhmakhchian is an American Armenian who happens to be the stepdaughter of Asya’s uncle, Mustafa Kazancı, who emigrated to the USA to escape the curse that used to kill all the Kazancı men at a young age. Although the destinies of the two girls seem to have nothing in common, at first, once Armanoush announces her visit to Istanbul, things start to change. In their quest for a sense of personal identity, “the two girls set in motion a series of events that uncover long-buried secrets that will link the two girls and their families together in ways no one could expect” (Penguin Readers Guide).

Rewriting: Switching between languages and mixing languages

The Bastard of Istanbul, published in 2006, is Elif Shafak’s second novel written in English. Soon after coming in print, it was translated into Turkish and became a bestseller. Although Shafak is not a native speaker of the English language, she opted for writing her novels in English not that much for becoming more visible on the literary market (translation could have very well functioned), but for being able to highlight certain particularities that can be conveyed only in English. It is the strength that resides in the language itself and which can empower the people using it that offered the author one of the main means to propose a metamorphosed self. “A new language gives you a new zone of existence. You become a different person as you switch from one language to another” (*Penguin Readers Guide*).

By simply reading the English title of the novel, one cannot initially identify the bastard and my assumption is that it is done on purpose. The illegitimate, undesired child has no gender, no name. From A(sya) to Z(eliha) and reversely, as in a spiral, the unwanted child could be anyone – Asya, the bastard herself, Zeliha, the rebellious woman who trespasses norms, a member of one of the minorities rejected or unaccepted by an intolerant society, or – why not – the Armenian nation. However, what Shafak clarifies from the very beginning is the sense of belonging to Istanbul which is perceived as a strong corporal and spiritual connection. Istanbul is a cosmopolite city, a hodgepodge of cultures, nations, and identities, a city that became famous for her ability to embrace multiculturalism and diversity. Being a descendant of Istanbul must be, nevertheless, read in the key that the writer gives when speaking about the city. Elif Shafak portrays Istanbul as a “She-City” and she compares her to “a huge, colourful Matrushka – you open it and find another doll inside. You open that only to see a new doll nesting” (Shafak, 2010). Istanbul is a world of women, the “She-City” of many feminine figures. The illegitimate child of Istanbul is fatherless but has unquestionably got an intriguing “mother” that resists clichés and categorization: “Istanbul makes one comprehend, perhaps not intellectually but intuitively, that East and West are ultimately imaginary concepts, and can thereby be de-imagined and re-imagined. [...] East and West is no water and oil. They do mix. And in a city like Istanbul they mix intensely, incessantly, amazingly” (Shafak, 2006).

Rewriting: The Recipe

Mixing is also important when preparing *ashure*, the famous Turkish dessert whose recipe is used in organizing *The Bastard of Istanbul*. Elif Shafak has very often expressed her respect for women’s oral tradition, for the manner in which stories and habits are passed from one generation to another. When analyzing the structure of the novel and reading the chapter titles, we can observe that the format used by the writer is similar to that of a recipe. Practically, the names of the chapters correspond to those of the ingredients used for making *ashure*. Shafak declares, once more, her belonging to women’s writing.

Ashure, better known as Noah’s pudding, is

[...] a Turkish dessert of Armenian origin with a unique story. Known as the oldest dessert in the world, Turkish legend has it that it was actually Noah who made this pudding first – hence the name. [...] In Turkey, Ashura is made in [...] the first month of the Islamic calendar – known as the Month of Ashura in Turkey [...]. There is also the Day of Ashura, which is celebrated on the 10th day of the month of Muharram, when Noah came to rest on Mount Arafat in historic Armenia – now modern day Turkey. Aside from Noah’s landing, this day was also of great importance for other religious reasons. [...] For Muslim’s everywhere, the Day of Ashura is a reminder of the sacrifices prophets made for humanity and as such it has become a day to commemorate them. (Arsiya, 2014)

The main ingredients used in preparing this pudding are: wheat or barley, dried apricots, raisins, currants, figs, pine nuts, walnuts, hazelnuts, chickpeas and navy beans, but there is no precise recipe for *ashure*, giving the cook freedom to engage in its recreation. However, it is recommended that it includes minimum ten ingredients, probably due to the Arab origin of the word where *ashura* means tenth, and also to honour the tenth day of Muharram, the day when Noah landed on Mount Ararat.

Rewriting: Languages and recipes

Interesting to observe is Shafak's deliberate choice of the Turkish language when naming the dessert and of the English language when introducing the ingredients. Since the novel is written in English, *Noah's pudding* would have been a more accessible name for the Western readers, closer to their cultural background, but she prefers to use the Turkish name of the dessert due to the cultural implications and deeply ingrained meanings *ashure* carries. The ingredients, as I have previously mentioned, have English names and also stand for the titles of the eighteen chapters that make up the novel: Cinnamon/ Garbanzo Beans/ Sugar/ Roasted Hazelnuts/ Vanilla/ Pistachios/ Wheat/ Pine Nuts/ Orange Peels/Almonds/ Dried Apricots/ Pomegranate Seeds/ Dried Figs/ Water/ Golden Raisins/ Rosewater /White Rice/ Potassium Cyanide.

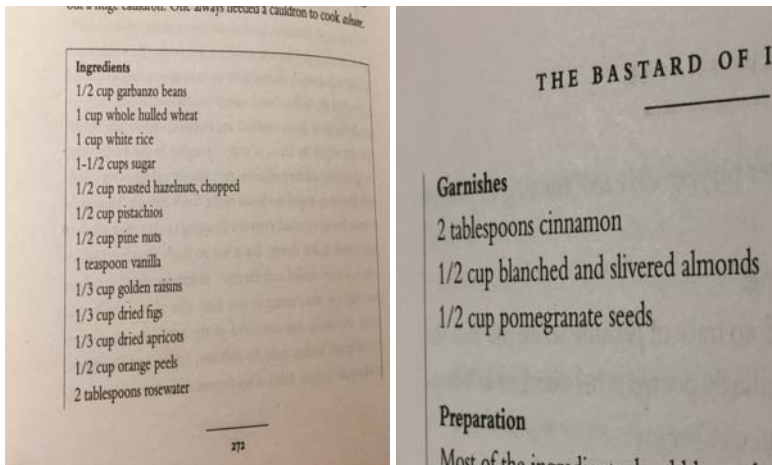


Fig. 1 *Ashure* recipe (Shafak 2015, 272-3)

Carefully reading the *ashure* recipe that was traditionally used in the Kazancı family, we can observe that the order of the ingredients is not preserved in the structure of the novel and that Shafak rewrote the recipe to serve her purpose. Each chapter/ ingredient corresponds either to the readers' familiarization with a character or to the depiction of an event that brings light on the plot, or on some old unsolved mysteries and well-preserved secrets.

The first chapter does not follow the recipe as it is not named after the first ingredient of the pudding, but it introduces cinnamon, the spiciest of the garnishes, and it is devoted to Zeliha, the strongest, the most colourful, and vivid female character of the book. Zeliha – *Walking fast* in Turkish – is a beautiful, very intelligent, rebellious, and strong-willed woman. Her name might predict her inner strength. Walking fast through life, you leave behind the past events that might harm you, you live intensely the moment and move further, without remorse, welcoming the unpredictable future. Zeliha, the black sheep of the Kazancı family, hates playing by anyone's rules and, although she is aware of the norms of modesty that should govern women's behaviour, she wears miniskirts, high heels, has pierced her nose, she smokes in the street, and swears like men. "She was the only woman in the whole family and one of the few among all Turkish women who used such foul language so unreservedly, vociferously, and knowledgeably" (Shafak, 2015, 4). What's even worse is that, although she knows all the unwritten and unbreakable rules of tradition, she launches profanities against the rain, an act that Petite-Ma, her grandmother, considers to be an absolute blasphemy. "Whatever falls from the sky above, thou shall not curse it. That includes the rain. [...] you should never ever utter profanities against whatever the heavens might have in store for us. Everybody knows this. And that includes Zeliha" (Shafak, 2015, 1).

Even if profanities do not literally appear in the written text, we read that Zeliha curses and I dare say this is possible because the text is written in English. Interesting, in that respect, is Elif Shafak's observation about Turkish women who were raised bilingual and who "cannot possibly utter any bad words in Turkish, because it is not proper for women to use that kind of language in this culture. But when I hear them speak English, I notice they do swear freely, without reservations, as if it is OK to swear in English but not in Turkish." (*Penguin Readers Guide*). With Zeliha, Shafak rewrites the Turkish woman's social status. Zeliha is a young independent Turkish woman. She writes her body in vibrant colours and, after her body got inscribed by someone else in a forcible way, she wants to rewrite it with an abortion. She, as we learn later in the novel, writes and rewrites the bodies of others in the tattoo parlour she owns.

She wants to live by her rules, not those imposed by society. Zeliha is allowed by her artisan, the woman writer, to be a trespasser and reach a power position. Not only is she taller than most women in Istanbul, she also wears towering high heels that make her figure even more imposing. This is what we understand from our first encounter with Zeliha who, soaked by the heavy rain, makes her way through the flooded, muddy city to have an abortion which, eventually, will not occur. Commuting between languages and mixing them is a means of empowerment and of rewriting when Zeliha is asked about the husband's consent for the abortion. When Shafak writes about sensitive, emotional issues, she uses Turkish (baba = father); when her aim is to make her character stronger, she uses English. "There was no father. Instead of BA-BA there was only VO-ID" (Shafak, 2015, 12). Zeliha, the daughter of Istanbul, as she declares herself when asked about her

birthplace, confronts the gaze of the others alone. The way to make herself stronger is by returning once more to words, or rather to the absence of them, as she considers eliminating from her vocabulary the lexemes that could harm her. Under those circumstances, the word to start with was *shame*. The linguistic purge Shafak mentions in this context may very well be interpreted in relation to the removal from the Turkish language of several words of Arab and Persian origin as a way of forgetting and disconnecting with the past. Or, this can very well be regarded as a way of putting behind events or taboo subjects that could engender shame and responsibility, such as the genocide against the Armenians.

Whenever Shafak wants to highlight the co-existence of East and West, she commutes between languages, mixes them, and proves that the fluidity of the written text can contribute to the de-construction of clichés and categories and to the re-imagination of contexts and backgrounds. Turkish is used whenever places and things that have meaning, i.e. *konak*, *kazan*, are described. Food language – *raki*, *simit*, *dolma*, *sarma*, *ayran*, is almost exclusively Turkish and, no matter to which culture they belong, everybody seems to understand it. When having dinner together with the Kazancı family, Armanoush recognizes the dishes served at the table, as being similar to those she used to have in her grandmother's home. Being familiar with them, she names the food in Turkish to the amazement of the Kazancı women. Her ability to speak the Turkish cuisine can be explained by the fact that the food she names “is also part of the Armenian cuisine” (Shafak, 2015, 157-8). The moment Shafak brings together Turks and Armenians is carefully chosen. It is not a battleground, it is a background of sharing. Gathered around the table, women eat the food that they name alike. All throughout the novel, gathering people around the table is used by Shafak as the proper moment to tackle sensitive issues. Around the table, having dinner together is how the Kazancı women find about Zeliha's pregnancy. Over the plates filled with traditional dishes is where Armanoush learns from her grandmother and aunts about her ancestors and their troubled past. Having dinner together and speaking the common language of the Turkish cuisine is how Armanoush introduces herself as being Armenian, American Armenian, more precisely. The nuance is necessary because Armanoush does not feel as being really Armenian. She cannot speak the language of her ancestors. Language gives, shapes and preserves one's identity. She feels incomplete. In quest of her true self, she has to take an initiating journey to help her relate to her past, to learn more about Istanbul, the place her family comes from. The Istanbul of Armenian stories is metamorphosed, old houses have been replaced by modern buildings, dreadful events were erased from the collective memory of the Istanbulites. But what has resisted the changing winds of time is the language of food.

Zeliha has always been very interested in the way language works, how new words come into being, how people invent new words to speak of people's occupations by simply adding an *-ist* to the goods sold by vendors in the street – *tangerinist*, *bagelist*, *waterist*. In a similar way she analyzes Armanoush's first name – Tchakmakchian. “I've always found that interesting. The Turks add this

suffix – cı to every possible word to generate professions. Look at our family name. It is Kazan-cı. We are the “Cauldron Makers”. Now I see the Armenians do the same thing. Çakmak ... Çakmakçı, Çakmakçı-yan” (Shafak, 2015, 159). Armanoush’s observation that this is another element the Armenians and Turks have in common makes it evident that Elif Shafak insists on the aspects that unite these two people, on the elements that could bring them together. When borrowing, sharing, and incorporating cultural elements that get nations closer and help people understand each other better, we establish a background for a common identity. “One always needed a cauldron to make *ashure*” (Shafak, 2015, 272). Therefore, when preparing *ashure*, or Noah’s Pudding, this Turkish dessert of Armenian origin, one needs a *kazan* to mix the ingredients. The enlarged Kazancı family, the Turkish nation, should be the background to ensure the making of the dessert. *Ashure* is a mixture in which water is the element that soaks and softens the rougher ingredients, the element that, like in the time of Noah, coagulates components. When tasting a pudding that is a unitary assemblage, one can distinguish and identify the particularities of the ingredients. Although comprised in a whole, the ingredients preserve their identity. America is a melting pot, Turkey should be a cauldron, a *kazan*.

The cultural heritage can help us celebrate the unity in diversity, can help us remember. And the revival of the collective memory occurs in the private sphere of the *konak* where four generations of Turkish women welcome an American Armenian female visitor and tell stories. The painful truth about the genocide is told because women remember. It is useful to point out the way collective memory operates in terms of nationality. Those who have kept trace of their past and inheritance are the Armenians, the Armenian women, more precisely, who passed on the ingredients of their identity from generation to generation by telling stories. They have preserved their sense of continuity and belonging to a nation since ancestral times, while for the Turks the collective memory and, hence, the national identity, seems to have been rebooted with the birth of the modern state. The past belongs to the Ottomans, the dreadful events occurred in those times, the Turks are a renewed people and most certainly they are not to be blamed or held responsible for those dreadful deeds, for the atrocities against the Armenians. Another surprising aspect is how memory operates differently in men and women. Memory is gender determined because of the manner in which time is lived and experienced. The Armenian time is feminine, the Turkish time is masculine.

She, as an Armenian, embodied the spirits of her people generations and generations earlier, whereas the average Turk had no notion of continuity with his or her ancestors. The Armenians and the Turks lived in different time frames. For the Armenians time was a cycle in which the past incarnated in the present and the present birthed the future. For the Turks, time was a multihyphenated line, where the past ended at some definite point and the present started anew from scratch, and there was nothing but rupture in between. (Shafak, 2015, 164-5)

Experiencing time and life cyclically, in the feminine way, engenders a cyclical memory that can be observed also in nature, in the life of plants and fruits. In an

exceptional, unexpected, and cyclical way food carries memories with and within it. Food is a cure for sorrow, food is a source of and a container for memories, is a vehicle for sharing stories and a shaper of identity. The language of food, embodied in the spoken and later written formula of the stories told and passed on from generation to generation of women, has helped them write and rewrite their feminine identity following their specific recipes. However, regardless of the specificity of each recipe, there is something that seems universally acceptable when we envision cooking, and that is mixing. Whether it is stirring, swirling, whipping, whisking, or blending, mixing is a continuous, ceaseless process. It is a cycle, it is a spiral.

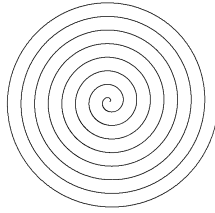


Fig.2 *Archimedean Spiral – Free Clipart*

Recipes and Rewriting

Food is a means of sharing, of knowing and understanding, of curing sadness and distress, of changing lives, destinies, identities. Learning more about the others, and about yourself, one feels the urge to transform. “What is knowledge good for if you cannot change anything? It is venom that handicaps you forever” (Shafak, 2015, 191) concludes Auntie Banu while talking to one of her *djinn*. All the Kazancı sisters have their own manner of approaching life and experiencing their feminine identity. If Zeliha, the youngest of the four, is the modern woman, Banu, the oldest, is the traditionalist who returned to the occult forces to grasp a meaning of the past in order to understand the present. She finds out, by making use of magic, that Asya’s father is Mustafa, their brother, who raped his sister Zeliha. It is a taboo subject, it is something she cannot reveal to anyone in the family, not even to Zeliha. This well-kept secret torments Banu who feels powerless and worthless. But not for long. When Mustafa is forced to return to Istanbul to take Armanoush back to the United States, a part of the Kazancı women welcome him in a festive, cheerful way. The entire house is cleaned and renewed, things and beings, his mother Gülsüm in particular, seem to revive. Traditional dishes are prepared in the kitchen and, among them Mustafa’s favourite, *ashure*. The family recipe is cooked in the cauldron and the large quantities prepared will feed friends, family and neighbours in a gesture of reconciliation, peace and friendship. Sharing this dessert with the others will please the divinity and will ensure blessings and abundance. The traditional recipe is preserved with one exception – the bowl Auntie Banu prepares for Mustafa. She reinterprets the recipe by adding an unexpected ingredient that rewrites Mustafa’s body and destiny, as well as Zeliha’s and Asya’s

identity – potassium cyanide. Colourless, similar to sugar in appearance, and with a smell resembling that of bitter almonds, potassium cyanide is highly soluble in water and, hence, easily incorporable in *ashure*. Auntie Banu is in a power position at this point. Her status is changed. Not only she has the knowledge, she has also got the means by which she can change the course of events: the recipe. She becomes the woman who rewrites Mustafa's life story. Once dead, the secret can be revealed. It is next to a corpse that Asya learns who her father is, as Zeliha understands it is the proper moment to offer her daughter the explanation she owes to her. In disbelief, she approaches the body and tries to solve the unexplainable puzzle of her identity:

Her uncle... her father ... [...]

As Asya gaped at her mother, it dawned on her why she hadn't objected to her daughter calling her "auntie."

Her aunt ... her mother ... [...]

"Baba ..." Asya murmured.

In the beginning there was the word, says Islam, preceding any and every existence. Be that as it may, with her father it was just the opposite. In the beginning was the absence of the word, preceding existence. (Shafak, 2015, 353-4)

In the absence of a father, Asya has never felt the need to relate to her past. The past was not of interest to her, it was void. All she was aware of and seemed relevant was her belonging to a family of crazy women where her mother, to whom she inescapably avoided to resemble, was also named her aunt. Her efforts to be different proved to be unsuccessful. She was her mother's daughter, stubborn and independent, playing by her own rules. She, too, loved to break social norms, write and rewrite her own body in her own terms, having complete control over her sexuality. More than ever she understood that, although she learned who her father was, under the circumstances she couldn't have had a father that happened to be also her uncle. Her lineage was feminine.

Conclusion

Although Elif Shafak wrote this novel more than a decade ago, the issues tackled in the book are painfully actual. Single mothers are still stigmatized, the social status of women is very often perceived in relation to men, minorities are not tolerated, the atrocities of the past are denied. Fortunately, writing empowers us to rise above our condition. It is within the body of the text where women gain the power to re-imagine life in their own terms, where the female artisan endows her female characters with power positions, where change can occur. Women can rewrite their stories, break boundaries and resist clichés. It is a world where women write and rewrite their own bodies, where glass tea cups do not break, where recipes are reinterpreted and rewritten to meet the taste and the purpose of the cook. It is a world where the sky is a she and the act of forgiveness is bidirectional. Women forgive the sky for the unbearable rain and she forgives them for the profanities uttered against her. After all, water, the rain is what coagulates the Istanbulites.

“The crowd was not a conglomeration of hundreds of breathing, sweating, and aching bodies, but one single breathing, sweating, and aching body under the rain.” (Shafak, 2015, 7) And, much like in Noah’s time, water coagulates *ashure* and in this spiral of mixing rain coagulates *The Bastard of Istanbul*.

[...] Sultan the Fifth slowly padded out of the house. [...] For a while he seemed immersed in meticulously licking a claw, but then he stopped, looking around in alarm to ascertain what might possibly have disturbed the serenity. In lieu of an answer, a lukewarm drop fell on his nose. Then followed another drop, this time on his head. The cat rose slowly with deep discontent, and stretched his limbs before heading back into the house. Another drop. He quickened his pace.

Maybe he didn’t know the rules. He just didn’t know that whatever falls from the sky shall not be cursed.

And that includes the rain. (Shafak, 2015, 357)

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ROBE AND GENDERED IDENTITIES IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S *ORLANDO*: A BIOGRAPHY. CAUSALITY, AMBIGUITY, CONTRADICTION

Georgeta Loredana Voicilă

National Museum of Romanian Literature, Bucharest, Romania

ABSTRACT: The present paper is a case study dealing with the role clothes play in the shaping of gendered identities in Virginia Woolf's 1928 novel, *Orlando: A Biography*. Following three main directions: causality, ambiguity, and contradiction, we shed light on the complex and aesthetically enthralling relationship between robe and identity.

KEYWORDS: clothing, gender, identity, robe, Virginia Woolf, Orlando.

It is well known that *identity* is one of the leading themes of the Woolfian narrative, interwoven within the textual binding and placed at the very core of the novelist's creation. As far as gender is concerned, Woolf's prose is probably one of the most discussed by a variety of critical directions in the academic spectrum, including women's and queer studies. The matter of dress however, hasn't been as fashionable, and has only known a true blooming in recent years. A profusion of works ranging from articles and studies to PhD dissertations and books emerged so as to promote the links between Woolf's fiction, her biography, and sartorial practice as an intriguing subject of outmost interest. Mention is made here only a few of the most relevant for our paper: R. S. Koppen's book *Virginia Woolf, Fashion and Literary Modernity*; the studies of: Caroline Abbs, "Writing the Subject: Virginia Woolf and Clothes", Lisa Cohen, "Frock Consciousness: Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion", and Jane Garrity, "Virginia Woolf and fashion"; *The Fabric of her Fiction: Virginia Woolf's Development of Literary Motifs based on Clothing and Fashion in Mrs Dalloway, To the Lighthouse and Orlando: A Biography*, a PhD dissertation by Ásta Andrésdóttir. Virginia Woolf's biography (which we will address only *en passant*) is a focal point in most of these recent studies. For instance: Woolf's collaboration with *Vogue*, the *Dreadnought* hoax, young Virginia's green dress made from drapery and her half-brother George aesthetic disapproval and humiliation, the writer's overall contradictory and conflicting experience with robe.

It is very interesting that Woolf is not only extremely interested in the way her characters dress, but she also uses sartorial metaphors to convey meaning to her discourse, be it fictional, or theoretical. Should we only recall her famous diary entry (during the time she was writing *Mrs. Dalloway*) about wanting to investigate the "frock consciousness" (Woolf, *A Writer's Diary* 74), or the essay *Modern fiction*, roughly built around sartorial metaphors. *Orlando: A Biography* abounds in such metaphors. Both the narrator and the character use clothes as a means to convey meaning. Ideas and abstract notions take on the palpable shape of garments

and become visually rich and accessible to readers. Fame is “a braided coat which hampers the limbs; a jacket of silver which curbs the heart”; poverty and ignorance are “the dark garments of the female sex”. The book itself is seen as a fancy dress and the novelist is meant “to smooth out the crumpled silk and all its implications”. Jane Garrity, who has written extensively on the relationship between modernism and fashion, has pointed out that “a preoccupation with the materiality of things – in particular, clothing – runs throughout Woolf’s fiction and autobiographical writings” and that “one of Woolf’s favored metonyms for modernity is clothing” (204).

Therefore, in this paper we bring together three of Woolf’s prose main obsessions, investigating the links between identity and gender, and clothing. We approach this subject through the close reading of one of her most popular novels, following three directions, as stated in the title. *Causality* refers to the way clothes determine the gender identity of a character, shaping thus their entire persona (from manners and way of acting to status and their role in society), as well as to the fantasy of self-fashioning one’s identity. Robes can reveal a character’s personality and they can also dissociate between male and female genders, though more often than not, they have the exact opposite effect, creating *ambiguity*. This perspective implies aspects concerning cross-dressing, costuming, disguise, self-representation and the other’s perception, etc. Finally, the *contradiction* referred to in this paper deals both with the contradictory role of clothes (hiding / revealing, constraining/ liberating), as well as with Virginia Woolf’s own contradictory approach, hovering between satire, self-indulgent mockery, addressing crucial issues, and professing profound beliefs through symbolism and allegory.

There are two main episodes that represent causality and the way in which clothes determine the gender identity of the main character. The first one is Orlando’s return to England on the ship the “Enamoured Lady”. The second episode, which we will investigate next, talks about her entering the Victorian Age. In her article “‘Orlando about the year 1840’: Woolf’s Rebellion against Victorian Sexual Repression through Image and Text”, Kate Faber Oestreich says that petticoats and crinolines become “a metonymy for Victorian female sexuality as realized by near perpetual (yet disguised) parturiency.” Women “sartorially express themselves as heteronormative mothers”, using Kate Faber Oestreich’s words, by adopting crinolines. Everyone wears them. The queen herself has one: “Were they not all of them weak women? wearing crinolines better to conceal the fact” (Woolf, *Orlando*) that they were about “to bear a child?”. Therefore, Orlando who has successfully transitioned from an adventurous and independent man, to an adventurous and independent woman, enjoying the “love of both sexes equally”, feels, under this sartorial attack, that she must conform: “Tomorrow she would have to buy twenty yards or more of black bombazine, she supposed, to make a skirt. And then (here she blushed), she would have to buy a crinoline, and then (here she blushed) a bassinette, and then another crinoline, and so on...”. And indeed, she does, as we are shown briefly: “So she stood mournfully at the drawingroom window (Bartholomew had so christened the library) dragged down

by the weight of the crinoline which she had submissively adopted. It was heavier and more drab than any dress she had yet worn. None had ever so impeded her movements". Here we have the perfect example of how wearing a certain type of clothing shapes identity. Because of the weight of her dress, the thinness of her shoes, the impractical hat and so on, Orlando sees herself impeded to enjoy some of her favourite activities (like running along with her dogs) and even becomes frail, all leading to her conclusion that she too, as any other, needs somebody "to lean" onto. A conclusion which she finds rather depressing, as we can see from the way the quote ends:

No longer could she stride through the garden with her dogs, or run lightly to the high mound and fling herself beneath the oak tree. Her skirts collected damp leaves and straw. The plumed hat tossed on the breeze. The thin shoes were quickly soaked and mud-caked. Her muscles had lost their pliancy. She became nervous lest there should be robbers behind the wainscot and afraid, for the first time in her life, of ghosts in the corridors. All these things inclined her, step by step, to submit to the new discovery, whether Queen Victoria's or another's, that each man and each woman has another allotted to it for life, whom it supports, by whom it is supported, till death them do part. It would be a comfort, she felt, to lean; to sit down; yes, to lie down; never, never, never to get up again.

However, it is only a passing phase. She will indeed marry, but to Marmaduke Bonthrop Shelmerdine, who is anything but the conventional male partner. "You're a woman, Shell! / 'You're a man, Orlando!" they cry when intimate. Their subsequent marriage will be an open one. Also, Orlando will continue to pursue her literary endeavours (become in fact a successful writer), and very much run around her garden with her dogs.

We've mentioned earlier the episode when, with money from the sale of a pearl from her necklace, "Orlando bought herself a complete outfit of such clothes as women then wore, and it was in the dress of a young Englishwoman of rank that she now sat on the deck of the *Enamoured Lady*. It is a strange fact, but a true one, that up to this moment she had scarcely given her sex a thought. Perhaps the Turkish trousers which she had hitherto worn had done something to distract her thoughts." Therefore, such as there are clothes that reveal and/ or assign gender, such there are others that hide it or, to put it in other words: clothes which are not gendered – here entering *the ambiguity*.

It becomes clear that while the English clothing is severely divided into the female/ male binary, foreign clothes, seen as exotic, are less so. When seeing for the first time the Russian Sasha, Orlando can't identify her either as female or male, and that is chiefly due to the clothes she is wearing: "he beheld, coming from the pavilion of the Muscovite Embassy, a figure, which, whether boy's or woman's, for the loose tunic and trousers of the Russian fashion served to disguise the sex, filled him with the highest curiosity."

Returning to the Turkish clothes¹, we know that as an Ambassador, Orlando receives visits from secretaries and other high officials “properly scented, curled, and anointed”, but in the morning, alone in his room, he wraps “himself in a long Turkish cloak”, and it is now that a truer Orlando surfaces, as the whole ritual of the well scripted visits (during which they even ‘act out’ drinking tea from empty cups) seems somewhat of a puppet’s play, a huge farce. After Orlando mysteriously becomes a woman overnight, she – as it was frequently pointed out – is in no way distressed, asks herself no questions and even wears the same garments as when she was a man: “Orlando had now washed, and dressed herself in those Turkish coats and trousers which can be worn indifferently by either sex.”

Given their strict association to a certain gender, in *Orlando*, when English feminine clothes dress up a man, or vice versa, masculine clothes are used by a woman, they mark a disguise of some sort. Such is the case of the “Roumanian Archduchess Harriet”, proven later to be a man: the Archduke Harry. When first appearing, the Romanian is but a lurching shadow, soon identified as “a very tall lady in riding hood and mantle”. After years since their first encounter, Orlando, now a woman, returns to London only to find the unsettling character still looming on her grounds: “She was loping across the court in her old black ridinghabit and mantle as before. Not a hair of her head was changed. This then was the woman who had chased her from England!” Instead of passion and desire, Orlando feels nothing but mild annoyance towards the Archduchess, whom she must treat by all the rules of hospitality and politeness. But it is when turning to hand the woman a cup of wine she sees that “in her place stood a tall gentleman in black. A heap of clothes lay in the fender.” Once the clothes are off and in the fender, the disguise is broken. As simple as with their peeling off, woman becomes man. Here, clothes have not revealed character/identity, but hid it. Further on ensues the most comic dialogue accompanied by complimentary farcical gestures and mimicry, a true buffoonery:

“She was alone with a man. Recalled thus suddenly to a consciousness of her sex, which she had completely forgotten, and of his, which was now remote enough to be equally upsetting, Orlando felt seized with faintness.

‘La!’ she cried, putting her hand to her side, ‘how you frighten me!’

‘Gentle creature,’ cried the Archduchess, falling on one knee [...].

In short, they acted the parts of man and woman for ten minutes with great vigour and then fell into natural discourse.”

The masquerade truly begins once the disguise is off. In the same style, but reversed, we have the episode of Orlando cross-dressing as a man, right after having been presented by “Mr. Pope” with the “rough draught of a certain famous line in the *Characters of Women*.” It is a reference to Alexander Pope’s renowned line: “Most Women have no Characters at all.” (245) from *Epistle II. To a Lady. Of*

¹ In her diary, Virginia Woolf recounts a visit she made to Knole, and remembers still in awe, seeing Vita Sackville-West, her muse for *Orlando*, strolling around “in her Turkish dress” (qtd. in DiBattista XIVII).

the Characters of Women. At this stage, our lady is disenchanted both with the glamorous and clamorous high society of London and weary of the company of the most illustrious and witty minds of the time. In search of adventure, she:

“opened a cupboard in which hung still many of the clothes she had worn as a young man of fashion, and from among them she chose a black velvet suit richly trimmed with Venetian lace. It was a little out of fashion, indeed, but it fitted her to perfection and dressed in it she looked the very figure of a noble Lord. She took a turn or two before the mirror to make sure that her petticoats had not lost her the freedom of her legs, and then let herself secretly out of doors.” (Woolf, *Orlando*)

Dressed in velvet, once the appearance of a perfect Lord is completed, she goes on to play the part of a lord. When first meeting Nell, a prostitute: “Orlando swept her hat off to her in the manner of a gallant paying his addresses to a lady of fashion in a public place.” They go on to play the parts of man and woman “with great vigour”. The true farce is enacted here not by he/she who wears the “disguise” (who truly feels “as a man”), but by Nell herself “playing” the part of a frail woman. Once Orlando “flung off all disguise and admitted herself a woman” the discourse suddenly changes. Nell allows herself to be who she truly is (no longer trying to hide her poverty and misery, symbolized by her gloves that need mending) and her dialogue with the other woman becomes authentic and savoury.

Moving to the last part of our paper, dealing with the contradictions of *Orlando*, we must analyse an episode we have already mentioned in relation to causality: the heroine's return to England on board of the 'Enamoured Lady'. It is the first time Orlando dresses herself in the “complete outfit of such clothes as women then wore”. Previously she wore the ambiguous unisex gypsy clothing, acting altogether like a gypsy. We find out that: “it was in the dress of a young Englishwoman of rank that she now sat on the deck of the 'Enamoured Lady'”. Following thus the causality law between garments and gender, social status, and even race, being “in the dress of...” means: *assuming the role of...*

Clothes determine how people relate to Orlando: “it was not until she felt the coil of skirts about her legs and the Captain offered, with the greatest politeness, to have an awning spread for her on deck, that she realized with a start the penalties and the privileges of her position.” The captain of the ship overwhelms her with gallantries, while a sailor almost falls off board when he catches a glimpse of her ankle from under the florid skirts. The garments also determine Orlando's own way of acting. She begins admiring the way the lustrous silk compliments her skin, but at the same time she is aware that if she were to leap overboard, she wouldn't be able to swim in that elaborate attire and would be faced with only two alternatives: to ask for the help of a man, or to drown. The penalties and the privileges!

If a few pages ago the narrator stated that there was no change in Orlando the man and Orlando the woman, this ceases to be altogether true, seen as Orlando's ego grows, while her brains become more modest, which are presented as marks of the female gender. The narrator acknowledges this contradiction and moves on presenting an elaborate dissertation concerning the importance of clothing in shaping the persona:

“The change of clothes had, some philosophers will say, much to do with it. Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than merely to keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world’s view of us. For example, when Captain Bartolus saw Orlando’s skirt, he had an awning stretched for her immediately, pressed her to take another slice of beef, and invited her to go ashore with him in the long-boat. These compliments would certainly not have been paid her had her skirts, instead of flowing, been cut tight to her legs.”

At that time the relation between dress and psychology was becoming a fashionable subject. As early as 1918, George Van Ness Dearborn had published a book entitled *The Psychology of Clothing*, dealing with subjects such as: “Histories of costume and the modes”, “Clothes-consciousness”, “Clothes-fitness and Personality”, etc. In 1930, two years after *Orlando* was issued, John Carl Flügel’s book *The Psychology of Clothes* was published by none other than The Hogarth Press, Leonard and Virginia Woolf’s publishing house. Throughout the novel, the link between fashion and self is played out in a number of registers, ranging from symbolism to satire. This particular fragment is interesting as it seems to focus on parodying precisely this type of books. The various layers of satire in *Orlando* have been pointed out in numerous studies: scholarly genres such as biography, literary history and literary criticism are subtly undermined. To these genres we can thus add the semiotics of dress.

If formulas such as: “there is much to support the view that it is clothes that wear us and not we them” or “That is the view of some philosophers and wise ones, but on the whole, we incline to another.”, mimicking the academic speech, deal with the matter in a more subtle way, the parodying and ludic intentions become extremely visible when the narrator brings into discussion the argument of the illustrations. Whereas, as we have seen, in the text, a great amount of detailing is put into describing, for example, the dresses fashionable in 1840. The picture of Vita Sackville-West entitled “Orlando about the year 1840” is in no way faithful to this depiction, a detail Kate Faber Oestreichis extensively analyses in her 2016 article. The same thing happens when it comes to “The Russian princess”. The muse for Sasha, Virginia Woolf’s niece Angelica Bell, wears a whimsical attire, a symbolic reinterpretation of a Russian costume. The string of pearls around her neck is worn in the style of a 20s flapper girl, and not in that of a noblewoman from the seventeenth century. The illustrations for *Orlando: A Biography*, conceived and orchestrated by Virginia Woolf herself, compress in a nutshell the novelist’s ambiguous attitude in this novel, always double, heavily symbolic.

In the end, we can conclude that clothes influence gender identity. When she dresses in paduasoy skirts, Orlando feels like a woman, while later, in Nell’s episode when the lady puts her old male clothes back on herself, she feels entirely like a man. However, clothes do not determine gender identity. If anything, through its mastery of ambiguity and contradictions, the message of the book seems to be that gender is not that relevant to a person’s identity. Underneath the velvet suits and Venetian lace, the silk skirts and the bombazine crinoline, the

Turkish trousers, gypsy clothes and so on, Orlando is in essence the same, and that is chiefly two things: a writer and a fashion icon.

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LOOKS AND/OR BRAINS? REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN DR. NO

Dragoş Zetu

“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iaşi, Romania

ABSTRACT: Various critics have analyzed the complexity of Bond Girl portrayals in the long history of the James Bond franchise. Some of them noted that the Bond Girls represented a modernized sexuality, and that they reflected freedom, independence and a new kind of femininity. My paper analyses the representations of women the first Bond movie, *Dr. No* (1962), and attempts to see whether they are affected by the social changes occurring at the time, most notably the Second-wave Feminist movement. My contention is that the assessments above are not accurate and that these characters offer a puzzling ideological challenge to film audience. The Bond Girls in the two movies are objectified images of femininity, instruments of the male gaze and, as British feminist film critic Laura Mulvey suggested, fetishized objects of “to-be-looked-at-ness”.

KEYWORDS: representation, feminism, James Bond, Bond girls, stereotypes.

In *Goldeneye* (1995), directed by Martin Campbell, for the first time in the Bond franchise, James Bond’s boss from MI6, the British secret service, is a woman played by Judi Dench, marking a shift in gender politics as reflected in the previous films. Here’s the dialogue that takes place during their first encounter on screen:

M: You don’t like me, Bond. You don’t like my methods. You think I’m an accountant, a bean counter more interested in my numbers than your instincts.

James Bond: The thought had occurred to me.

M: Good, because I think you’re a sexist, misogynist dinosaur. A relic of the Cold War, whose boyish charms, though wasted on me, obviously appealed to that young woman I sent out to evaluate you.

James Bond: Point taken.

If we were to choose the most neglected aspect of a Bond film for extensive scholarship it would definitely be women, most notably the Bond girls. Some critics attribute this lack of academic scholarship to an overall lack of scholarship on Bond films, in general, although they are the most successful series of films in box-office history, spanning over a period of over 50 years. There are, to this day, few academic studies devoted to analyzing James Bond movies. The explanation has to do with the fact that the Bond phenomenon has been regarded as lacking substance. In his cultural history of Bond films entitled *Licence to Thrill*, James Chapman raises the question “Why should we take James Bond seriously?” (1). More recently, Christoph Lindner, editor of a collection of academic studies on Bond, notes that, taking into account the role of the franchise in twenty and twenty-first century popular culture, “we can no longer afford not to take James Bond seriously” (9). James Chapman believes that the cause of this neglect is that

academia has been dominated for quite some time by the notion of political correctness. Viewed from this perspective, Bond films are considered ideologically unacceptable: “The Bond films are unlikely to appeal to proponents of, say, the *Screen* school of film theory, not merely because the films are sexist, heterosexist, jingoistic, xenophobic and racist – they are all of those things, to varying degrees – but also because they seem to endorse and even celebrate those attitudes”. (13)

Various critics have analyzed the complexity of the Bond Girl portrayals in the long history of the James Bond franchise. Some of them noted that the Bond Girls represented a modernized sexuality and that they reflected freedom, independence and a new kind of femininity. Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott, authors of *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*, note that Bond films and Bond girls managed to modernize the idea of female sexuality by representing a “‘swinging free’ from the constraints of the past” (9). According to them, Bond women represent a new form of freedom and sexual independence. The same view is shared by Maryam d’Abo (a Bond girl herself, having portrayed Kara Milovy in the 1987 Bond film *The Living Daylights*) and John Cork, authors of *Bond Girls are Forever* (2003). They argue that the opinion that the first Bond Girls, the iconic Honey Rider (portrayed by Ursula Andress) of the first Bond film, *Dr. No* (1962), introduced a new type of female hero who is “strong-willed, resourceful, and sexually independent”, signaling “a new generation of women who wanted and expected more out of life” (d’Abo and Cork 29). D’Abo and Cork believe that Bond girls were “harbingers of a new kind of femininity” and that they were “strong, smart, beautiful, and carried themselves with assurance” (19). The purpose of this paper is to analyze these assumptions and see whether they are backed by the way women are represented in the first Bond film, *Dr. No* (1962), directed by Terence Young and produced by Albert R. Broccoli and Harry Saltzman.

Dr. No encapsulates the narrative formula which was to be followed in most other Bond movies, a formula described by Umberto Eco in a study entitled *Narrative Structures in Fleming*. According to his structuralist analysis of the Bond novels written by Ian Fleming, Eco notes that the main appeal of these narratives is their similarity. “The reader’s pleasure consists of finding himself immersed in a game of which he knows the pieces and the rules – and perhaps the outcome – drawing pleasure simply from the minimal variations by which the victor realizes his objective” (166). Moreover, Eco explains the success of the Bond series by noting that Fleming deliberately uses archetypes and archetypal characters and situations that proved successful in fairy tales: “M is the King and Bond is the Knight entrusted with a mission; Bond is the Knight and the Villain is the Dragon; the Lady and the Villain stand for Beauty and the Beast; Bond restores the Lady to the fullness of spirit and her senses – he is the Prince who rescues Sleeping Beauty” (167).

According to Eco, the formula or the invariable scheme is the following:

- A. M moves and gives a task to Bond.
- B. Villain moves and appears to Bond (perhaps in vicarious forms).

- C. Bond moves and gives a first check to Villain or Villain gives first check to Bond.
- D. Woman moves and shows herself to Bond.
- E. Bond takes Woman (possesses her and begins her seduction).
- F. Villain captures Bond (with or without Woman, or at different moments).
- G. Villain tortures Bond (with or without Woman)
- H. Bond beats Villain (kills him, or kills his representative or helps at their killing)
- I. Bond, convalescing, enjoys Woman, whom he then loses. (161)

Needless to say that Bond movies retained much of this formula and used it with slight variations. For the purpose of this study we are going to focus on the elements of this formula that includes women, namely D, E, F, G, and I. More precisely, we will analyze the way women are portrayed in *Dr. No* in order to see whether these representations of women are predominantly positive or negative, or something in between and to discuss whether they respond to the changing social status of women in the 60's.

The issue of representation has been at the center of literary theory since Plato and Aristotle. Ever since, many philosophers and theoreticians have thought of man as “homo symbolicum”, a representational animal who created a symbolic world for himself and “whose distinctive character is the creation and manipulation of signs – things that “stand for” or “take the place of “something else” (*Critical Terms for Literary Study*). Representations, especially visual representations in cinema, are often linked with several stereotypes whose connotations may be negative or positive. Our analysis is meant to discover whether representations of women in *Dr. No*. have negative or positive connotations.

We've already seen that there is a formula that all Bond films follow. There is also a Bond-girl formula. Here is the Bond-girls formula as communicated to Roald Dahl, who wrote the screenplay for the fifth Bond film, *You Only Live Twice* (1967)) by the producers Cubby Broccoli and Harry Saltzman:

You use three different girls and Bond has them all... So you put in three girls. No more and no less. Girl number one is violently pro-Bond. She stays around roughly through the first reel of the picture. Then she is bumped off by the enemy, preferably in Bond's arms.

In bed or not in bed? Dahl asked.

Wherever you like as long as it's in good taste. Girl number two is anti-Bond. She works for the enemy and stays around throughout the middle third of the picture. She must capture Bond, and Bond must save himself by bowling her over with sheer sexual magnetism. This girl should also be bumped off, preferably in an original fashion.

There aren't many of those left, Dahl said.

We'll find one, they answered. Girls number three is violently pro-Bond. She occupies the final third of the picture, and she must on no account be killed. Nor must she permit Bond to take any lecherous liberties with her until the very end of the story. We keep that for the fade out" (Caplen 196).

Dr. No, released in 1962, is the first adaptation of a Ian Fleming novel and the first film in the long reign of James Bond films. The 60's brought about major changes

as far as women rights are concerned. It is the time when gender joined race as a focus for civil rights struggle. The feminist movement that resulted from women's need to realize their full potential and from their desire to go from margin to center introduced major changes in western cultures. In 1963, one year after the release of *Dr. No*, Betty Friedan published her seminal work *The Feminine Mystique*, a book that became a bestseller and is now quoted as being one of the most influential works for the second-wave feminism. Friedan argues that women lose their self-identity if they adopt the generally accepted view of the ideal woman as a person defined exclusively by motherhood and marriage. More than that, the 60's were dominated by various campaigns for gender equality and sexual freedom, all of which resulted into new ideas and ideals about the "new woman" who was working against traditional gender roles.

A short analysis of two of the theatrical posters of this film is important in order to understand the overall representation of women in *Dr. No*.



The first one portrays the iconic 'Bond Girl' (Ursula Andress) in the foreground, scenery images in the mid-ground and a close up of James Bond (Sean Connery) with a black gun in his hand in the background. The 'Bond Girl' wears a pink bikini and red lipstick. She is shown trying to grab her knife, it is a partly aggressive, partly defensive pose. Everything about her screams confidence, independence. There are other hidden meanings that have to be decoded. First of all, the color of her bikini is interesting (please note that in the movie she wears a white bikini); pink is a dye in-between red, color associated with eroticism,

seduction, independence, lust, and white, associated with innocence and angelic attributes. This suggests that the iconic Bond girl is a complex character, mixing independence and innocence. However, let us not forget that the target audience for this film were primarily males. The movie provides a perfect example of escapist fantasies. The Bond girl is the object of the male gaze. She represents nothing more than a pretty sight. The fact that she occupies the foreground seems to suggest that she will play an important role in the story. Bond himself is in the background, looking in a menacing way towards an unknown enemy and holding his gun, equipped with a silencer, an obvious phallic symbol of male power. As independent and sexy as Honey Rider might seem, Bond does not seem to pay any attention to her. More than that, the size of Bond's image is a lot bigger and his pose more imposing.

The second poster is even more telling.



The independent connotations are missing here. In the foreground we see Bond holding his gun, also equipped with a silencer, in a confident pose, looking directly at the audience. This time the background is occupied by four women, the first one being the same Honey Rider. The same but not quite. This time, her bikini is white and she no longer has the belt in which she carried her knife. She poses no threat to Bond, she is one woman in a line of four sexual conquests that Bond is going to make in the movie. The other women in the picture have the same function, that is to appeal to male audiences.

Let us see whether these readings are accurate. In what follows we will analyze the women that Bond interacts with in *Dr. No*. The film begins with the famous gun barrel scene in which Bond faces the audience while holding a gun and is followed by a short pre-title sequence. Pre-title sequences were made famous by

the following Bond movies and are known for their graphic representation of nude women's silhouettes. However, *Dr. No.* does not contain "provocative scenes of naked females" (Caplen 77). It is the only pre-title sequence of a James Bond movie with are no sexual innuendos.

After the famous James Bond theme, composed by Monty Norman, the music changes into a calypso rhythm and we see the silhouettes of two women and one man dancing to the rhythm of the music. Sabine Planka notices that the man moves much more actively than the women and that "arguably reflects the physical dominance of Bond as the hero of the film and by comparison the relatively passivity of the women who are saved by him" (143).

The scene in the casino "Le Cercle" at the "Les Ambassadeurs Club" in central London introduces the first Bond girl, Sylvia Trench, but also James Bond himself. We see via a wide shot a room with several characters in formal attire. All women wear elegant evening dresses and they are all accompanied by men. We then move to a close shot of a baccarat table where we see a woman in a red dress, with one shoulder exposed and wearing dark red lipstick. The way this scene is shot (the camera pans up from the green table, exposing the women's chest before we can see her face) is a clear reflection of what Laura Mulvey called the male gaze. According to her, men are active gazers whereas women are object of the male gaze. Interestingly enough, we are talking about a double gaze. Women's bodies are on display not only for the male protagonists of movies, but also function "as erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium, with a shifting tension between the looks on either side of the screen" (Mulvey 838). The red dress and the impeccable make-up seem to suggest that we deal with an independent woman, empowered and sexually confident. She is also the only woman in the room gambling and, more importantly, the only one who is not in the company of a man. She is also presented as a wealthy woman, not only because of her attire, but also because she loses money nonchalantly. Furthermore, her attitude emanates confidence even though traditionally casinos were associated with man. While the camera is focused on her, we hear the voice of a man, initiating a conversation with her, without seeing his face. It turns out to be James Bond who says "I admire your courage Ms...". Sylvia Trench initiates another question "I admire your luck Mr...", showing that she is accustomed to male flirting and offering Bond the opportunity to say his famous line "Bond, James Bond". Furthermore, she continues with the question "Mr Bond, I suppose you wouldn't care to raise... the limit?" This suggests she has initiative and money to spare and that she has no problem competing with men. Sylvia seems to be determined to win and best Bond which provokes Bond's remark: "Looks like you're out to get me". Sylvia's response is an indication of the growing sexual tension between the two: "It's an idea at that". She loses and, when Bond has to leave, she accompanies him only after fetching her fur cat, another indication of status and independence. She also continues the conversation full of innuendoes: "Too bad you have to go – just as things were getting interesting". Bond invites her to dinner the next day and Sylvia responds "sounds tempting" and adds "May I let you know in the morning". It

seems that during their entire conversation she tries to be in control. Everything about this casino scene seems to show the new empowered woman of the 60's, beautiful, elegant, independent, sexy, and confident.

Unfortunately, what happens next almost ruins the entire portrait. In spite of the fact that Bond's invitation was for another day, we find Sylvia in Bond's apartment, waiting for him while playing golf, dressed in one of his shirts. She no longer seems to be in control and, after saying suavely "I decided to accept your offer", she is reminded that the invitation was for the following evening. Interestingly enough, although Bond is attracted to her, he has to catch a flight and, at least at first, does not seem to be totally absorbed by her. Caplen notices that while they kiss, Bond's fists clenched, as if Bond does not feel comfortable because of her enhanced sexual prowess. "Bond's conquest of her would reassert his authority over her and 'restore' the natural balance of their dynamic" (80).

However, Sylvia Trench offers a paradoxical puzzle. On one hand, she seems to be independent and resourceful, on the other hand she is "tamed" by Bond. More than that, if we take a closer look at the narrative treatment of the character, another image emerges. After the scene in Bond's apartment, the character no longer appears in the movie, suggesting that she serves no narrative role whatsoever. This view is also supported by the screenwriter, Tom Mankiewicz, who deliberately invented new characters such as Sylvia Trench and, later on, Miss Taro when he adapted the screenplay from Ian Fleming's novel, in order to increase Bond's sexual encounters. Surprisingly, Eunice Gayson's voice is dubbed because the producers thought it did not match her sexy appearance. Sylvia Trench makes a come-back in the following Bond movie, *From Russia with Love* (1963), only this time any independent tone is cooled down by the producers. In one of the first scenes in the film, Bond enjoys a picnic on the banks of a river with Sylvia. They kiss passionately before being interrupted by the sound of a beeper, signaling to Bond that he has to report to his superior. She almost begs him not to leave and complains "But we haven't eaten yet. I'm starving". While Bond talks on the phone to Miss Money Penny, his boss' secretary, Sylvia takes away the receiver from Bond and says "He is not on his way", which prompts his reaction. Bond scolds her for such a childish conduct: "Sylvia! Behave!". Sylvia does not behave and she starts unbuttoning his shirt. Caplen suggests that through this interplay with childish overtones between the two: "Sylvia also gives off the appearance of a spoiled child whose only leverage is to begin a tantrum" (92). Again, since her behavior is unbecoming for Bond, he has to "tame" her "due to her lack of restraint". Again, she never again appears in this movie, becoming entirely disposable once Bond sleeps with her. Even though Tony Bennett and Janet Woollacott note that women in the early Bond movies "offered an image of women freed from domesticity and allowed sexual desire without either marriage or punishment" (228), my contention is that while Sylvia allows herself to fully express her desire, the rest of her portrayal has hardly anything in common with the image of an independent woman that second-wave feminism was promoting. Sylvia was just as dependent on Bond as any other woman in this movie.

Dr. No also features one scene that will become iconic for any James Bond movie: the usual encounter and subsequent conversation with Miss Moneypenny, M's secretary. The topic turns to a friendly 'unprofessional' conversation.

Bond: Moneypenny, what gives?

Moneypenny: Me, given an ounce of encouragement. You never take me out to dinner looking like this, James. You never take me out to dinner period."

Bond: I would, you know, but M would have me court marshalled for illegal use of government property.

Moneypenny: Flattery will get you nowhere, but don't stop trying.

The dialogue suggests a somewhat amicable and friendly relationship between James Bond and the secretary. Taking into account the way representations of women have progressed since the 60's, one might see this dialogue as being no less than sexual harassment. We also have to acknowledge the fact that, in 1962, calling a woman "government property" was indeed flirtatious, but it was not perceived to be offensive in any way. The fact that Moneypenny herself chooses to see it as flattery, rather than sexual harassment "renders Bond's comment benign and banal" (Brabazon 206) and deprived of any dangerous allusion. On the other hand, the term "property" sends directly back to the institution of slavery, which is offensive, even though disguised as a joke. It is, without doubt, one of the many ideals fought against by feminist movements.

The topic of female representations is further complicated by the character of Miss Taro, as he is "developed to provide another sexual encounter for Bond" (Chapman 75). Although in the beginning Sylvia Trench appears to be an assertive female character, we cannot say the same thing about Miss Taro. Portrayed by Marshall, a British actress, Miss Taro works for the chief secretary of the British colonial Government in Jamaica, while at the same time secretly working for the villain, Dr. Julius No. Unlike Sylvia, who actively pursues Bond, Miss Taro is subjected to his advances and persistent attempts at seduction.

Miss Taro invited Bond at her mountain apartment. It is actually a ruse to lure him into a trap and allow Dr. No's assassins to kill him. She does not expect to actually meet Bond as he is supposed to be killed on his way to her apartment in the mountains. When Bond manages to outsmart his opponents and arrives at Miss Taro's home, she is surprised but she lets him in. She appears to have just had a shower as all she wears is a towel. Bond makes no attempt to hide the real reason why he accepted her invitation. When she excuses herself to dress properly, Bond embraces her and says, "Don't go to any trouble on my account". When she continues to insist that she is not properly dressed, Bond responds with one of the double entendre-s that made him famous: "Forgive me, I thought I was invited up here to admire the view". At this point Bond received confirmation that she secretly works for the enemy so he could have easily arrested her. Instead, he concludes his second sexual conquest in the movie and only later does he dupe her into believing that they will go to dinner by taxi and instead places her into an unmarked police car. This episode reinforces Bond's philosophy that he only intends to stay as long as the girl sleeps with him. Since she does give in to him,

Miss Taro becomes useless to him. Caplen suggests that “[a]s the bad woman, Miss Taro is even more expendable than Sylvia” (85). When she finally understands she was used by Bond, Miss Taro’s unique reaction is to spit in Bond’s face. “The scene is a twist on a long history of *femme fatales* and fallen women who lure men into traps with the promise of easy sex. Invariably, the man is at the woman’s mercy. In James Bond’s universe, it is Bond who seizes control, coldly manipulating the situation so that it is the villainess who finds herself played” (D’Abo and Cork 27). Thus, Miss Taro represents not only an objectified woman who easily submits to Bond but also a mechanism through which he can manipulate and, to a certain degree, humiliate a female.

The main Bond girl of the film, Honey Rider (Ursula Andress) set the standard for all other Bond girls to come. As far as representations of women in the fifties and early sixties is concerned, most agree that this period was dominated by the image of Marilyn Monroe, the iconic sex symbol of the day. She was, for many, the combination of a beautiful, highly-sexed woman with the image of an innocent, insecure girl. Ursula Andress’s celebrated appearance, walking out of the ocean wearing a clinging white bikini (director Terence Young thought it “the greatest woman’s entrance in a picture”) established the enduring visual image of the Bond girl and also introduced a new type of beauty, a woman with an athletic body and a more confident attitude. However, a closer analysis of the character reveals more disturbing undertones.

The film follows the novel in introducing Honey in a voyeuristic manner whereby Bond gazes at her before she is even aware that she is watched. Indeed, the sequence can be seen as a textbook example of certain feminist theories of the representation of women in mainstream cinema. Laura Mulvey has argued that women function as fetishized “objects of to-be-looked-at-ness”. Visual pleasure in the cinema, she suggests, is linked to an explicitly male point-of-view, in which women are objects of the male gaze, providing sexual stimulation not only for the male protagonist, but also for the male spectator through the way in which filmic narration identifies with the male point-of-view. Indeed, in *Dr. No* the predominance of the male gaze is institutionalized: in the screenplay Honey’s first appearance is described from Bond’s point-of-view. And one more symbolic fact: women in the Bond films were there for decoration. This idea is reinforced in so far as Ursula Andress was dubbed. Having been denied her own voice, the girl is, literally, reduced to the level of an object only to be looked at. Oh, and one more thing: she was picked by the producers because of her looks, as she had little/no acting experience. First seen walking up the beach out of the water in a white bikini, she made cinema history and set the standard for other Bond girls to follow. D’Abo and Cork summarized the scene. “She walks casually on to a beach in her white bikini, a belt with a sheathed diving knife resting against her hip. She tosses her shells and masks on the sand, softly singing a calypso tune, unselfconscious of her natural beauty and unaware that Bond is watching her. When Bond lets his presence be known, it is Honey who takes charge. She stands defiantly, shoulders back, ready to fight. ‘Stay where you are’, she commands” (27). Awoken by her

seductive voice, Bond is immediately struck by her beauty and the effect Honey has upon him is visible in his various radiant facial expressions. When Bond reveals his presence, she asks if he is looking for shells, and he responds “No, I’m just looking”, clearly looking at her. Besides simply looking exotic, Honey seems assertive, resourceful, and competent, at least, at first glance. After promising he won’t steal her shells, she replies “I promise you won’t either. This is interesting; she is confident enough of her ability that she can stop Bond from stealing from her. This gives the impression that she is independent and capable of looking after herself. More than that, it is a historic moment: James Bond is threatened by a beautiful woman who is not in the service of the villain. Her independent and self-confident image is also backed up by the fact that she supports herself financially by selling seashells, she has read the encyclopaedia, and claims that she got revenge over a rapist by putting a black widow spider in his bed. “She does not need Bond to save her except from the consequences of his actions” (D’Abo & Cork, 2003, 29) However, the reference to reading an encyclopedia reminds one of the ironic comment made in Washington Irving’s *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* where Ichabod Crane is presented as the village scholar because “He read several books quite through” (5).

However, despite her apparent independence, Honey’s interactions with Bond seem to “undermine her entire character and any independent attributes she possesses” (Caplen 87), as in the case of the other Bond girls we’ve discussed. Near Bond she seems to be more and more hesitant and childish. She starts acting childishly around him and despite her knowledge of the world, she believes in the local rumors about a dragon roaming all over the island. Not only does she believe in the myth about the dragon roaming the island (which turns out to be nothing more than a machine designed by Dr. No). The machine spits fire and is meant to scare everyone off Key Island, where No’s secret lair is located.

All in all, Honey does little to help James Bond in his mission. Towards the end of the movie, Bond starts treating her as a mere liability and at one point he even voices his discontent, “What are we going to do with her?”. Bond’s attitude towards her is indicative of his annoyance at her presence. The same attitude towards the girls is also shared by the villain, Dr. No, who, during his conversation with Bond says, “Take her away. This is no place for a girl”. Even though Honey benefits from more screen time than the other women on this movie, she is still an underdeveloped character, with little impact as far as the narrative is concerned.

Sylvia, Money Penny, Taro, and Honey, the four women we have analyzed, and their actions are only secondary to the plot. They are very limited and susceptible to male influence. The main reason why these characters were introduced in this film is to help create Bond’s aura as a powerful, seductive, unique man. As James Chapman notes, in Bond films women also play an ideological role (106). Bond usually sleeps with women working for the enemy, women he needs to reposition ideologically and make them see the entire situation from his perspective and is not interested in women who are already on his side, that he no longer needs to reposition. I can only agree with Eileen Rositzka who

notes that in Bond films, “although women are woven into the narrative, there is never enough time to fully develop their character and, as a result, there is no time for Bond to get to know them either” (148). Bond films will only make a departure from the stereotypical depiction of women around the middle of the 80’s when women become Bond’s partners, not just casual sexual encounters.

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A “COUNTERTENOR” READING PERSPECTIVE OF PROPERTY RIGHTS IN THE VICTORIAN LITERARY WORLD

Simona Catrinel Avarvarei
“Ion Ionescu de la Brad” University of Iasi, Romania

ABSTRACT: The key in which the corpus of this paper is to be read comes with the image of the *countertenor*, the symbol of bordering utterances, both masculine and feminine, somehow organically intertwined, and yet bearers of different polyphonic hues and modulations. The perspective they open is towards the humming rhetoric of an age concerning the birth of the creator as ‘author’ who uses the literary stage not only to mirror, but also to support notions of property rights and social accountability.

KEYWORDS: authorship, intellectual property, status of writers, Victorian literature.

In an almost classical reflection of the *point-counterpoint* technique, the countertenor image that we allude to travels beyond its definition that reads that ‘a contra tenor is a type of classical male singing voice whose vocal range is equivalent to that of the female contralto or mezzo-soprano voice types’ and takes a most rewarding turn when it meets Peter Giles’s words, a professional countertenor himself and noted author on the topic, according to whom a countertenor is more of a musical *part*, rather than a vocal style or mechanism. It is through the many paths that such a concept as that of *part* opens that we intend to approach the dynamics of such special acoustics, interpreted not in physics-related terms, but seen as budding self-articulating philosophy. For what is a part if not a willingly assumed projection of identity, destined to be performed on the ‘board’ of smaller or larger stages, as well as a vibrant, echoing utterance that comes at times when literature was all about *dilemmas*¹ – as the nineteenth-century accommodated the earliest debates on the almost ethereal, at the time, issue of intellectual property and status of writers. A female voice vibrating male voice cords describes a somewhat oxymoronic construction of assumed utterance in a world that was still voicing St Paul’s admonition from 1 Corinthians 14:34 ‘mulieres in ecclesiis taceant’ – *let the women keep silence in churches*; and silent they have been for millennia. With the countertenor allegory we introduce both vocal resonances onto

¹ Dame Marina Warner, in her Keynote address ‘Speaking Right: Codes, Creoles, and Border Crossings’, *Constructions of Identity 9: New World – New Ideas*, International Conference, 27-28 October 2017, Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj, Department of English, Faculty of Letters. [unpublished].

the bustling scene that the Victorian era so grandly epitomizes, introducing them through the narrow and only exclusive Patriarch-controlled voice pattern.

The question of property rights during the nineteenth-century was equally challenging as it was *ethereal*; creators, writers or inventors alike, laboured under the absurd necessity of having to give up copyrights and patents to booksellers and manufacturers, financially constrained as most of them were. Eighteenth-century novelist, Daniel Defoe, complained that the authors' situation was 'a miserable Havock' at times when "all the Fruits of their Labours are liable to the Blast of the Arbitrary Breath of Mercenary Men" (*An Essay on the Regulation of the Press*, 1704), for alas, he wrote on November 8, 1705 that whereas "One Man Studies Seven Year, to bring a finish'd piece into the World", "a Pyrate Printer, Reprints his Copy immediately, and Sells it for a quarter of the Price."² He was not afraid to use powerful words in describing the alarmingly worrying practice of piracy which he considers to be:

[...] a certain sort of Thieving which is now in full practice in England, and which no law extends to punish" was common practice for "some Printers and Booksellers printing Copies none of their own", in other words a "Ruin to the Trade, a Discouragement to Learning, and the Shame of a well mannag'd Government (Defoe 27)

So grim was the literary perspective, that travelling throughout the entire eighteenth-century and advancing well into the heart of the following one, little, if anything has changed:

[...] authors almost always immediately sold their owner's right to a bookseller, and, once it was sold, did not think of themselves as legal proprietors of their work: copyright in the eighteenth century is essentially a bookseller's exclusive right to copy (and sell) a work, and not a key to authorial self- images. (Griffin 134)

George Routledge, the now famous publisher, speaks, in the same nineteenth-century, in almost the same terms about the condition of the creator and the ownership of his work when he said that "men like Lord Lytton and Charles Dickens, and others, [...] did keep their copyrights; but they did not keep them at first; they sold them and then repurchased them" (qtd. in Pettitt 59), just as years before, Alexander Pope, a poet who made a fortune from his verse, went to law quite a few times in order to be able to protect his literary interests. In *The Calamities and Quarrels or Authors: With Some Inquiries Respecting Their Moral and Literary Characters*, a book written in 1812, and published by his son in 1868, Isaac Disraeli denounces the same dramatic situation of the authors, who, though "[...] venerable; and in the ranks of national glory [... mingling] with its heroes and

² "Although practices that we now refer to as piracy had existed since the spread of manuscript culture, references to literary piracy became more common after 1700. It is not surprising that Defoe, who may have written piracy into the public imagination in *The History of the Pirates*, is credited with the *first use of the word* (emphasis added) to describe 'some dishonest Booksellers, called Land pirates' (OED)"; K. Temple, *Scandal Nation: Law and Authorship in Britain, 1750-1832* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 52.

its patriots" (13), standing for "the most ingenious and the most enlightened [...] class of the community" "have, in all the nations of Europe, been the most honoured, and the least remunerated." (9) Booksellers, on the other hand, who Samuel Johnson regards as "the patrons of literature" (26) are nothing:

[...] but commercial men. A trader can never be deemed a patron, for it would be romantic to purchase what is not saleable; and where no favour is conferred, there is no patronage. Authors continue poor, and booksellers become opulent; an extraordinary result! Booksellers are not agents for authors, but proprietors of their works; so that the perpetual revenues of literature are solely in the possession of the trade. Is it then wonderful that even successful authors are indigent? They are heirs to fortunes, but by a strange singularity they are disinherited at their birth; for, on the publication of their works, these cease to be their own property. (Disraeli 26)

The nineteenth century would not dim these thoughts as they live with Thomas Carlyle and gain 'voice' through *The Hero as a Man-of-Letters*, once again building the same heroic association and hinting at a destitute destiny as the final destination of such glorious a journey:

He, with his copy-rights and copy-wrongs, in his squalid garret, in his rusty coat; ruling (for this is what he does), from his grave, after death, whole nations and generations who would, or would not, give him bread while living, -is a rather curious spectacle! Few shapes of heroism can be more unexpected. (250)

Astute analyst of his time, Disraeli supports his ideas with unassailable arguments that prove beyond any possible doubt the extent to which the absurd of the circumstances extends itself:

The following facts will show the value of literary property; immense profits and cheap purchases! The manuscript of "Robinson Crusoe" ran through the whole trade, and no one would print it; the bookseller who did purchase it, who, it is said, was not remarkable for his discernment, but for a speculative turn, got a thousand guineas by it. How many have the booksellers since accumulated? Burn's "Justice" was disposed of by its author for a trifle, as well as Buchan's "Domestic Medicine"; these works yield annual incomes. (Disraeli, 27)

When Daniel Defoe published the story of his amazingly intrepid Robinson Crusoe, in 1720, a special set of rules and regulations destined to offer legislative protection to the book trade³, of which the Statute of Anne deserves special attention, began to write history in what both authors' and publishers' rights were concerned, "giving authors and publishers standardised, time-limited, privileges as of right" (Bently 8) to "print and reprint" books. (9) Enacted by the British

³ Lyman Ray Patterson, *Copyright in Historical Perspective* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1968); Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (eds), *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994).

Parliament in 1709 and entered into force in April 1710, the Statute of Anne⁴ was largely based on the trade regulation practices of the Stationers' Company, the guild of English printers and booksellers, whose interests it most obviously defended, drafted as it was to prevent other booksellers copying books that had been already published, and not so much concerned with the real protection of 'authorship'.⁵

The Statute was a victory attained mainly by an entrepreneurial cartel – the leading London booksellers of the Stationers' Company – who decided that the route to protection against the unfair competition of rival copyists lay in securing an Act of Parliament rather than through any measure of legal change by royal prerogative or decisions of courts. (Cornish 17)

A mere terminological X-ray analysis emphasises the 'hard core' of the English legislation, resolute in its commitment to provide regulations thought to defend the right to copy, henceforth focussing more on the position and welfare of printers rather than on the status of writers. A different statutory architecture was building itself in other European countries, like Germany or France that made the author, and not the bookmaker, the main pillar around which legislators would spin their legal rules. The corresponding legal terminology echoes by itself the school of thought both the German legislators, as well as their French counterparts, had in mind when choosing to refer not to issues of copyright, but to the 'rights of the author', for that is the literal translation of *Urheberrechtsgesetz* and the *Droit d'auteur*, respectively. Mark Rose, in an article published on the topic of authorship and copyright, praises the importance of the Statute of Anne, considering it to be of epochal importance, for it mainly "marked a shift from the kind of culture of regulation represented by licensing and by the guild system to a new regime based more on enlightenment ideas of individualism, property, and civil society as a collectivity." (119) A rather, at least, interesting twist of destiny and history, links two women, Queen Anne (1702-1714), the last of the Stuart monarchs and Queen Victoria (1837-1901), the last representative of the House of Hanover, to two of the most important Acts enacted by the Crown in Parliament and destined to regulate book publication at times when 'mulieres taceant' *in ecclesiis et ubique*. The issue of intellectual property rights during the nineteenth century would have been even more ethereal than it actually was, had it not been for the Statute of Anne (1710) and the Copyright Acts of 1842, 1852⁶, enforced by

⁴ Full title – An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies, During the Times therein mentioned, 1710, 8 Anne, c. 19.

⁵ "Though the Statute of Anne guarded authors from unauthorized reprinting, it covered only verbatim reproduction and failed to consider works that had been altered – translated or abridged"; Peter Baldwin, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 90.

⁶ If the Statute of Anne guaranteed a 14-year term of protection for writers, plus a 14-year renewal term, provided the author were still alive, the 1842 Copyright Act introduced the "life-plus"

the seal and signature of women, *the former* of which ties her name with what legal specialists consider to be the backbone of all modern copyright legislation, while *the later* broadened not only the horizons of her realms, making Britannia 'rule the waves', at the same time opening new doors towards international agreements in what the delicate issue of intellectual property was concerned.

Against so dramatic a background, dominated, as in a Dutch painting, by a steel sky, the *Portrait of the Artist*, young or old, should we paraphrase the title of a famous Joycean novel, is ruthlessly corroded by a reckless legislator, who, the moment it takes the matter into his hands and makes it his concern, pays more attention to the *bookmaker* rather than to the *book-writer*.⁷ Maybe this is the rationale behind James Fennimore Cooper's belief that, in America, at least, "the printer came into existence before the Author." (*Notions of the Americans, Picked up by Traveling Bachelor* (1828), qtd. in Baldwin 456) The blurry vision depicted not only the legal framework of the time, but also the way in which writers would construct their own relationship to the fruit of their literary gift, for they were far from articulating a homogenous, monolithic ensemble, in a *bien pensant consensus*. Washington Irving, in *The Art of Book-Making* (1819) embraced the philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Romans who regarded authors as simple discoverers, denying them the gift of creation, convinced as he was that the final work belonged to the reader just as much as it belonged to the poet – "Like birds, who served nature's intent by excreting fruit seed, so authors were but a means of conveyance, passing ideas from old works into the present." (65)

The great narrative battles were fought on the frontline of the novel, the literary genre perceived to be under the joint ownership of both the author and the public, where the 'bird's eye view' perspective of the narrator becomes intimately intertwined with the reader's 'worm's eye view' angle. Through serialization, so common a method of publication for quite a few iconic Victorian novels, starting with Charles Dickens's first novel, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1836-1837), continuing with *Martin Chuzzlewit* (January 1843-July 1844), *Dombey and Son* (October 1846-April 1848), *David Copperfield* (May 1849-

principal for copyright terms and adopted the terms of 42 years from the date of publication or life of the author plus another 7 years, whichever was longer. For the 1852 International Copyright Act and other key documents, with commentaries, see the contribution of Joanna Kostylo, L. Bently and M. Kretschmer (eds), *Primary Sources on Copyright in Five Jurisdictions, 1450-1900*, at www.copyrighthistory.org with a focus on Ronan Deazley's commentary, Deazley, R. (2008) 'Commentary on International Copyright Act 1852' that the "Convention, agreed in November 1851" when an Anglo-French agreement was finally negotiated, [...] "provided that the British monarch could, by order of the Council, provide foreign authors with the right to prevent the reproduction and performance of their literary and dramatic works in translation. [...] As a result, six month later, the *International Copyright Act 1852* received the Royal Assent."

⁷ So unbalanced and oblique was the entire literary market, that the publisher Alexander Macmillan (1818-1896) stood in front of the British Copyright Commission trying to convince its members of perpetual copyright over Shakespeare's works for ever. See Peter Baldwin, *The Copyright Wars: Three Centuries of Trans-Atlantic Battle*, Princeton University Press, 2016.

November 1850), *Little Dorrit* (December 1855-June 1857), *Our Mutual Friend* (May 1864-November 1865), the readers felt deeply engaged not merely in assembling the fictional plot themselves, but also in a far more delicate relationship which meant bringing the story into their lives, as publication would span over several months. Through this cost-effective means of publication, writers were sharing the ‘authorship’ with a vast and anonymous public, who felt, to a certain extent, entitled to be regarded as part of the ‘creative team’. The voices of Thomas Hardy, Elizabeth Gaskell, William Makepeace Thackeray, George Eliot, all acquainted with the serial novel, enjoyed considerable public influence which allowed them not only to enter the dispute on the social value of art and literature, but also to take its echoes to the level of decision-making architecture, influencing and shaping the drafting of it at the same time.

Records of the time witness the involvement of Charles Dickens, George Eliot and Elizabeth Gaskell in the debates over the ownership of intellectual labour in the 1850s, as Clare Pettitt highlights the most interesting fact that some of Eliot’s best-selling novels, *Adam Bede*, *Middlemarch*, and *Daniel Deronda* were mentioned in the Royal Commission on Copyright of 1878 as examples of high-quality fiction that should benefit of protection against piracy, domestic or foreign, with a most attentive view on reconciling ‘the author’s just reward with the interest of the public.’ In what would be known as the ‘Dignity of Literature’ debate, gender played a highly substantial part, while the ambitus of the countertenor’s voice was covering a multitude of tones and sounds. Though half of Eliot’s works would be serialised, she would refer to this type of publication as to the ‘Nightmare of the Serial’ (qtd. in Payne 96), confounded as she was by what she considered to be an unnatural association between literature and commodity. It was Eliot’s most intimate belief that literature as well as her works were nothing but gifts to the public, and in this respect she highly disregarded Dickens’s intention of creating a masculine literary profession; she made that explicitly clear when she confessed to her publisher, Blackwood, that she wanted *Adam Bede* to be ‘a real instrument of culture’. At the root of such philosophy may be what Mary Poovey identified as ‘women’s metonymic relation to property’ (75), at times that represented ‘creativity as masculine and Woman as the beautiful image for the desiring male gaze’, and when ‘High Culture’ denied ‘knowledge of women as producers of culture and meanings’ (qtd. in Pettitt 211), a point John Ruskin did not hesitate to outline when he viscerally dismissed Anna Brownell Jameson, the first English art historian (1794-1860), by saying that she knew ‘as much of art as the cat’, almost common thinking at a time when men would argue “that women would always be inferior writers to men because ‘children are the best poems Providence means women to produce’” (Pettitt 211), thus supporting Thackeray’s cry that ends his 1841 essay “A Fashionable Authoress” – “No more fiddle-faddle novels! No more namby-pamby poetry! No more fribble “Blossoms of Loveliness”! When will you arrive, O happy Golden Age?” (20) In the same work of hers, Pettitt quotes some lines from a letter Elizabeth Gaskell sent to one of her daughters, Marianne, where

she talks about the 'shelter' writing offers to women who find themselves "too much pressed upon by daily small Lilliputian arrows of peddling cares." (217)

Cross-dressed as men, women challenged another stance than the one they have been accustomed to, substituting the *muse* with the *creator*. Through male vocal apparatus, Scheherazade's voice filled the air of one thousand and one countless nights; if the Persian princess defended the meaning of her name which reads 'the person whose realm is free' sheltered as she was by the veils of darkness that accommodated her storytelling, so did Victorian women novelists when choosing to sign with *His* name. "Darkness—darkness—nothing but darkness; but I am passing on and on through the darkness: my thought stays in the darkness, but always with a sense of moving onward..." wrote George Eliot in the introductory chapter of her gothic-like novella *The Lifted Veil*, finished in April 1859 and published in Blackwood's Magazine in June of the same year, flooding the narrative with multiple keys that may unlock its secrets – one of which embracing, with its overwhelmingly inscrutable webbing, the condition of all women. The same darkness that Gaskell brings about in her description of wifely status – "times of darkness where obedience was of the only seen duty of women." (qtd. in Pettitt 217) Borrowing a male voice proved to be a rather strenuous affair in 1859, the moment the public pressure was mounting up with the success of *Adam Bede* – launched in February, same year – towards the secrecy of the pseudonym, since otherwise, she did enjoy signing herself as 'Mrs. Lewes'. In fact, she knew how to change voices, and one such instance when she decided to speak through a borrowed male tone, behaving more as an investor, and less as someone primarily concerned with the usefulness of his/her labour, was the moment she refused to sell the copyrights of *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, and *Silas Marner* for £ 3,000 to the publisher, rightfully considering her novels as fruits of intellectual property whose value was to increase. (Pettitt 235)

Scheherazade would soon become 'the person whose realm is free', no longer torn between her conscience and its projection onto the larger outlook of society, no longer "the criminal known under the name George Eliot" as Marian Evans portrays herself, otherwise nothing but a natural extension of the heavily publicly endorsed principle of the time which regarded 'anonymous authorship' as rightfully opposed "not only to the letter of the law, but to the moral good of society." (Critic (23 April 1859) qtd. in Pettitt 239). It is in *The Lifted Veil* where one can experience the writer's anxieties over the issue of her own selfhood, and once again, these are voiced through, and 'veiled' behind a masculine alter-ego, Latimer. Concerned with 'those who will never understand', comforting herself at the thought that there are others 'who readily understand' (34), Eliot chooses Latimer to be the voice of the anguish she interposes between her and 'her fellow men' as she admits that "the relation between me and my fellow men was more and more deadened." (36) It is not a question of narrative strategy that she opts for a masculine voice, for it was with such a voice that she spoke to her public and dread is nothing but a most predictable reaction towards the unknown that lies ahead –

“my thought stays in the darkness, but always with a sense of moving onward...” (36). “Female authorship”, writes Pettitt,

as the process of writing necessarily made women ‘accountable’, and allowed them, by a kind of voice-throwing exercise, to participate in the public sphere of print culture without any disabling display of the body. Nevertheless, [...] women’s narratives did expose them and made their private lives public. No better example than the socially disreputable Marian Lewes. (208)

The paradox rests upon the fact that it is through the voice of a disabling masculine body that George Eliot comes to confront this anguish of hers; bodies may be hidden behind veils, or they may be crippled, but voices remain long after these have faded away. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Gaskell, in the previously mentioned letter, attributes healing virtues to writing, allegorically interpreted as reversing to annihilation the “disabling display of the body” process Pettitt speaks about. Emerging from the seclusion of their gynaecium, women, very understandably, were less concerned with the aspect of intellectual property rights, deeply immersed as they were in the magma of the writing process, more a gift and a shelter, than a jobbing career:

[O]ur nice little friend Miss Mulock is advertising another [novel]. I wish she had some other means of support besides writing; I think it bad in it’s [sic] effect upon her writing, which must be pumped up instead of bubbling out; [...] I think Miss Brontë had hold of the true idea when she said to me last summer, ‘If I had to earn my living, I would go out as a governess again, much as I dislike the life; but I think one should only write out of the fullness of one’s heart, spontaneously. (GL 167-8)

believes Mrs Gaskell just as George Eliot’s intimate belief was that an “author who would keep a pure and noble conscience, and with that of developing instead of degenerating intellect and taste, must cast out of his aims the aim to be rich.” (Pinney 439) Since she did pursue her financial interest with shrewd business-like attitude, George Eliot would tune her vocals accordingly; displacing the term *intarsia* from its *marquetry*-related framework could best describe the construction of her discourse, with constantly shifting interplays of masculine and feminine echoes.

But the poet’s sensibility without his voice – the poet’s sensibility that finds no vent but in silent tears on the sunny bank, when the noonday light sparkles on the water, or in an inward shudder at the sound of harsh human tones, the sight of a cold human eye--this dumb passion brings with it a fatal solitude of soul in the society of one’s fellow-men. (*The Lifted Veil*, ch. I)

The poet had to ‘fight’ for his *voice* and Charles Dickens was by far one of the nineteenth-century novelists who did defend his, and famous as he was for his public readings, he is equally remembered for campaigning for the property and dignity of literature. Though sharing the same beliefs towards the public usefulness which literature has to bring in any society, Dickens and Thackeray used different ‘cords’ when they referred to the delicate issue of intellectual property. Whereas the latter believed in the common domain framework of literary

creations, since "the picture or article once done and handed over to the public, is the latter's property, not the author's, and to be estimated according to its honest value" ('A Brother of the Press on the History of a Literary Man, Laman Blanchard, and the Chances of the Literary Profession' 335), the former fought fierce battles, on his own, and with the Guild of Literature and Art⁸, for the professional pride and legal proprietorship in the world of literati. While Thackeray looked at writing as an absolute example of 'labour', filtering everything through, and conditioning the creative process with an exclusivist male utterance, Dickens was accused of a rather melodramatic approach to the act and representation of writing, which, as Mary Poovey argues "became a contested site during the mid-Victorian period"; feminine inflections were detected in his voice, as in a countertenor score. David Masson, in one of his essays – "Pendennis and Copperfield: Thackeray and Dickens" argues that it is "the effect of classical studies" that accounts for Thackeray's manly prose style, whereas in Dickens he sees a "keen and feminine sensibility...we do not see in him that habitual knowingness, that close-grained solidity of view, that impressive strong sense, which we find in what Thackeray writes." (60) Effeminacy versus patriarchal manliness were nothing but sonorities of the same voice, the *voice* of the author that filled the air of mid-nineteenth century England with some of the most amazing polyphonic sounds.

In George Eliot's novella, 'The Lifted Veil', the reader witnesses a rather unorthodox medical experiment, a blood transfusion directly into the neck vein of a corpse, performed on Latimer's wife, Bertha, maid and companion. In perfect syntony with the spirit of the age, the act was carried out by a male doctor, Charles Meunier, on a female subject, Mrs. Archer; in other words, an act performed by a scholarly figure on an utterly flat existence, with no more than a name and a tedious occupation. It is the Voice that masters the game, making the air vibrate with articulations of thoughts, whereas the frozen vocal cords, further muted by the numbing touch of death, remain unechoed and indistinct. His is the *voice*, hers, the *silence*; His, the *stage*, hers, the *darkness*. The utterance becomes possible only as a result of the intake of male blood, allegory for any vital force that is, beyond all doubt, life-engendering and inimitable. Within the boundaries of such an

⁸ "In 1850, when Dickens's amateur theatricals troupe was presenting Every Man in His Humour at Knebworth, Bulwer-Lytton suggested setting up a fund: 'To encourage life assurance, and other provident habits among authors and artists, to render such assistance to both as shall never compromise their independence, and to form a new institution where honourable rest from arduous labour shall still be associated with the discharge of congenial duties.' To begin raising funds for an endowment, and build retirement homes at Stevenage, Bulwer-Lytton wrote a new comedy, Not So Bad As We Seem, and the Duke of Devonshire allowed the use of his Piccadilly home for the opening night. Dickens devoted a great deal of time and energy to the Guild, attending 31 of its management meetings, but in 1857 he was dismayed to find that several clauses in its bill of incorporation seriously restricted its activities... Dickens at once reorganised the administration.... Although the Stevenage houses were completed in 1865, the legal restrictions and lack of enthusiasm in the intended beneficiaries proved fatal to the Guild's success. It was disbanded in 1897." – Alan S. Watts. *Oxford Reference*.

allegorical projection, the constant interplay of voices and tonalities defined the symphony of the Victorian age, when utterances told the story of “personal identity and dominant discourse.” (Flint 470)

But for that voice to be heard and for its master to be able to orchestrate the scores of his/her own composition, an extra step was needed and came with an international convention that would take the echoes of any creator’s voice worldwide. Emerging from proposals for mutual copyright relations presented at the 1878 International Literary Congress in Paris, presided by Victor Hugo, a moving energy at times of internationally heterogeneous copyright legislation, the Berne Convention of September 6, 1886 provided reciprocal recognition of copyright between nation states and enforced, for the first time, international standards for copyright protection. Thus, gone were the days when Edward Bulwer-Lytton observed in the Commons that “[a]s soon as a book was published the press of France reprinted it at one-fifth the original price, and the country thus became deluged with foreign piracies.” (Hansard⁹, 3rd Ser., 39 (1837): 1092, qtd. by Ronan Deazley), nor would Charles Dickens, after discovering that his works had been pirated for an unauthorised stage production in 1834, lament that “it is very little consolation to me to know, when my handkerchief is gone, that I may see it flaunting with renovated beauty in Field-lane” as no longer would Honoré de Balzac have to be a passive witness to the fact that his novels were turned into theatre plays – “A dramatist would steal your story, feeling as little guilt as if he had taken your wife [...] Even worse, though your adulterous wife was a willing accomplice, your innocent novel had no choice. Yet authors did not write books to see them turned into dramas or vaudeville shows.” (70-72) In this convolutedly choreographed dance of authorial voices and intellectual proprietorship the creative spirits, though sometimes (inter)changing tonalities and inflections, imprinted history not only through the power of their artistic genius, but also through their perceptive sense of time and timelessness – “*Hetty had never read a novel [...] how then could she find a shape for her expectations?*” (George Eliot, *Adam Bede*, 1859)

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⁹ *Hansard* is the name of the official record of what is said and done in the British Parliament.

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GENDER ROLES AND THE SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD IN *A SUPERFLUOUS WOMAN* (1894), BY EMMA FRANCES BROOKE

Elisabetta Marino
University of Rome "Tor Vergata", Italy

ABSTRACT: This essay will focus on a popular and controversial "New Woman novel," *A Superfluous Woman*, by Emma Frances Brooke, a socialist, a journalist, and an active member of the Fabian Society. As will be shown, her novel forcefully contributed to challenging traditional male and female prerogatives, besides highlighting the ever-widening gap between gender expectations and reality in an era of profound transformations. The final section of the paper will be devoted to the writer's interest in eugenics (clearly evident in the volume) and its social implications.

KEYWORDS: Emma Frances Brooke, *A Superfluous Woman*, New Woman novel, gender, eugenics.

Born in 1844, Emma Frances Brooke was brought up near Macclesfield, in the north of England, by an affluent, religiously austere, and well-established family of cotton spinners. In 1872, she inherited enough money from her deceased father to pursue a formal education: joining "a pioneering group of eight women" (Tilley 6), she studied psychology, literature, logics, and political economy at Newnham College (Cambridge). Due to a sudden financial breakdown, she moved to London, in 1879, and began her thriving career as a writer. She chose celibacy over marriage, thus creating for herself a fulfilled and respectable life as an independent and self-supporting author. While in London, she developed a profound interest in the cause of marginalized groups, namely women (deprived of education and employment opportunities) and factory workers, exploited and oppressed by business owners: hence, she joined the Karl Marx Club (later renamed Hampstead Historic Club), whose most influential members would prove instrumental in establishing the Fabian Society, in 1884. Brooke was a relentlessly active Fabian, who delivered inflamed speeches¹ and served in the Executive Committee from 1893 to 1896,² after holding the prominent position of Secretary to the Hampstead Fabian Group for eight years. She even contributed to the foundation of the Fabian Women's Group, in 1908.

As Kay Daniels has observed, however, "she has not been seen by historians of Fabian socialism as a significant member of the organization. Nor has she been taken more seriously as a writer" (155), even though her fiction soon turned into the most effective tool to convey her groundbreaking views on the woman's

¹ The first paper she delivered was entitled "The State Maintenance of Motherhood" (Daniels 154).

² She was one of the two women in the Executive Committee.

question to a wider, mainly female audience. Up until recently, her output has received scant critical attention and her numerous novels (published under her name or under the pseudonym of E. Fairfax Byrrne) have been seldom reprinted. Nevertheless, in her times, Brooke was hailed as one of the leading exponents of the so-called New Woman novel fashionable in the final decade of the nineteenth century, a revolutionary genre featuring vital, physically healthy, strong-willed, fully educated heroines, who rejected marriage as the sole decent option for women's social recognition, besides being the only appropriate institution for sexual intimacy and childbearing.³ According to A.R. Cunningham, the liberation of female characters from "the constricting male ideal of femininity" (179) was regarded by New Woman novelists as a preliminary – albeit essential – step towards their political emancipation. Despite (or rather, given) its large readership, the rise of the New Woman novel was met with severe criticism since, apparently, the longed-for redefinition of gender boundaries and prerogatives posed a threat to both the social and the natural orders. Indeed, as Lyn Pykett has highlighted, many Victorian doctors maintained that infertility was closely connected with the *unnatural* development of a woman's brain, which, as a result, could "jeopardiz[e] the survival of the race" ("The 'Improper Feminine'" 140). Charged with *unwomanliness*, accused of being "a sexless 'hybrid'" (Heilmann, "The 'New Woman Fiction'" 199) or, conversely, blamed for her excessive sexual freedom bordering on promiscuity, the New Woman promoted in *fin-de-siècle* novels was censured even by contemporary female writers such as Ouida and Margaret Oliphant. In fact, in her caustic review of novels ascribed to what she labeled "The Anti-Marriage League," Oliphant thundered against the modern "disposition to place what is called the sex-question above all others as the theme of fiction" (136–137), while expressing her sympathy towards the recurring character of the wronged and dispossessed husband, too easily discarded by his spouse in favor of "another more fit to be loved. And if one, also another, no doubt, and another"⁴ (146).

A Superfluous Woman, Emma Frances Brooke's most acclaimed novel⁵, was released in 1894⁶ by Heinemann, an avant-garde publishing house founded in 1890 and specialized in books "thought to be [...] too shocking for the established houses" (Daniels 164). As the rest of this essay sets out to elucidate, through the vicissitudes of the main protagonist, Jessamine Halliday (the superfluous woman of the title), the writer succeeded in exposing the insidious mechanisms of gender

³ As Constance Harsh has pointed out, this subversive female figure was first named "the New Woman" in 1894, in the *North American Review* (79).

⁴ Oliphant's article was published as a review of Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* and Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (1895).

⁵ Courtney J. Andree describes it as an "instant success, running through four printings in the first months after its release" (240).

⁶ The year 1894 was "the New Woman's *annus mirabilis*" (Pykett, "The 'Improper Feminine'" 137).

construction and expectations, while exploring the controversial issue of the sexual double-standard, which lurked beneath the highly ordered and dignified surface of Victorian society. As will be shown, however, far from surrendering to a predictable *unhappy* ending, the writer intended to conclude her narrative with an empowering message to her traditionally disempowered female readership; hence, in the final chapters of the novel, she clearly fostered a sense of solidarity and sisterhood among women, which, together with education and self-consciousness, she envisaged as a necessary condition for restoring the balance between the sexes, thus redressing inveterate wrongs.

Before delving into the analysis of *A Superfluous Woman*, a brief outline of the plot will be provided. Jessamine Halliday (a wealthy, idle, and beautiful young lady) is talked out of her imaginary disease – “a splenetic seizure brought on by ennui and excessive high-breeding” (Brooke 32) – by Dr. Cornerstone, an East-End physician who treats her with “the pill which they call Reality” (32) in the shape of the tragic story of an impoverished mother and her starving offspring. Profoundly shaken by the newly-acquired awareness of class and gender inequalities, Jessamine decides to flee her destiny (the arranged marriage with Lord Heriot, “the greatest catch in Europe” [40]), and hide in the Scottish Highlands where, as well as recovering her bodily and mental vigor, she finds employment as a domestic helper. She falls in love with a sturdy, masculine, and wholesome farmer, Colin Macgillvray, and she even dreams of entering into a free union with him, bearing his children out of wedlock. When, horrified, Colin refuses her improper proposal, Jessamine returns to London, thus resuming her previous lifestyle. Ten years later she is married to Lord Heriot, now a dissolute and ailing gentleman, whose hideous progeny (a malformed boy and an idiot girl), bear the burden of his sins (he has almost certainly contracted syphilis). Locked in a secret room, in the end the siblings die: the boy is murdered by his sister, who, in turn, passes away in mysterious circumstances. Jessamine resumes her acquaintance with Dr. Cornerstone and begs him to put her out of her misery, since she is probably carrying another misshapen creature in her womb. The physician suggests that she should leave her husband, but his plea remains unheard. Eventually, after giving birth to a stillborn baby, the “superfluous woman” silently departs this life.

Surrounded by costly furniture in her luxurious but suffocating chamber, languishing Jessamine is introduced to the reader as an expensive piece of commodity, “as beautiful and as still as a marble statue” (28), doomed to adorn the house of the highest bidder. Delicate, ornamental, and ephemeral, she shares the same qualities as the flower she is named after. From the very beginning of the narrative, as one gathers from Dr. Cornerstone’s remarks, her upper-class upbringing is held responsible for both her medical condition, and the feelings of uselessness and self-pity she experiences: since childhood, her Aunt Arabella – a perfectly fabricated prototype of womanly grace and charm, whose personality (or at least half of it) “had been purchased, it is to be feared, in shops” (27) – has exercised a damaging influence on the girl, acting as her “ruling spirit, [and] educator” (27). It is not surprising, therefore, that the physician describes

Jessamine as “fatally feminine” (32), adding that she is “just a pretty piece of sexuality [who...] never thought of herself save as a dainty bit of flesh which some great man would buy” (32) at a “high price” (32). A few pages later, Emma Frances Brooke (a Fabian and a feminist) further expands on the detrimental effects of an education that discourages critical thinking, while imposing a set of unnatural rules to be strictly observed by all members of the fair sex. In the words of the doctor, “the education of our Jessamines⁷ is into the suppression and rarely into the exercise of mind-energy” (36), a faculty that, in his view, is “to be trusted in, cherished, and cultivated above all other qualities, and in all persons, without distinction of sex” (35). Nonetheless, Dr. Cornerstone (whose auspicious name and liberal ideas herald the eventual foundation of a reformed society) cannot refrain from placing a strong emphasis on the gradualness of the process, in order to avoid the intoxication, “like madness in the brain” (33), that too large a dose of “reality” and mental exertion would cause in the unprepared system of “the superfluous female[s]” (38).

The physician’s ominous warning somehow anticipates the climax of Jessamine’s story. Before deserting her so-called female duties and repairing to Scotland, she writes a long letter to her “savage Mentor” (42), where she strives to demonstrate she has understood his lesson. She equates women’s subjection in society with a form of slavery (46); notwithstanding her passion for jewels, she reports she rejected the splendid, snake-shaped bracelet Lord Heriot had bought for her since it looked “like a fetter on [her] wrist that was going to chain [her] up forever” (46). She even criticizes the institution of marriage, by daringly stating that frivolous women are actually tricked into it, lured with the enticing prospect of a magnificent wedding-day: “I think sometimes that no girl would be married at all if there were anything else possible” (47). Echoing the ill-fated words of the Lady of Shalott, she confesses she often “felt like a shadow – a shadow in a vain word”, adding immediately afterwards “I am so sick of shadows” (47). However, her resolution to “g[e]t rid of the Aunt Arabella in [her]” (48) will prove unsuccessful, since, as Brooke seems to suggest, social conventions are still too deeply ingrained (regardless of class and geographical location) and women, as the writer notices in one of her asides, “when they are frail, are so in great measure because they have not been instructed in the nature of choice, nor taught the art of selection, nor the meaning of responsibility” (156). Consequently, when in the Highlands, even though she wears plain clothes and is engaged in vigorous work, Jessamine is – yet again – consistently assimilated to a fine ornament and, therefore, dehumanized. Paring apples in the kitchen, she is “as pretty as an Academy picture” (59); her exquisite face is “like a carved bit of ivory” (163); frozen in an impeccable pose, she looks like “a lovely statue, [...] the wonderful female face [...] lifted like a flower” (92). Even Colin, “gazing upon her recognize[s] in her no part of his own humanity, but f[inds] her a picture, an art-product, an object” (58). Conversely, the

⁷ The writer uses the plural (Jessamines) in a highly provocative way.

girl is literally inebriated by his refreshing lack of affectation (“it is because he is so real that I love him” [129]) and, for a moment, she feels close to “sheer nature and primeval emotion” (129). Furthermore, she deludes herself into thinking she can eventually taste the forbidden fruit of “real comradeship with a men” (73) – as when she helps him rescue a stray sheep – attainable only once gender is no longer an issue and women are no more perceived as “*recherché* morsel[s] which kno[w their] price” (73) but, simply, as human beings. Overlooking revealing signals (for example, Colin constantly inhibits her movements: he often sweeps her off the ground and holds her too tight for her taste), Jessamine erroneously believes he will settle for a more natural, open relationship, which will grant her the possibility to experience the joys of motherhood without the liability of conjugal obligations. When, with an “anxious, hurried—even *business-like*” (169) tone, he insists on “the contract – the contract!” (169), since he yearns for the possession of his spouse – “My wife – *my wife!*” (171) –, the girl, compared to a lamb to the slaughter, resolves to go back to London, to the cage she is, at least, already familiar with: “hearing the sternness of his voice, her own wild, tender love fled, and sank away somewhere out of sight abashed and horrified” (170). As George Robb has argued,⁸ Colin and Jessamine are not “driven apart by the rigid British class system” (Robb 598). In truth, the girl’s lack of discernment and self possession – the writer describes her as a mere “prey to varying strong impulses” (156) – may have accounted for her failure to select a suitable partner, capable of moving beyond traditional gender boundaries.

Through *A Superfluous Woman*, Emma Frances Brooke also offered a compelling critique of the moral double standard, by adopting eugenic arguments with a feminist agenda. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a widespread fear of degeneration and regression as an unavoidable consequence of the evolutionary progress, as “the result and symptom of over-civilization” (Pykett, “Sensation” 209). Therefore, the sexuality of disabled and unhealthy individuals was regarded with particular anxiety, as “essentially dangerous, against nature, and potentially criminal” (Andree 236): it could even undermine the very survival of the British race. Viewed not just as agents of transmission but as intrinsically poisonous⁹ to their hapless and innocuous victims, prostitutes were held solely accountable for the spreading of venereal diseases, to such an extent that Contagious Disease Acts, endorsing such a misogynistic assumption, were instituted in 1864, 1866, and 1869 (eventually, they were repealed in 1886, thanks to the intervention of Josephine Butler, a charismatic campaigner for women’s rights). According to the Royal Commission on the Contagious Disease Acts, while prostitutes were nothing but despicable offenders, those who “consort[ed]

⁸ A similar opinion is voiced by Emma Liggins: “Jessamine is not ‘daring’ enough to purchase sexual pleasure and emancipation at the price of permanent withdrawal from civilized society, despite Colin’s fitness for fatherhood” (188).

⁹ According to most Victorian doctors, as Mary Spongberg has highlighted, prostitutes were “somehow inherently diseased, if not the disease itself” (45).

with them” only suffered from “an irregular indulgence of a *natural*¹⁰ impulse” (MacDonald 45) since, as it was commonly accepted, the male erotic drive was biologically stronger. As well as other New Women writers, Emma Frances Brooke forcefully reversed the rhetoric of contamination by dealing with the taboo subject of venereal diseases from a female perspective: indeed, in her novel, a representative of the British aristocracy, Lord Heriot, is depicted as a vulgar sexual predator who infects his wife and children, thus causing their misery and death. Almost encouraging a eugenic marriage system, Brooke casts blame on Jessamine’s ill-planned and short-sighted choice of a partner whose physical appearance and family history actually betrayed his utmost depravity: “[Jessamine] recalled the image of Lord Heriot, the greatest ‘catch’ in Europe and the most debauched of men—of Lord Heriot, with his ‘*Hee-hee-hee!*’ his moist palm, his vile eyes, and heavily scented apparel. She thought of his drunken younger brother, of his sister, a microcephalous idiot, of his father dying of paralysis and ungovernable temper” (Brooke 104). Once again, a significant lack of “mind-energy” (36), gradually stimulated by a wholesome education, lies at the root of her ruinous decision. As the woman confesses to Dr. Cornerstone, when she accepted Lord Heriot’s marriage proposal, she “was conscious of degradation, yet had not the force to resist” (197).

Brooke’s criticism does not spare motherhood, “the little chord of hope” (199) Jessamine desperately clings to. In her 1888 essay entitled “Women and Their Sphere,”¹¹ published under the name of Fairfax Byrre, Brooke argued that, in order to release women from the bondage of male domination, childbearing had to be acknowledged as a valuable contribution to the welfare of society and, therefore, “recognized as a State function, and [...] supported and maintained by the State” (Byrre 255). In turn, playing the part of the employer, the State had the right to regulate “the amount of motherhood” (255). Accordingly, as Ann Heilmann has pointed out, the rejection of an inadequate spouse was to be interpreted as “a means of ‘race regeneration’” (Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction* 84), as an act of responsibility towards one’s country, as a duty that Jessamine fails to accomplish. Thus replacing the nightmares of undomesticated sexuality and miscegenation embodied in Bertha Mason, the attic (now turned into a secret room) is filled with the specters of disability and degradation, in the shape of two siblings with no name: an eight-year-old “malicious” (Brooke 200) girl with a “drooping head” (200), and a six-year-old “poor malformed thing” (200). Far from backing the customary “conspiracy of silence between doctor[s] and husband[s]” (Liggins 179) resulting in the contagion of ignorant wives, Dr. Cornerstone, the spokesperson for Brooke’s feminist employment of eugenic arguments, sternly condemns what he deems a crime: becoming “a mother by that effete and dissipated race” (Brooke 201).

¹⁰ The emphasis is mine.

¹¹ The essay was originally published in *Our Corner*.

The author is not remotely interested in the final redemption of Lord Heriot, a repulsive character who, “in much the same way as an Eastern despot buys the inmates of his harem” (203), had purchased, for the sake of an heir, a young and healthy wife who had turned out to be “an awful business” (218). Quite the opposite, at the end of the narrative, Brooke wishes to raise her female protagonist to a higher degree of awareness and self-determination. Thus, bitterly summarizing her existence, Jessamine finally understands that “everything coerced, but nothing taught [her]” (220). Moreover, the very death of the baby she is carrying, preceded by the almost providential annihilation of the two siblings, is not portrayed as a divine punishment but as the only free and sensible choice of her life: “I will cancel it—from *within*. I will repudiate it—reject it—from *within*. If there is a crime, I will not connive at it. I will throw myself on the side against it. I myself will annul it. I shall *will*—and *will*—and *will*. God Himself shall side with me, and Fate be forced to have mercy!” (202).

As anticipated at the beginning of this essay, the conclusion of Brooke’s novel leaves readers (especially women) with an empowering message. Together with her husband and a male friend, Mrs. Cornerstone discusses the story of the “superfluous woman,” whose name she still ignores, since the physician has always referred to her by her function (or better, her lack of function). After an animated debate on gender inequalities – a debate carried out on equal footing, as if they were “three men [...] or three women” (224), as the lady provocatively remarks –, Mrs. Cornerstone utters a comment that contains a veiled accusation to her spouse, whose enlightened theories had not been able to release Jessamine from her shackles, nor had they lessened her pain: “If I had known her, I would not have let her be beaten. I would have taught her that no man [*not even her physician, one would be tempted to add*] had a right to call her ‘superfluous’” (227). Emma Frances Brooke seems to envision a renewed society, where sympathetic, educated, self-confident women are willing to support and stand up for one another and themselves. In view of that, Mrs. Cornerstone seems to dispossess her husband of the right to tell Jessamine Halliday’s story. What follows are her last, challenging words, which also prove to be the most suitable conclusion for this essay, aimed at exploring the way Emma Frances Brooke challenged traditional gender roles, while shaking the pillars of patriarchal Victorian society: “I am convinced that only I really understand the story of that beautiful woman with the lovely name of the flower. I am going where I can think about her and not theorize. Perhaps – who knows? – I may discover that she is not so very distant from me, after all. If so, I shall have the opportunity I wish for of telling her that she is not superfluous” (229).

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VICTORIAN VALOUR, VICTORIAN VALUE RECONTEXTUALISING TENNYSON'S "THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE"

Octavian More
"Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to re-evaluate the relevance of Tennyson's emblematic poem (occasioned by the ill-fated charge of the British cavalry during the Battle of Balaklava, 1854) in relation to a number of key questions that circumscribed the Victorian set of values and sense of (national) identity.

KEYWORDS: Tennyson, Light Brigade, Crimean War, valour, Victorian values.

In a letter sent to his long-term admirer and confidante, Sarah Bridges Willyams, dated at Hughenden on the 9th of December 1862, the famous Victorian statesman Benjamin Disraeli cast a critical eye on his society in an effort to capture its defining trait: "It is a privilege to live in this age of rapid & brilliant events. What an error to consider it an Utilitarian Age! It is one of infinite Romance" (233): While this apparently exulted summary may easily convince the untrained eye that our eminent thinker, some quarter of century after the official "inauguration" of what was to become one of the greatest periods in British history, feels the need to pay homage to the age whose forward-pushing impetus, at a political level, he had strengthened with his own significant contribution, a more attentive reading of these thoughts reveals the author's true intention. "Thrones tumble down & crowns are offered, like a fairy tale, & the most powerful people in the world, male & female, a few years back, were adventurers, exiles and demireps" (233), Disraeli continues, revealing himself to us, like many of his contemporaries, as a shrewd, albeit incisive, observer of the complex realities of a transitional age caught up between the antipodes of progress and decadence.

That the Victorian Age was the age of "romance" is an unquestionable reality: the "industrial romance" that gave the British railways, factories and world fairs was complemented by the "social romance", which, by the end of the century, led to the full political and economic empowerment of the bourgeoisie. Even more importantly, they were paralleled by the "imperial romance", whereby the influence of Victoria's crown was extended over more than a quarter of the world's population. By the end of the nineteenth century, there appeared to be no foreseeable end to Britain's global domination.

It is, however, precisely beyond the safe confines of the British Isles that the weak spots of the majestic edifice were to be seen. Away from home, "Rule Britannia" was meant to be synonymous with "Pax Britannica", and for most of the time they were, indeed, inseparable. During Victoria's reign, Britain participated only in two major conflicts (The Crimean War and the Second Boer War) and the policing of world affairs with an eye kept on the interests of the crown turned out

to be a successful occupation on most occasions. However, when it didn't, the results were, by and large, disastrous. To paraphrase Disraeli's words, it wasn't just thrones that tumbled; the "savage wars of peace" (Raugh xiii) often led the gallant British soldiers through "jaws of death", as poet laureate Alfred Tennyson noted in 1854, upon hearing the news of an impressive, but foolhardy and ill-informed charge of Victoria's "noble" warriors during the siege of Sevastopol. And thus, "while all the world wonder'd" (Tennyson 93), at home there was growing pressure for radical reforms of the military and its leadership.

Drawing on these observations, indicative of the many conflictual faces of the Victorian Age, in this paper I propose a re-examination of this dramatic episode of British military history – the infamous charge of the British light cavalry against heavily defended enemy positions at Balaklava (25 October 1854). To this end, I will attempt at recontextualising Tennyson's famous poem, "The Charge of the Light Brigade" by looking at some of the echoes of the event over time, including a number of later perspectives on it provided by popular discourses (film, in particular), as well as by highlighting the typical Victorian values transpiring through the lines of this poetic eulogy.

Within the context of examining the subject of Victorian value(s), the choice of historical event and literary text appears natural, as both have earned themselves an important position in the public consciousness. The ill-fated charge has acquired mixed significances. On one hand, it is remembered as one of the major "incidents" of the Crimean War, being also commonly mentioned as perhaps the greatest military blunder in the history of the British cavalry, a claim verified by facts and numbers. Despite its echoes in the society of the time as a massively impressive display of Victorian valour, the charge was also one of the numerous moments of the Crimean War (1853-1856) that demonstrated the shortcomings in the chain of command and the general incompetence of the British military leaders, whose ranks had been filled at the time by members of dubious aptitudes and personal backgrounds (many of them having bought their titles or ranks, being, as such, naturally foreign to the realities of modern warfare). Ambiguous orders, mistrust between officers, lack of situational awareness and the eagerness to prove oneself in combat created the fateful conditions conducive to disaster. Concretely, out of the approximately 670 members of the Light Brigade, erroneously sent into a frontal attack of a Russian battery position in the region that came to be known as the "valley of death", around 110 were killed and some 160 wounded (an appalling 40 % casualty rate, made worse by the loss of about 375 horses). In terms strictly of figures (and considering, as well, the insignificance of the move from a tactical viewpoint), "the wild charge they made", as Tennyson himself put it (93), could hardly be read as an example of brilliant Victorian accomplishment. On the other hand, the Charge stands as an eloquent example of how the Victorians made it programmatically theirs to capitalise on almost everything, including failure. Here, Tennyson's contribution to the future romanticised fate of an otherwise forgettable (and, undoubtedly, shameful) historical event is not in the least negligible. Written in response to some reports of the Battle of Balaklava in *The Times* (of which the

first published on the 13 / 14 November 1854, containing the phrase “some one has blunder’d”), this short piece, composed of six stanzas of variable length (between six and twelve lines) is, at the same time, a convincing proof of Tennyson’s poetic skills and one of the most anthologised Victorian texts. Among its qualities, we note its simple but efficient metrical and rhythmic pattern (dimetres composed of dactyls, or dactyls and trochees, in a construction intended to imitate the sound of galloping horses and the occasional halts during the charge, caused by the enemy gun salvos) and the adept use of anaphora and repetition (an attempt to reproduce the flow and pace of the charge), alliteration and assonance (intended to recreate the sonic turmoil of the event), exclamations and rhetorical questions (lending the text a powerful emotional-subjective touch) and, no less importantly, of punctuation marks (full stops, colons and semicolons, suggestive of abrupt perspective shifts, contrasts and juxtapositions). Due to these technical characteristics, as well as to its connotative power and documentary value, “The Charge of the Light Brigade” is also noted for being one of the greatest poems dedicated to a military feat.

I will return to the intrinsic elements and the merits of the Tennysonian text at a later stage of my argumentation. At this point, however, for the sake of further contextualisation, I will refer to a series of points of historical nature, thereby attempting to highlight the importance of this conflict as a turning point in modern warfare, with significant implications that go beyond the limits of the nineteenth century battlefield.

In a chapter of his extended survey of military conflict in Victorian times, Ian Beckett argues that the Crimean War may be considered, despite its overall “old-fashioned” character (162), a conflagration that had overarching consequences both in its days and for posterity, “an important transitional stage in the evolution of at least what may be termed industrialised warfare” (163). He observes, at the same time, that much of the later fascination with the event has had to do both with concrete acts and glamorous episodes or characters; in other words, what we remember of it these days is a mix of fact and fiction:

The Crimean War of 1854-56, of course, is one of those conflicts of which we can remember much after some thought, though much that we can remember borders on the mythic. The Thin Red Line, the Lady with the Lamp, cardigans, Balaclava helmets, Raglan sleeves and, of course, the Charge of the Light Brigade as immortalised by the lines of Tennyson. Indeed, one sometimes gets that sinking feeling that, one of these days, a student will claim that, far from Cardigan leading the Charge of the Light Brigade on ‘Ronald’, Lord Lucan disappeared during it while riding ‘Shergar’. There are other reminders around us. Parisians may be reminded of the Crimean War as they pass through Métro stations such as Pont de l’Alma, Malakoff, Sebastopol and, of course, Crimée. Equally, there are a large number of streets in Britain named after the Alma, Inkerman or Balaclava. In the case of the Alma, there are no less than 315 assorted avenues, cottages, closes, courts, crescents, drives, fields, gardens, greens, groves, heights, hills, houses, lanes, parades, parks, places, roads, rows, square streets, terraces, vales, villas, walks and ways with Alma in the title. (162)

To clarify the author's points, we should note that, as a watershed moment of the nineteenth century, the Crimean War is of importance not only for the military historian (exemplifying, as suggested above, the transition to a new type of warfare that took advantage of modern technologies, such as improved armoured warships, the Minié rifle or explosive charges), but also for the sociologist or cultural historian. Among the novelties brought by this war, we remark the emergence of a different mode of journalism reliant on the accounts of frontline reporters (the most famous of them being William Howard Russell), the extensive use of photographic records of events (we are reminded here of the pioneering work of Roger Fenton and the sight of his itinerant photographic van) and the birth of what may be termed "participatory journalism", mostly represented by *The Times*, which, as Stefanie Markovits argues (2008), became "a public forum for the expression of private experiences of the war", the equivalent of the modern-day "blogosphere". Equally relevant for the war-induced progress was the radical rethinking of war-time practices and the outstanding improvements in the treatment of battlefield casualties. Thus, due to the efforts of figures like Florence Nightingale, Mary Seacole or, on the Russian side, Darya Mikhailova ("Dasha from Sevastopol", as she was dubbed in those days), nursing became a competitive, widely-recognised profession and, consequently, also a gateway for women to gain wider public and professional acceptance. Of course, there were less serious "developments" during the period, such as the above-mentioned Cardigan sweater (named after James Brudenell, 7th Earl of Cardigan and commander of the Light Brigade), the Raglan sleeve (indebted to Fitzroy James Henry Somerset, 1st baron Raglan, the commander of the British troops in Crimea), the Balaclava headgear (first worn by British troops in 1854) or the growth in popularity of war tourism (arising from the middle-class and aristocratic fascination with the idea of combat as game and spectacle). Lastly, we should also remember the linguistic legacy of the conflict, which includes such memorable phrases as "thin red line" or "theirs (ours, mine, etc.) not to reason why", as pointed out by Zoltán (2013).

Despite these examples of change occasioned by the conflict, the Crimean War remained, indeed, as Beckett suggested above, an "old-fashioned" confrontation of international forces at the level of both driving motives and actual development. It arose from older religious disagreements between France and Russia regarding the protection of the Christians in the territories controlled by the Ottoman Empire (Jerusalem and other non-Muslim provinces). As usual though, the religious or cultural motives soon appeared secondary to the real driving force behind it: imperialistic ambition – more exactly, Russia's expansionist impulse to control the whole of the Black Sea and the access to the Mediterranean and Britain's commensurate response springing from the fear of losing influence in the region and the remote prospect of a military invasion of her territories, coupled, above all, with economic interests.¹ These are indicative of one type of

¹ For an overview of the main moments in the development of the Crimean conflict, including its causes and resolution, see Beckett 163-65. For a detailed treatment of they key topics pertaining to

polarisation—a characteristic lying at the heart of both the greater conflict and the circumstances surrounding the Charge, and also defining much of its future destiny. As Lambert explains,

Anglo-Russian relations in the nineteenth century were complex, but at heart they reflected the mutual incomprehension that arose from the *conflicting cultural and economic interests* of two very different empires: *a classic sea power* and *a vast land empire*, one reliant on trade revenue, the other on peasant labour. (556, my emphasis)

In addition to this higher-level polarisation / dichotomy, we also observe a less evident one, transpiring from some of the earlier points—between the reality behind the conflict and the responses to it, that is to say, its perception or interpretation. In order to throw a stronger light upon the public fascination with both the actual charge of the British light cavalry and Tennyson’s poetic view of it, in what follows I propose to take a closer look at the echoes of the event with both the contemporaneity and the future generations. This part of my investigation will be guided by my interest in two key-aspects. On the one hand, I find it important to explain, at least in part, the enduring appeal of a historical moment widely regarded by experts as a failure resulting from generalised incompetence, narrow ambitions and a series of blunders. It will be equally relevant, however, to identify the values reflected in Tennyson’s text and to see the extent to which (if at all), this piece transcends the historical moment occasioning its creation. Furthermore, exploring such aspects may also help in understanding the implications of our subject on a smaller, local scale. For one thing, given its amplitude, the forces it engaged and its immediate effects, on the stage of world history both the Crimean War and the famous Charge remain relatively minor episodes. If there was any visible political result of conflict, it was in its confirmation of certain tendencies already at work in the years leading up to it (consolidating Britain’s worldwide dominance, weakening Tsarist control in Russia and worsening Turkey’s condition as “the sick man of Europe”). Beyond politics, its importance proved even more confined to a narrow space. As Andrew Lambert explains, “[o]nly in Russia and Britain did this war achieve lasting cultural significance. In Russia Leo Tolstoy’s *Sevastopol Sketches* (1855) made a hero of the common man, as did Alfred Tennyson’s ‘The Charge of the Light Brigade’ (1854), while Florence Nightingale gave the middle classes a stake in the war.” (566) In its turn, Tennyson’s poem appears to have had a similar impact, measurable not so much in its relevance for the corpus of Victorian literature (or even for the whole of the poet’s oeuvre) as in representing a point of departure or contrast for later artistic voices. Indeed, as Frankel (reviewing Cheshire, 2009) clarifies, “[...] if Tennyson was outwardly hostile or indifferent to developments in visual culture, his poetry stimulated those developments to a degree surpassed by few other poets, and it is stepped in a sense of the visual that drew artists to it well into the twentieth century” (623).

the subject, the reader may consult the numerous entries in Harold E. Raugh’s comprehensive work, *The Victorians at War, 1815-1914: An Encyclopedia of British Military History* (2004).

Given the general focus of my investigation and the inherent limitations of a paper of this length and scope, at this stage I will not provide a detailed discussion of the later interpretations of the events that took place at Balaklava or the responses to Tennyson's poem, but, rather, a very general survey of them, being more interested in their variety than in a comparative treatment of several different texts. One thing to note in the wake of my previous point about the relatively minor impact of the historical event itself concerns, in fact, precisely the diversity and chronological continuity of such responses. Since the dramatic events of October 1854, the preoccupation for revisiting them has resurfaced on numerous occasions and in a variety of modes. Among the nineteenth century responses, we must mention, of course, Tennyson's own complementary piece, "The Charge of the Heavy Brigade" (1885), a well-wrought composition, with a much stronger narrative core and more declared epic intent than of its older sibling, yet one that never enjoyed the popularity of the earlier text. Another memorable poetic revaluation of the Charge is Rudyard Kipling's "The Last of the Light Brigade" (1890), a didactic piece intent on reminding the contemporaries of the faded glory of the past and the duty of the present generation towards those who risked their lives to defend the empire's ideals (the poem describes the miserable condition of the survivors, left to die in poverty and workhouses). Around the same time, within the span of some twenty-five years (1880-1905), the major moments of the Crimean War were also repeatedly immortalised in painting, including titles such as Robert Gibb's "The Thin Red Line" (1881), Richard Caton Woodville's "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1895), Franz Roubaud's "The Siege of Sevastopol" (1902-1904) and John Carlton's "Into the Valley of Death" (1905). Through all of them, the artists attempt to capture the drama of the battlefield and the courage and determination of soldiers carrying out orders in face of death and utter destruction. Given the lack of technology at the time of the conflict which could adequately record a scene in action, such pieces are, perhaps, the best nineteenth century efforts (evidently, in addition to the literary ones) to transport the public to the scene of the battle and make them experience, vicariously, the horrors of modern warfare.

As we come closer to our present, we see that the interest in these event has not diminished significantly—unsurprisingly, we may add, if we take into account the almost innumerable situations in which the bravery of soldiers fighting impossible odds was to be tested over and over again. In fact, if we return to the earlier claim that the general fascination with the Charge is to a great extent indebted to the idealisation of events and myth-making, we see how the twentieth century was quick to capitalise on this historical moment and use it for propaganda purposes (both to support the noble connotation of military prowess and to condemn the futility of war, depending on circumstances and interests). With the appearance of new channels of communication and entertainment, not only the facts but also Tennyson's poetic take on them continued to be re-appreciated and recycled. In a post-modern spirit, the Victorian text was repurposed and repackaged in line with new needs. In 2007, under the title "The Light Brigade

Revisited (English Sonnet)”, it was re-versified as a sonnet, with a decidedly didactic goal of teaching this poetic form, and presenting a Russian perspective on the incident:

With the British sea routes being threatened
against Mother Russia they came to fight,
upon Cossack and Russian did descend,
oath to the crown was this brigade’s plight.

The same Russian vantage point lies behind another pastiche, occasioned by the 2014 invasion of Crimea. We find no didactic or explanatory intent this time, but incisive sarcasm, evident already from the title, “The Charge of the Light Brigade Revisited; Russia Invades Ukraine Edition” (2014). Preserving much of the form and sound of the original, this short bit is a critical commentary on Russian imperialism, as illustrated in such lines:

Forward the Russian flag!
Was there a man portrayed,
Who still did not know,
It was all a political play?
If they were to question why,
Putin would scold them not to cry,
It is not their business to pry,
Into the cold Crimea,
Flew the six thousand.

While the artistic value of such pieces may appear questionable to many readers, they do testify to the fact that in the public consciousness the memory of the historical event is by and large inseparable from Tennyson’s poetic rendition of it. This observation is in fact supported by its cinematic representations too. To this date, film history has recorded three productions bearing the title of Tennyson’s poem that concentrate, thematically, on the daring feat of the British Light Cavalry (and, in part, on the events leading to it). In addition to reflecting the film-makers views and intentions, they are also important as documents which testify to the shifting significance of the source text in different cultural, historical and political periods. The first of these, directed by J. Searle Dawley (1912), belongs to the silent era of film, being also the shortest of them all. Despite the limitations of early cinematographic technology, this production is surprisingly fresh and convincing even nowadays, thanks to its matter-of-fact, documentary-like treatment of the Charge. The other two are full-length releases, combining romance with a largely fictional backstory inspired by historical fact, creating narratives that culminate with the dramatic assault of the British troops on the enemy forces. The version directed by Michael Curtiz (1936) is a classic Golden Age of Hollywood melodrama which uses history as a pretext for a story of personal vengeance and justice. Yet, while even the dramatic backdrop of the galloping cavalry appears to be secondary in importance to the scenes of final confrontation between the hero (Erroll Flynn as Major Geoffrey Vickers) and his arch-enemy (C. Henry Gordon as the ruthless Indian ruler Surat Khan), there remains a constant emphasis on the

symbols of valour and virtue we are expected to discover, most notably through the repeated close shots of the Union Jack, carried, unfalteringly, to victory (and onto our retina, in the closing scene, juxtaposed against the lines of Tennyson's last stanza). By contrast, Tony Richardson's version (1968) is clearly more interested in the lessons viewers could learn from history, highlighting (still, with the necessary dose of romance) the errors of judgement and human foibles (pride, arrogance, foolhardiness) leading to the tragic outcome of the Charge. Reliant on a formula that draws on the typical fly-on-the-wall documentarist tradition of British film-making, it is a production that does its job successfully with its straightforward anti-war message in a time when pacifism was the preferred attitude to the threat of a possible new global conflict (the Cold War and the American intervention in Vietnam).²

Even a cursory glance at these cinematic productions can reveal to us some common thread underpinning many of the later interpretations of both the historical facts and Tennyson's poem. On the one hand, we notice the exploitation of a number of clichés and commonplaces associated with the Victorian Age, regarding the role of Britain on the global scene: protector of the weak, guardian of welfare and progress, civilising agent. On the other, all three of them also lay emphasis on a set of virtues, both at an individual and collective level: heroism, courage, self-discipline, righteousness. Consequent on these, we can say that the logic of these revaluations is, in its turn, tributary to a fundamentally polarised view that is expressive of a combination of complementary drives, which I will call at this point *dis-placement* (or projection), respectively, *re-emplacement* (or inward-turning). I will devote the remainder of this paper to clarifying their meaning by means of illustration and discussion.

The polarisation of perspectives regarding the significance and implications of the events surrounding the Charge can be seen on many levels. Its manifestations can be traced as far back as the very first official accounts of the event, as illustrated through the following selection of passages from the report published by the prominent war correspondent, William Howard Russell, in the 14 November 1854 issue of *The Times*:

If the exhibition of the *most brilliant valour*, of the *excess of courage*, and of a *daring which would have reflected luster on the best days of chivalry* can afford full

² It is also interesting to note at this point how the marketing strategies in different cultural and ideological areas of the globe can be informed by economic, didactic or propaganda purposes, in their turn creating expectations and manipulating meanings and the reception of messages. Thus, comparing the theatrical release posters for Tony Richardson's 1968 version of *The Charge*..., we can easily note that their overall design and composition in Western Countries (UK, France, Spain) build upon the antithetic relation between romance and death, while those from countries of the former Eastern Bloc (Hungary, Poland) are much more minimalist, omitting altogether the hints at romance (perhaps for fear of conveying an indecent or at least ambiguous message), relying instead on a simple colour symbolism (mainly the contrast between red and black) intended to reinforce in the viewer the notion that war, as the Western, imperialist-capitalist way of controlling world affairs, is a clear recipe for disaster.

consolation for the disaster of today, we can have no reason to regret the melancholy loss which we sustained in a contest with a savage and barbarian enemy.

[...] We saw them riding through the guns, as I have said; to our delight, we saw them returning, after breaking through a column of Russian infantry and scattering them like chaff, when the flank fire of the battery on the hill swept them down, scattered and broken as they were. Wounded men and dismounted troopers flying towards us told the sad tale *demigods could not have done what they had failed to do*. At the very moment when they were about to retreat, a regiment of lancers was hurled upon their flank. Colonel Shewell, of the 8th Hussars, saw the danger and rode his men straight at them, cutting his way through with fearful loss. The other regiments turned and engaged in a desperate encounter. With *courage too great almost for credence*, they were breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, where there took place *an act of atrocity without parallel in modern warfare of civilized nations*. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry passed, returned to their guns. They saw their own cavalry mingled with the troopers who had just ridden over them, and *to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin...* (my emphasis)

On closer inspection, the highlighted parts reveal to us two polarised constructions. On the surface, we find an example of the “good vs evil” / “us vs them” antithetic presentation, expectable and understandable under the rules of war. To the “most brilliant valour”, “excess of courage” (or, further on, “courage too great almost for credence”) and “a daring which would have reflected luster on the best days of chivalry” the author opposes the horrendous actions and attributes of the enemy, the “atrocity without parallel in modern warfare”, “eternal disgrace” and “the murderous volley of grape and canister”. More important though than this hyperbolic set of opposites is the almost oxymoronic “demigods could not have done what they have failed to do”, the central statement of this account. It is indicative of another, more subtle yet typically Victorian manner of romancing reality which might explain in part the enduring myth surrounding the actions of the British Light Cavalry on the fated day: under the right circumstances, failure can be (and should be) regarded as achievement. Indeed, as Barczewski points out, Lord Raglan’s order “became the *most infamous order* in British military history” (98, my emphasis), just as the Charge of the Light Brigade is commonly viewed as “the *most famous heroic failure* in British military” (94, my emphasis). What made the actions of the British soldiers famous was not the tragic loss of life, the author continues, but, rather, the “futility of the act” (101). Paradoxically, it can be speculated that without the failure, the impression left by them would probably have had no such resounding echoes with the Victorian public and the later generations. (101)

In fact, it has to be noted that this perception of the “hero-emerging-victorious-in-defeat” gave rise over the decades following the events to a cult of the Crimean War veteran:

The survivors became celebrities who were fêted at annual banquets and, as the decades passed, were given lavish funerals. This was despite the fact that the charge

was a disaster that had resulted from a string of errors and misunderstandings in the British chain of command.” (Barczewski 95)

For the Victorians this cult was, however, more than just an occasion to pay tribute to individual achievement. As Kriegel (2006) explains, in time, these public celebrations of former valour and gallantry became a motive to strengthen the faith in the virtues of empire—the collective might of the nation:

at the end of the nineteenth century, the cult of the veterans of the 1854-56 war represented the marriage of patriotism and philanthropy; the survivors of the battlefields of Crimea were often paraded in public spectacles and monarchical processions.

In light of these remarks, let us now briefly turn to Tennyson’s poem and look for the virtues exemplified by his own version of the hero. A close reading of the text allows us to see that at its very basis too there lies a fundamentally polarised vision. Through a series of sequences in which the poetic “camera” switches focus from the brigade to other figures (the “us vs them” paradigm), at the end of the piece, “all that was left” of the “six hundred” emerges as a “noble” lot. More exactly, we are dealing with juxtapositions such as “into the valley of death / *rode the six hundred*” – “charge for the guns *he said*”, “not though *the soldier knew*” – “*someone had blunder’d*”, “*Boldly they rode and well*” – “*Stormed at with shot and shell*”, “*Charging an army*” – “while / *All the world wonder’d*” or “*Right thro’ the line they broke*” – “*Cosack and Russian / Reel’d [...]*”. While at this point, it is also important to note the type of qualifiers that prevail throughout Tennyson’s references to the Light Brigade: they charge “boldly” and do their duty “well” despite facing imminent death, which entitles them to earn in the public eye the status of “noblemen” (as opposed to the actual nobiliary titles detained by their commanders, which, as mentioned earlier, were often inherited or bought).

In fact, Tennyson’s choice of the adjective “noble” to describe the survivors of the Charge can be better understood when placed in the context of the Victorian notion of “character”. Though not remembered by particular names, the surviving lot of ordinary soldiers have been granted immortality because through their actions they have illustrated the qualities of true Victorian “gentleman”. As Cardinal John Henry Newman explained in 1852, being a gentleman does not necessitate a pedigree, as used to be the case in earlier times, but a capacity to prove possession of a number of characteristic middle-class virtues:

He is patient, forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles; he submits to pain, because it is inevitable, to bereavement, because it is irreparable, and to death, because it is his destiny. If he engages in controversy of any kind, his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blunder. (my emphasis)

In Tennyson’s words, these qualities are translated thus: “Theirs not to make reply, / Theirs not to reason why / Theirs but to do and die” (93). However, it would be wrong to assume that the noble character of the soldiers in this poem is merely a matter of verifying certain prevailing views or validating expectations through actual conduct. On the contrary, in its own turn and in a characteristically Victorian

manner this noble character is *constructed* here through the interplay of the earlier-mentioned dis-placement and re-emplacement.

Dis-placement can be employed as an effective mechanism of checking heroism. With Tennyson, as on the real battlefield, it manifests itself, principally, in two ways: by *anonymising* the individual (subsuming the self to the greater good of the race, nation or, in this case, the common goal of the brigade) and by *placing* the same individual in a foreign space in an act that is also intimately tied with the greater notion of “empire” (within this scheme, we may argue that Crimea represents but another instance of the Orient, an unfamiliar territory where character can be genuinely validated). Both of these strategies of dis-placement have a long tradition with the British. An example of anonymising can be seen in what A. Froude (cited in Cain 259-60) considered to be the pathway to accomplishing “the genius of English freedom” by means of recovering the “chivalrous enthusiasm” as well as “gallantry, disinterestedness and high heroic energy” of the Elizabethan forefathers who were guided, as principle of conduct, by the interests of the country and the precepts of their religion, rather than the selfish aims of the individual. As for the placement in an unfamiliar territory, the empire represented a fertile ground for the “continued development of the complex of attributes that supported character” (Cain 260), while the Orient acted as a warning beacon casting light upon “the fragility of their achievement” and questioning “the place of empire in sustaining or undermining that achievement” (Cain 273).

In Tennyson’s text, dis-placement is visible mainly as anonymising. For one thing, the poet’s avoidance of personal pronouns leads to the creation of a “respectful distance” (Shannon and Ricks 18, cited in Hadley 75) between the spectator and the contemplated scene of violence and destruction. In addition, the poet adopts a neutral stance, in order to avoid politicising his perspective, ensuring thus that his reader’s attention remains firmly fixed on valour and virtue (achievement) rather than on those accountable for the carnage on the battlefield (failure) (Hadley 77).³ The opposite effort, re-emplacement, is much less obvious within the text itself, as it implies the engagement of the reader with the poetic space. In effect, this latter characteristic is what sets Tennyson’s piece apart from the traditional laudatory verse, and we may safely claim that it is quintessential for explaining its lasting appeal. By making use of a variety of visual and auditory devices (metaphor, assonance, repetition, etc. – see the brief presentation at the beginning of this paper), Tennyson creates an immersive experience. Its purpose is not so much to bring the reality of the battlefield home – as a news reports, photographs or paintings would do—but to transport the readers to the very heart of the charge, making them feel, inasmuch as possible, the horrific nature of the event, almost in a fashion that anticipates the mechanisms behind the twentieth century cinematic reflections of the event. The added benefit of this strategy is that

³ In this context, we can argue that Tennyson’s poetic effort, in its own turn, is illustrative of some of the virtues of character appraised by Newman, namely “prudence” and “temperance”.

the poem forces the reader to assume the role of one of the “six hundred” and thus, implicitly, to question one’s own possible conduct, character and virtues. “When can their glory fade?” Tennyson wonders in the concluding stanza (93). The answer, we know, is “never”, and the rhetorical nature of the question is made clear by the exclamation that follows: “O the *wild* charge they *made!*” (93, my emphasis) – a sincere expression of awe in face of impossible odds but also a call to both fellow Victorians and future generations to do their best in all their enterprises. In other words, to show valour and virtue in action.

With this last point in mind, I will conclude this brief exercise in recontextualising Tennyson’s piece by referring to the remarks of two other scholars who devoted their attention to examining the poet’s place within the gallery of Victorian literary figures. As Glenn Everett (1998) explains, “[w]hat made Tennyson so Victorian was his ready acceptance of the mores of his day, his willingness to conform to popular taste, to write a poetry that was easily understood and enjoyed [...]”. In this sense, “The Charge of the Light Brigade” remains a reference work which demonstrates that Tennyson is a Victorian poet and personality *par excellence*, who reinvests tradition with new significances, creating a text that simultaneously requires from its readers and lends itself to a complex interpretive framework. More importantly though, through the plethora of responses it has occasioned since its publication, it also serves as a testimony to the enduring values of one of the truly greatest ages in British history and culture:

The Victorians were the last in the English poetic tradition who could claim major popularity. They were certainly the last who could use the traditional word-stock of ethical key-words like honour, nobility and chivalry without embarrassment or a tinge of irony. (Hughes 72)

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NORWEGIAN EXPERIMENTAL LITERATURE

JAN ERIK VOLD AND THE CONCEPT OF CONCRETISM¹

Raluca-Daniela Răduț
'Babeș-Bolyai' University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: This paper aims at presenting the idea of Norwegian concrete poetry as it is reflected in Jan Erik Vold's literary work. In this sense, I make reference to three concrete volumes of poetry, namely *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*, 1965), *blikket* (*The Gaze*, 1966) and *kykelipi* (1969). With respect to the concept of concretism, it is important to note that when dealing with Jan Erik Vold's concrete poetry, his poems can be classified as follows: typographical poems, personal notes and nursery rhymes. Thus, through these categories attributed to concrete poetry, the Norwegian poet gives a note of novelty to the whole concept of concretism, and a variety of meanings attributed to this concept.

KEYWORDS: Norwegian concrete poetry, Jan Erik Vold, concretism, typographical poems, nursery rhymes, personal notes.

Introductory Remarks

The present paper traces a few important literary lines regarding the concept of concretism. In the beginning it is presented the Norwegian concretism as it was approached by Jan Erik Vold through his concrete poems. It is worth mentioning that Jan Erik Vold's concrete poems can be classified as typographical poems, nursery rhymes, personal notes, grammatical poems and *readymades*. In addition, I will present three manifestos for concrete poetry, one from Switzerland written by Eugen Gomringer, followed by the *Noigandres* group's manifesto from Brazil and the Swedish manifesto written by Öyvind Fahlström. The last part of the present paper is dedicated to a series of close readings of a selection of Jan Erik Vold's concrete poems taken from three of his collections of poetry: *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*), *blikket* (*The Gaze*, 1966) and *kykelipi*, with a special focus on typographical poems, nursery rhymes and personal notes.

Jan Erik Vold: The Norwegian Concretism

A prominent literary figure representing *konkretisme* (*concretism*) and *konkrete dikt* (*concrete poems*) is the contemporary Norwegian poet Jan Erik Vold (b.1939). He was born in Oslo, being the first child of Sigrid and Ragnar Vold. He has got a sister, Karin Beate Vold, best known for her children's books. Jan Erik Vold spent his childhood in Bolteløkka, an area in central Oslo. In his poems about the city of

¹ The information presented in this article is part of my PhD thesis entitled *The Poetry of Jan Erik Vold and the Norwegian Lyric Modernism in the 1960s*, published as a book at Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj-Napoca, as part of the series Colecția Nordica, 2018, ISBN 978-606-17-1287-8, 354 p.

Oslo, most of them published in one of the most popular volumes of poetry of the 60s, *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* (*Mother Goodhearted Happy Version. Yes*, 1968), the poet describes the areas where he grew up, writing about streets, special friends and places. He made his literary debut in 1965 with the volume of poems entitled *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*), which is modern in a more traditional way. *blikket* (*The Gaze*, 1966) marked Vold's radical change in writing style, from a traditional to a concrete one, where the rhythm and the structure of the words were of great importance. In 1969 he published *kykelipi*, including different concrete poems, from grammatical poems to *readymades*. Vold also wrote prose poems in *fra rom til rom SAD & CRAZY* (*From room to Room: SAD & CRAZY*, 1967), haiku published in *spor, snø* (*Traces, Snow*, 1970) and a series of political poems. In addition, he is known as a performer, in the sense that he often reads his poems to a jazz accompaniment. Besides, for a while, he was an important member of the editorial board of the Literary Circle *Profil* and the eponymous literary magazine.

In the 1960s Jan Erik Vold gave a note of novelty to the poetry of those times, by writing concrete poems. This type of poetry "operating with letters or words on the page with the intention of creating visual effects rather than verbal communication, represents a violation of the borderlines between the art forms as traditionally conceived" (Aarseth 344). Vold's literary perspective regarding the concept of concrete poetry outlines the importance of the reader and the fact that he is invited to be an active part of the whole process of creation concrete poems. In other words, "Vold characterises concrete poetry as an open poetry. He emphasises the reader's active implication in commenting on the poems, yet when he does this, he moves in a 'counter-aesthetic' scenery" (Haugen 82).² In the interview that I conducted with Jan Erik Vold on the 15th of February 2015 in Tromsø, Norway, the poet explained that before writing concrete poetry he had been inspired by Swedish and American concrete poems:

I heard about concrete poetry because there was a Swedish lector at the University of Oslo, Bo Thörnqvist, and he wrote about it in *Dagbladet*. *Konkret* is the opposite of abstract, so it can be for example, something visible; a concrete script is the graphic sign while the abstract one is an acoustic image. I soon realised that I was the only one among my Norwegian colleagues who was not interested in the subject, because there was nothing fascinating about it. Norwegian concretism spread fairly quickly; [...]."³ (Jan Erik Vold, 15th February 2015, my own translation)

² "Vold velger å karakterisere konkret poesi som åpen, han vektlegger leserens active deltakelse i tolkningen av diktene, og han beveger seg, ikke minst, i et tverrestetisk landskap når han gjør det."

³ "Jeg viste om konkret poesi og det var en svensk lektor ved Universitetet i Oslo, Bo Thörnqvist heter han som skrevet en kronikk om dette i *Dagbladet*. *Konkret* det betyr at det er det motsatte av abstrakt, altså konkret kan være synlig for eksempel og at skrift kan være konkret det betyr at skrift er et grafisk tegn, mens skrift abstrakt er jo lyd. Så nå skjønnte jeg veldig fort hvorfor jeg var først i Norge men mine kolleger hadde kanskje ikke tenkt gjennom dette. Det var ikke noen som var fasinert av det. Konkretismen i Norge spredte seg ganske fort; [...]."

Manifestos on Concrete Poetry

Mary Ellen Solt in her book entitled *Concrete Poetry: A World View* states several ideas related to the etymology of the word ‘concrete’ and its significance as a literary genre: “The term ‘concrete’ is now being used to refer to a variety of innovations and experiments, [...]” (Solt 7). According to the English critic Max Weaver, there are categories of concrete poetry: visual, phonetic and kinetic. “Generally speaking the material of the concrete poem is language: words reduced to their elements of letters (to see) syllables (to hear). [...] Put another way this means the concrete poet is concerned with making an object to be perceived rather than read” (7). There are several manifestos written about concrete poetry, therefore I chose to focus my attention only on three of them. The concept of concretism was first shaped in Europe by Eugen Gomringer (b. 1925). In 1954 he published his manifesto “From Line to Constellation”, where constellation is synonymous with concrete poetry. In his manifesto of concrete poetry Gomringer states the idea that his *constellations* invite the readers to take part actively in the whole process of creating the concrete poem, this field being compared to a play-area:

Our languages are on the road to formal simplification, abbreviated, restricted forms of language are emerging. The content of a sentence is often conveyed in a single word. [...]. The constellation is the simplest possible kind of configuration in poetry which has for its basic unit the word, it encloses a group of words as if it were drawing stars together to form a cluster. The constellation is an arrangement, and at the same time a play-area of fixed dimensions. The constellation is ordered by the poet. He determines the play-area, the field of force and suggests its possibilities. The reader, the new reader, grasps the idea of play, and joins in. In the constellation something is brought into the world. It is a reality in itself and not a poem about something or other. The constellation is an invitation. (Solt apud Gomringer, tr. Weaver 67)

If Gomringer associated the word *constellation* to his concrete poems, the *Noigandres* group related themselves to the concept of concrete poetry by associating it to the word *ideogram*, which “[...], appeals to nonverbal communication” (Solt apud Campos et. al. 72). The *Noigandres* group was formed of three Brazilian concrete poets from São Paulo, including Haroldo de Campos (1929-2003), Augusto de Campos (b. 1931) and Décio Pignatari (1927-2012). In 1958 they published their manifesto of concrete poetry entitled “Pilot Plan for Concrete Poetry”. In it they pointed out that the “concrete poem, by using the phonetical system (digits) and analogical syntax, creates a specific linguistical area – “*verbivocovisual*” – which shares the advantages of nonverbal communication, without giving up word’s virtualities” (Solt apud Campos et. al. 72).

At the opposite pole, in Sweden, in 1953, Öyvind Fahlström (1928-1976) published his manifesto of concrete poetry “HÄTILA RAGULPR PÅ FÅTSKLIABEN – Manifesto for concrete poetry”. The Swedish writer and translator Brita af Geijertam translated the title “Hätila ragulpr på fåtskliaben” into English “Hipy papy bthuthdth thuthda bthuthdy”. It is taken from A. A. Milnes’s

book *Winnie the Pooh*, and it is the Owl's attempt at writing "A happy birthday" (Fahlström 51-59). It is important to note that Fahlström "began writing concrete poetry at approximately the same time as Gomringer. [...], he had arrived at the name 'concrete' for the new experiments three years before it was adopted by Gomringer and the *Noigandres* group, [...]" (Solt 29). At first glance, Fahlström's manifesto seems difficult to understand, being "long and highly metaphorical" (Solt 29). However, these understanding problems will disappear the moment the reader "realizes that what seem, [...], to be nonsensical, meaningless statements are in reality attempts on the part of Fahlström to jolt him into an attitude of mind that will allow him to accept familiar words in new (often strange) contexts and relationships" (Solt 29). Like Gomringer and the *Noigandres* group, Fahlström associated the word 'concrete' with the word "bord" (*tables*) "relating it historically to formalists and language-kneaders of all times, [...], also to surrealism, lettrisme, and Dadaism, [...], the aim of all concrete poetry – which turns away from dream and nihilism" (Solt 31). In fact, the idea of calling his concrete poems *bord* came from one of Lewis Carroll's portmanteau word, an idea that he applied, later, to the Swedish word "b(okstäver) + "ord" (words) (Fahlström 51-59). On the whole, his manifesto points out that "poetry is not only for analysis; it is also structure, [the manifesto's fundamental principal being: everything expressible in language and every linguistic expression has equal status in a given context if it enriches that context" (Fahlström 51). Furthermore, in his manifesto he outlines the logical-linguistic relationships that can be found in a concrete poem:

is concerned with the question of new logical-linguistic relationships in the poem related to thought processes of children, primitive people, the mentally ill; and to a use of words as representative symbols comparable to the contemporary use of representational forms in abstract painting, for Fahlström, as a painter of international reputation, brings to the theory of the concrete poem the painter's sense of visual-conceptual relationships. (Solt 29)

Öyvind Fahlström, being influenced both by the literary experiment that took place in the 1960s in Europe and by the ornithologist Erik Rosenberg's book *Fåglar i Sverige* (*Bird in Sweden*), invented new dialects, the so called *monster dialects*. In other words, in 1963 he "translated" the poem "Bobb" written in 1953, into "(o)Pvobb" with the help of a special "concrete translation", "by ordering the syllables according to the vowels and arranging them in alphabetical order [...] and choosing the nearest and most appealing combination, the words being modelled: 'as birds would speak Swedish if they sounded the way we transcribe their songs'" (Fahlström 56).

In what follows I will analyse a few concrete poems selected from three of Jan Erik Vold's volumes of poetry: *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*, 1965), *blikket* (*The Gaze*, 1966) and *kykelipi*, 1969.

mellom speil og speil (Between Mirror and Mirror, 1965)

Vold's debut volume, *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*, 1965) is made of seven sections: "Blikket" ("The Gaze"), "Rom og speil" ("Rooms and Mirrors"), "Min hud og din" ("My Skin and Yours"), "Våre speil, du ser på meg" ("Our Mirror, You Look at Me"), "Frosne ord" ("Frozen Words") and "Her står jeg ved et tre" ("Here I Am Next to a Tree"). Before beginning the literary analysis it is necessary to mention that "the poems have no titles or punctuation, and the pages are not numbered. Most of the poems have modernist themes, using mirror imagery to question self-identity and the referentiality of language" (Wærp 347). Among the poems of this volume there are many nature and love poems, of which "several suggest a correspondence among the self, nature, and the cosmos that belongs to a Romantic universe, rather than the wordly modernism Vold otherwise represents" (Wærp 347). Even if it is perceived as being a rather traditional volume of poetry, there are a few figurative poems through which Vold presents the first seeds of concrete poetry, "so as to form images such as a cross, a square, an hourglass, and a yin-and-yang symbol" (Wærp 347).

frosset fast i punktet mellom natt og
natt står mitt
liv
i
et
evig styrtende
fall fra den jeg var til den jeg blir

frozen stiff between night
and night there is my
life
in
an
eternal cascading
fall from what I was to what I
become
(my own translation)

The following poem is taken from the section entitled "Frosne ord" ("Frozen Words") from the volume *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*).

It is important to note right from the start that the poem has not punctuation marks and it is not structured in stanzas. It is made of seven lines, a few of them being made of only one word or even one letter, such as the third which is equivalent with the word "liv" ("life"), followed by the fourth line, which contains the preposition of place "i" ("in"). The whole poem is structured in the shape of an hourglass. In the first line, the poet reveals the message of this typographical poem, which is quite pessimistic. In this sense, he describes his life as being "frozen stiff between night/ and night [...]", without seeing the light, giving up all hopes. Looking at the next lines of the poem, one can definitely conclude that the poet's life is "an/ eternal/ cascading fall from what I was to what I become". In *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*) Jan Erik Vold approaches a totally different writing style when creating concrete poems. Even if its structure is of a concrete poem (i.e. a typographical poem), it has a deeper meaning, a more philosophical and symbolic one. In this case, the poet is thinking about his life from a very dark perspective, not being able to see any salvation from this

situation. There is a continuous struggle between the self and his perspective on life.

In order to further emphasise the idea of combining typographical concrete poems with traditional ones in the same volume, I chose another poem from the section “Her står jeg ved et tre” (“Here I Am Next to a Tree”).

I mai
er treet en sang
vinden synger

Om høsten
står treet med stjerner
i sine hender

In May
when the tree is a song
sang by the wind

In autumn
when the tree has stars
in his hands
(my own translation)

The poem is structured in two stanzas, each of which made of three lines. In this poem nature is the prominent element, “treet” (“the tree”) being the only word which appears in the second line of the first and the second stanza. In other words, *the tree* is the main *character* of the whole poem, being presented in two different seasons, in spring, “In May/when the tree is a song/ sang by the wind” and “in autumn/ when the tree has stars/ in his hands”. The whole poem is built upon personification (i.e. “the tree has stars/ in his hands”) and similes (i.e. “[...] the tree is a song”). Consequently, the structure and the message of this poem reveal the fact that it is a non-concrete poem. Thus the poet intends to approach the inner feelings of a human being, including natural elements which give the whole creation a romantic perspective. According to Audun Lindholm, “Vold’s first volume of poetry, *Between Mirror and Mirror* (1965), outlines the identity crisis of the self and the development of knowledge within a limited time span, [...]” (Lindholm 26, my own translation).⁴ Even if all of these poems seem to be very simple, they have deeper and complex resonances.

However, *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*) is a *transitional* volume of poetry, which, through its typographical and visual poems, creates a solid connection to the idea of *konkretisme* (*concretism*) illustrated in the volume *blikket* (*The Gaze*) and *kykelipi*.

blikket (The Gaze)

The volume *blikket* (*The Gaze*) was published in 1966 at Kommet Publishing House own by Vold and Helge Rykkja. According to Jan Erik Vold, this volume is “what one would call a book in the concrete tradition” (Jan Erik Vold, 15th February 2015, *my own translation*).⁵ With this volume Vold breaks with tradition

⁴ “Volds første diktsamling, *mellom speil og speil* (1965), skisser et subjekts kriseopplevelse og erkjennelsesutvikling innen et avgrenset tidsrom, [...]”

⁵ “er det man kaller konkret eller konkretistisk bok.”

by introducing a totally different writing style, making use of only five words “blikket” (“the gaze”), “du” (“you”), “fanger” (“catch”), “ikke” (“not”), “meg” (“me”). “Traditional poetic turns of phrase found in *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*), [...], are gone forever by this time” (Wærp 347). In order to understand better the message of the poem, the reader should listen to the poet himself while reading his poem. He gives it a specific rhythm that resembles a sound of a drum. The whole volume is made of only five words constantly placed in different order, thus creating a stunning image and rhythm. It is not surprising to find that “words are emptied of their semantic content, and the syntax dissolves so that the textual structure cannot be grasped; in the process, words and phrases come to life as rhythmic entities” (Wærp 347). The volume is made of twenty-six pages along which the poet arranges these five words in different order, thus creating “poems” which seem to be made rather by a machine. The entire volume looks like a poetic experiment through which Vold approached and underlined how powerful the word can be, by surprising and at the same time getting the reader involved in the whole process of creation of this type of poem. Put differently, “this is a kind of poetry which produces neither the semantic nor the aesthetic sense of its elements, words for example, through the traditional formation of linear and grammatically ordered contexts, but which insists upon visual and surface connectives” (Solt 73). From this point of view, the volume *blikket* (*The Gaze*) is totally different from *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*). In *blikket* (*The Gaze*) the poet is visibly preoccupied by practical issues including the way in which the words should appear on the paper and the rhythm created when these words are read. In spite of the fact that in *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*) he was mostly concerned with giving the poem’s deeper meanings, hidden behind different figures of speech, with *blikket* (*The Gaze*) he manages to restore the idea of modern Norwegian poetry by introducing the concept of *konkretisme* (*concretism*).

kykelipi

kykelipi was first published in 1969 and it is a complex collection of poems where the concept of concretism is better illustrated, the concrete poems being classified in different categories, i.e. typographical poems, grammatical poems, nursery-rhymes, *readymades* and personal notes. When referring to the title of the poem the reader can easily realise that it “seems to be a combination of the Norwegian words *kykeliky*, for the ‘cock-a-doodle-do’ of a rooster, and *pip*, for ‘cheep’ of a sparrow” (Wærp 348). It is important to note that the whole volume is made of eight *books* (sections), each of them being entitled in an original way, such as: *KY*, *KE*, *KYKY*, *LI*, *KELIKELI*, *KYLIKE*, *LIKY*, *PI*. In order to exemplify better the different categories of the concrete poems from this collection, I have chosen to focus my attention only on two of them, namely, nursery-rhymes and personal notes. In this sense, the three-line poem entitled “Dørskilt” (“Door Plate”) has the shape of a note left on the door. The tone which lies behind these concrete lines is definitely a

spoken tone through which the poet asks kindly the person who reads the note to “knock hard on/ the door/ maybe I am still home:”

Dørskilt

bank hardt på
kanskje jeg er hjemme
likevel

Door Plate

knock hard on
the door
maybe I am still home
(my own translation)

The poem begins with the imperative verb “bank” (“knock”) which denotes the fact that the poet gives an order to the person who reads the message left on the door. However, besides being an order or even an invitation to “knock hard on/ the door/ maybe I am still home”, it might also be an instruction which has to be followed attentively by the guest who is in front of the door. In other words, it is evident that this concrete poem in the form of a personal note can be interpreted in various ways. One of the messages of this type of poem might be that the process of shaping concrete poetry might be easier than expected. By using this personal note, the poet emphasises indirectly the idea that the reader can also be a performer who creates a concrete poem by choosing and arranging letters and simple words on a piece of paper, using a telegraphic language.

The title of the next poem is “KYKELIKY”, which is the onomatopoeic word used in Norwegian to describe the sound of a rooster. The title of the poem is actually the word with which the first stanza begins: “KYKELIKY/ says the rooster. Yes, it was the rooster, [...]” (Vold 68, my own translation).⁶ Structurally, the poem is composed of four stanzas, each containing two lines. The poem is based on a dialogue between the poet and, apparently, a child; this is the reason way I have chosen to include it in the category of nursery rhymes. After reading it, one can imagine a dialogue between a teacher and a child from kindergarten. The recurrent question in each stanza is what does it say? It resembles a warm-up activity for the children at kindergarten or for primary school pupils when the teacher, before beginning the lesson about animals or the means of transport, asks the children “[...], but the tram/ what does it say?” (Vold 68, my own translation).⁷ The answer is an onomatopoeia, “pling”, which is repeated three times: “PLING-PLING-PLING!”. The elements used as subject for this childish dialogue are: “hanen” (“the rooster”), “trikken” (“the tram”), “bokfinken” (“the chaffinch”), “piken” (“the girl”) and “poeten” (“the poet”). In order to underline the answers, the poet wrote them in capital letters: the tram says “PLING-PLING-PLING!”, the chaffinch says “ELSKEDE VIV” (“BELOVED WIFE”), the girl says “ELSKER DU MEG?” (“DO YOU LOVE ME?”), and finally the poet says KYKELIPI which is the title of this collection of poetry. Besides, the poem begins and ends symmetrically in a wordplay. In the beginning the rooster says kykeliky and at the

⁶ “KYKELIKY/ Sier hanen. Ja det var hanen, [...]”

⁷ “[...], men trikken/ hva sier den? [...]”

end the poet says *kykelipi*. In other words, besides the use of the wordplay and the onomatopoeia, the poem “KYKELIKY” has a prominent sonority. If one reads it with a specific intonation and a suitable rhythm, as the poet does use to do, its performative side gives the whole poem a special meaning.

Final Remarks

Since Norwegian culture was considered due to its historical context, it is worth mentioning that most of the literary concepts came into Norway both through several translations from different cultures and through Swedish and Danish culture. If the concept of concretism was introduced in Sweden in the early 50s by Öyvind Fahlström, it appeared gradually in Norway only in 1960s, when through the revolutionary literary perspective of Jan Erik Vold the volume of poetry *blikket* (*The Gaze*) saw the light of the print. As mentioned earlier, through his literary experiment, Vold was influenced by American and Swedish concrete poetry, managed to restore and to give new impulses to the Norwegian poetry of the 1960s. Furthermore, by reading these concrete poems accompanied by jazz or blues orchestra, and being highly preoccupied by sound and rhythm, Vold gave a note of novelty to his Norwegian concrete poems. In addition, by classifying his poems into typographical, grammatical, nursery-rhymes, personal notes and *readymades*, he encouraged his readers and other younger writers indirectly, to create concrete poems and to explore this type of poetry. In this sense, the anthology *Gruppe 68* (*Group '68*), edited by Vold, Georg Johannesen (1931-2005) and Dag Solstad (b. 1941), brought in Norwegian literature and especially in poetry, a new literary wave of young writers who, with their great enthusiasm, created and published *readymades*, typographical poems, haiku and *nyenkle* (*new simple*)⁸ poems. Thanks to such efforts, Norwegian concrete poetry can now find its place among other international concrete poems.

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⁸ *nyenkle* (*new simple*) poem is a type of poetry, simple and common.

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THE SELF AND THE OTHER IN EMILY GERARD'S *THE EXTERMINATION OF LOVE*

Alina Daniela Suciuc

PhD Candidate, "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: The self and the other represent two dimensions of the human being which reflect the intertwining of oneness and uniqueness with the social plurality of the individual. This relationship reveals itself even more profoundly in the feeling of love, in our case Victorian love. This theme, which is larger than life, is not the only topic concerned with Emily Gerard's novel, but an exciting perspective intervenes in the relation mother-daughter and character-author.

KEYWORDS: generalized other, private self, public self, socialization, 'bacillus amoris.'

"The 'ego' and the 'alter' are born together. Both are crude and unreflective, largely organic. And the two get purified and clarified together by this twofold reaction. My sense of myself grows by imitation of you and my sense of yourself grows in terms of my sense of myself. Both ego and alter are thus essentially social, each is a socius and each is an imitative creation" (Karl Scheibe 34).

Ego and Alter or Self and Other are two dimensions of the human mind that help us exist and interact. The thought is always dual in nature because the thinker takes into consideration a possible audience, a potential companion. A person cannot develop properly and harmoniously unless a social dimension comes along with the personal outlook. There is a self who is constant and contains the main markers of identification, but there is also a self who changes all the time as a consequence of one's social interactions. The very development of the inward self is dependent on the outward point of view; thereby subjectivity is reinforced by objectivity. In interaction, a participant behaves in such a manner as to communicate his or her attitudes about the other. The other internalizes these communicated attitudes and responds to the self as others did in the past. There is a stock of information or a script written beforehand and the individual strives to react in an already known mode. He/she tries to preserve and sometimes enlarge his or her repertory of expressions or gestures. Even though the roles had been already written, we could still improvise and interpret them.

In a nutshell, identity presents a link between the personal (our true self, our inner life) and the social (situations where people find themselves). We attempted to demonstrate that identity was a function of both external and internal factors because both the sociological and psychological perspectives are pre-requisites for a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of human self-definition.

In *Mind, Self and Society*, Mead introduced the term "generalized other" to portray the interests and values of the social entities to which the child had been exposed. The child internalizes the generalized other, which is necessary when

deciding upon the rightness of a certain course of action. In other words, we could associate Mead's *generalized other* with Freud's *superego*, or the consciousness of laws and regulations that need to be respected (cf. 32).

Regarding the symbolic social actions, Mead talked about another collocation essential for our research: "taking the role of the other." Thence, the individual takes into account of oneself indirectly by the presence of the other individuals from the same social group or society. By embracing the others' opinions and perceptions towards oneself, the person could judge himself/herself objectively ("to view the self from outside the self"), within a social environment where they belong. The development of the inward self depends on the outward perspective (cf. Mead, 140).

Sheldon Stryker strove to combine the social structure with roles while continuing the symbolic interactionist approach. His identity theory was based on the implication of a multifaceted self that reflected a great number of network contacts in which an individual participated. Provided a person had connections with three individuals, he would have three identities corresponding to those role relationships. Hence, people have as many identities as they have network ties. The social roles are expectations attached to positions occupied in networks of relationships (cf. 559-562). It is true that the roles or the parts we play in society have already been written, but this does not imply that we would be just some interchangeable exemplars. Each individual has a unique personality that differentiates him/her from another.

As far as the selves are concerned, Triandis described three types of self-conceptions: private, public, and collective selves. Private selves involve one's intimate relation with oneself; public selves include the presence of the others; collective selves refer to the self as members of different groups. The private selves emphasize the uniqueness of each individual, whereas public and collective selves correspond to the interdependent self of the same authors that is the social relationships within a social group and society at large (cf. 510).

When the individual is integrated into society, we may mention the process of socialization. It can be described as a developmental history of the person as a result of transforming social influences into changed dispositions of the self (cf. Scheibe 65). A person's well-being is connected with the relationships established by that individual with the representatives of the surrounding society. Human beings come into self-consciousness only through social interaction. Karl Scheibe tried to express this process by taking multifarious perspectives. "The anthropologist views the process of socialization as enculturation. The sociologist sees it as the acquisition of social norms and the psychologist as the learning of values or as moral development" (Scheibe 64). Individuals acquire in this fashion a sort of feedback, which is a reminder of the appropriate behaviours in specific situations. They collect a stock of understandings as a necessary guide for their roles in society.

In general, there has to be a harmony between the initially given self, which is the core and the continuing changes, which occur down the social flux. Karl

Scheibe postulated that "Every I has a circle drawn around it: a circumstance. The centre of this circle is constant, but the objects, structures, places, images, events, persons, institutions, concerns, themes and shadows comprising the periphery of our self-circles do not remain constant but are in continual flux- the flowing stream of thought, to borrow James' metaphor" (Scheibe 9). The external dimension incorporated by the "circumstance" is just a temporary reality that corroborated the idea that the self was just provisionally formed due to its continuous flow. Personal authenticity is a mix of the self as I and its circle or circumstance. These two perspectives (self and circumstance) can be rendered by a wonderful metaphor that may be included at this point, even if it was written long before,

Life has always seemed to me like a plant that lives on its rhizome. Its true life is invisible, hidden in the rhizome. The part that appears above the ground lasts only a single summer. Then it withers away- an ephemeral apparition. When we think of the unending growth and decay of life and civilizations, we cannot escape their impression of absolute nullity. Yet I have never lost a sense of something that lives and endures underneath the eternal flux. What we see is the blossom, which passes. The rhizome remains. (Jung 4)

This quote proves that ephemeral and eternal merge and they are two facets of the same coin, under the same reality. We are either dependent on the private self, either on the public and collective self. To achieve equilibrium, one has to be in harmonious relation to all selves. Another eloquent metaphor is Goffman's idea of resembling the self with a "peg on which the clothes of the role are hung" (51). The quintessential rests the same, only the self's relationships with the surrounding reality change in accordance with the roles required and ascribed by the social group and society. Identity is never fixed and it always evolves, but something in it is permanent and stable (even when we change, we are who we have always been). Eventually, identity contains the past, the present, and the social world.

Although some theoreticians discussed about the total separation between the self and the outward universe, Straus concluded the following, "In sensory experience I always experience myself and the world at the same time, not myself directly and the Other by inference, not myself before the Other, not myself without the Other, nor the Other without myself" (apud. Kashima 76). We can conclude that there is no abyss between mind and body, self and other, or individual and society because all of them are encapsulated in the self. The self of a person is so widely extended that it could be incommensurable. We may associate it with our capability of imagining universes; an imagination so rich that it can build worlds and destroy communities out of a single thought. Individuals are bound together and the identities of each person both limit and empower the identities of others. Individuals are bound together and the identities of each person both limit and empower the identities of others.

When people of different gender interact, a new feeling or a new disposition could occur and thrive: Love. Ever since her childhood, a woman has been taught how to be pleasant and how to become a dutiful mother and wife. She would sing, play a musical instrument, dance, read light literature and become an expert in the

art of conversation. A young girl turns into an eligible candidate for marriage at the age of seventeen or eighteen. The initial stage in the Victorian love is called courtship and it unfolds gradually from speaking to each other towards mutual company. During the courtship period, a young woman never addressed a gentleman without an introduction and never walked alone with her suitor because a chaperone was provided for in order to accompany the young couple. The next step is represented by the engagement. The man was introduced to the girl's parents and he would ask her hand in marriage to the bride's father. This proposal could be made either in person, or in writing. In Victorian courtships, marriage was the final step. Matrimony was accepted only within one's class and the economic factor was extremely important. A man had to offer his wife the same comfort and life style she was accustomed to during her teens, while a woman would use her dowry as a lure for marriage. An unmarried woman of twenty-one can inherit and administer her property, but a married woman had to give all her possessions to her husband. Although matrimony imposed a financial problem as well, a marriage based on compatibility, respect, and love was not a rarity. A marriage of equals or a companionate union were modelled by royalty in the person of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, but also by the intellectual life paragoned by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor.

While economic and social status was still important, we can speculate upon the rise of romantic notions as well. Woman and man are no longer strangers from different spheres of activity and distinct backgrounds, but they try to adjust to the given circumstances and to harmonize with their new existence as a couple after marriage. Husband and wife are expected to cooperate in order to create a pleasant atmosphere at home, a realm of comfort and happiness. A journalist and women's rights activist, Annie Swan takes into consideration a husband's and wife's duties in a matrimony. For instance, men are supposed to love their spouses, create a happy home, and provide a comfortable economic livelihood. Women need to obey and love their husbands, wear neat and clean clothes, keep their house tidy and prepare meals on time (cf. apud. Phegley 6). Certainly, love is desirable between the two partners, but there has to be compatibility in other respects as well.

In 1901, Emily Gerard published a new novel entitled *The Extermination of Love: A Fragmentary Study in Erotics*, where different visions of love are presented. It is Emily Gerard's most philosophical novel. Dr. Eric Peterstorff is a scholar, whose reputation begins to flourish in scientific circles, as he is a man of "profound erudition and strongly marked individuality" (I, 10). His age is bewildering because even though he looks like fifty from a particular perspective, he is just twenty-six. This discrepancy is due to his self-control, as he always tries to refrain from his youthful impulses, and he guides his life by reason and logic. His eyes are particularly attractive, "a certain look of dreamy mysticism which we sometimes come across in the eyes of poets and sometimes in those of fanatics" (I, 5). Those eyes contain three histories that marked his existence and they all come from one common source. The first story underlined his father's adultery and his decision to abandon his mother and run away with his mistress. The second story

was about his brother Frederick who committed suicide after falling madly in love with a Count's wife. She disdained him for his lower rank, although at the beginning she insisted on seducing him. The third story referred to his sister Sophie who renounced to her glorious destiny as an opera singer and decided to spend the rest of her life with a dubious libertine and an infamous Don Juan. What these histories have in common is the "Bacillus amoris," that "poisonous germ that has destroyed them all- father, mother, brother and sister" (I, 6). Dr. Eric Peterstorff directs his scientific research towards a phenomenal discovery, "the precious serum that is to kill and exterminate the Bacillus amoris" (I, 6). Science has to find the antidote against love, this disease that "gets into their blood and drives them mad" (I, 7). The stories are identical as far as the origin and the end are concerned and they constitute the incentive for Eric's study. He proves to be a methodical person who enjoys studying and contacting a superior reality far from the madding crowd. He feels responsible for the future of humanity and he is determined to remain single. He would deliver "thousands of unborn mortals from their threatened heritage of misery" (I, 10), misery and misfortune caused by love. Eric wants to be a "termination, a full stop," an end in itself, as his volition is to stop the propagation of this feeling to future generations. "All the accumulated power of thought, of will, energy and talent, which has come down to me by a hundredfold heredity, I decline to transmit it further," because he does not condescend to be a "blind, unthinking instrument in the service of Fate" (I, 12). However, Eric is obliged to get married; it was one of the conditions to be accepted as physician to Methuselah by Prince Rottelfeld.

Gusti Seebeck is the name of his future wife and she resembles no other woman in her demeanour. Eric could not have imagined "anything so quiet, so unpretending, so utterly restful to the nerves as this girl" (I, 20). Her unobtrusive presence and her silence are qualities that Eric respected and upon which he agreed. Her childish manner and innocence conquer him. From an intellectual viewpoint, Eric and Gusti are two opposite poles. If Eric is a scientist and a philosopher, Gusti is rather limited in her knowledge of the things around her. She experienced love and this feeling brings her a greater insight into the human nature and the environment at large. "She knew at last why the honeysuckle's scent was so oppressively sweet and what gave that depth of melancholy pathos to the nightingale's song. Was not the answer to these enigmas everywhere the same- Love, Love, Love?" (I, 33). She possesses a bohemian character and she maintains a strong communion with nature during her time spent in the countryside. "Every wild-flower she found on her wanderings was like meeting an old friend again and the voices of the many babbling streams in the valleys all spoke a language familiar to her ears since childhood" (II, 2).

The novel as a whole has some philosophical affinities and strives to embrace certain visions of life that are essential when it comes to love. There is no space for excesses and exaggerations; only the middle way is the prerequisite. Thus, their personalities aim towards ego and superego, since they want to reach the equilibrium necessary to obtain the greatest achievements in life. Furthermore, just

as Woodward said, some people react to the others' influences, while other people have total control over who they really are. In our novel, Dr. Peter shapes his identity by the help of some forces that are beyond his control (his family reminiscences), and Gusti knows her inclinations extremely well, and she is in total charge over her own identity. At the beginning of the novel, there is a confrontation between the doctor and prince Rottfeld concerning his future profession. The prince's ultimatum is for the doctor to get married as soon as possible, but their opinions about marriage are totally opposed to each other. Dr. Peterstorff explains that matrimony and the propagation of the human race can only bring misery and misfortune and it depends on every man whether he wants to be an active or a passive instrument of creation. Conversely, prince Rottfeld has his counter-argument, "matrimony alone gives to a man that stability and regularity of habit indispensable to the trustworthy fulfilment of any such responsible position" (I, 11). In the end, the doctor decides to apply for that job of physician and to get married within two months of that discussion, even though he did not agree in the name of love. The reason is based on his obligation towards humanity that surpassed all personal arguments. Gordon Graham gave the following definition of marriage, "a relationship of sexual fidelity to one member of the opposite sex entered into voluntarily, unconditionally and for good, regardless of how the future, including the future of the relationship, may go" (apud. Simon 122). Marriage constitutes the basis of our society and it ensures social stability, family continuity, and economic necessity. When romantic love unites two people, they form a new entity called *we*. Some of the features of the '*we*' are: a feeling of well-being with the other, a public perception as a couple, a shared joint identity, an individual autonomy with complete mutual possession (cf. 123).

The experience of maternity is quite awkward for Gusti who is totally ignorant of the process that implied pregnancy. Nonetheless, the explanation given by Eric is in accordance with her principles, "she has ceased to be an individual, in order to become part of a biological system, for the continuance of the human race" (I, 43). Dr. Eric's friend tries to make him see the world in a different manner, in a non-scientific mode. The doctor could make epochal discoveries in science, but in private life, he was as "blind as an owl in daylight" (I, 43).

The first time that Eric went to the theatre with his wife, Gusti realized her position in society and she was not thrilled about what she had seen. The impression of magnificence was, indeed, overwhelming and the ladies were wearing wonderful clothes as compared to hers since her outfit seemed rather shabby and plain, "She must indeed resemble a sombre, dingy little grub surrounded by brilliant butterflies" (I, 44). This social encounter between Self and Other is supposed to destroy all boundaries and barriers, but Gusti is not the type of woman familiar to the sophistication of city life. She preferred the countryside and nature as opposed to the dazzling women from the theatrical event.

The child she gave birth to determined another experience where Self and Other become salient. The little girl is quite a disappointment for Gusti, who experienced a feeling of repulsion towards her own child. She never manages to

feel wholly at her ease in the baby's presence. There is something overbearing about the baby who is never amused or excited about anything but would appear "to be critically analyzing the value and the utility of whatever was submitted to its notice" (I, 49). The relationship with her daughter is rather distant and unsatisfactory, for her child disliked any signs of affection or maternal caresses. Augusta pronounced each word with "pedantic precision" instead of the usual lisping or mumbling of children. Her daughter has no grace or physical beauty and she resembles more and more to her father. Augusta developed a solid scientific education that would embark her on a thorough career in the field of science.

Emily Gerard talked about the type of woman who might be suitable for Dr. Peterstorff: his opposite. Provided that he is a tall man of fair complexion, his wife should be selected among small, dark women. Additionally, she must be light and springy, with intact internal organs, good skeleton, no hereditary taint and no snub nose or squinted eyes. A healthy constitution rather than a beautiful face guides him due to his commitment towards humanity. While Eric was studying in his library, Gusti was wasting her time on a bench in the garden, near the old mulberry tree, weaving embroidery of "long, fantastic day-dreams" (I, 38). Both of them are introverted and she prefers daydreaming more than anything else since her married life does not bring her satisfaction. This scarcity in her sentimental life led to the transformation of Gusti from a timid and sincere girl into an anxious and pathetic human being, "a pathetic expression of resigned but fixed hopelessness began to settle in her own dark eyes" (II, 25). This conduct could be classified as depression; a mental disorder experienced more often by women. As far as her daughter is concerned, Augusta possessed the same proclivities as that of a man. She is interested in scientific experiments; she studies physics and astronomy; even her physical aspect is closely similar to that of a man.

There are two feminine figures who stir the reader's interest: Gusti, the mother, and Augusta, the daughter. Gusti is a "quiet and unobtrusive presence" (I, 25) that proves her innocence through every gesture that she makes. She has a romantic and even poetic sensibility and her soul resounds with Mother Nature. Although her intelligence and her knowledge of the world are rather limited, in the end, she manages to win her husband by her side and to live a wonderful love story. The experience of maternity gives Gusti the impression that she is just "a child suddenly called upon to break off a game of hoop or ball in order to ascend a throne and govern a mighty nation" (I, 42). The narrator exemplified that "once a woman has become a mother, she has no further right to think of herself. From that moment she has ceased to be an individual, in order to become part of a biological system, for the continuance of the human race" (I, 43).

At first, Gusti experienced a sort of repulsion against her own child, who used to analyse critically all the things around her. Some women console in the presence of their children, but Gusti has nothing in common with her daughter, Augusta. The latter appeared to be an old-fashioned child who dislikes caresses and lacks physical beauty and grace. In addition, she never lisped or mumbled, but she pronounced words correctly from the very first moment. Her father wanted to rear

a child with a solid scientific education and the walls of her room were painted with the signs of the zodiac in order to imbibe her with the rudiments of astronomy from an early age. She does not feel shyness or embarrassment and her attitude towards her mother is that of patronising contempt.

The Mother and Child together or separately are powerful archetypes, even if the mother plays a positive part or a negative one. Nurture, protection, and love are her expectations. As Augusta is obviously not a consolation for Gusti, the Oedipus complex may explain the role of the mother. The girl wants a child from her father and she can accomplish this wish only by maturity if she gives birth to a boy. Gusti's child is a girl, so the frustration rests unresolved. Augusta resembles her father and not her mother. Furthermore, she could be included in the Animus archetype as most of her qualities or flaws have a masculine origin and interpretation. Carl Jung gives an explanation to Augusta's behaviour and he tags the situation as one typical for resistance to the Mother complex. The motto for this type is "Anything, so long as it is not like Mother!" This resistance implies a development of intellect with the intention to place mother in a circumstance where she can no longer find relief. The real purpose is "to break the mother's power by intellectual criticism and superior knowledge, so as to enumerate to her all her stupidities, mistakes in logic and educational shortcomings" (Jung 91). Deep knowledge and the use of the intellect make a woman penetrate certain masculine traits. What is more, "in repudiating the mother she repudiates all that is obscure, instinctive, ambiguous and unconscious in her own nature" (99). Thence, Augusta repudiates all those feminine features that are part of a woman's destiny.

Emily Gerard presented in this novel the typology of the male scientist who guided himself by reason and method. Even the laws of nature interfered in his most intimate feelings. For Dr. Eric Peterstorff, love is nothing but a disease that needed to be annihilated; otherwise, the entire planet may suffer all sorts of mutations and transformations that would destroy humankind altogether. He strongly believed that in the near future, people would be informed about the huge risks experienced when establishing a family. Until that moment comes, "every conscientious man is bound to be his own judge and settle whether his mission in creation should be an active or a passive one" (I, 11). Thereby, a man has the possibility of choice, whether he decides to help the propagation of the human race or prefers being an objective spectator. Dr. Peterstorff talks about this proliferation as "a monstrous and unreasoning outrage against the ends of nature" (I, 11). When he is forced to select a wife (Prince Rotterfeld's orders), he filters this piece of information from a scientist's point of view. His ideal woman should be medium height because otherwise, children would be lanky individuals with small vital energy. Her face is not important; what matters is her organism and her skeleton structure. Hence, Eric is totally unconventional and he has his own criteria for selecting a wife. He does not lack originality and eccentricity. Even his wife's pregnancy absorbs him as the experiments with rabbits or guinea pigs in laboratories and he shows deep concern for the mother's diet and conduct in this period. In spite of his wife's enthusiasm that Eric cared for their child, she could

not realise that his interest was purely a scientific arousal on behalf of the next generation.

Only at the end of this novel, does Dr. Peterstorff become aware of his negative approach towards his family, his love, and life in general. He decides to burn his manuscript about the pernicious character of love and to appreciate Gusti and their future twins. The hero of this book seems rather awkward and strange, but his originality is something undisputable. He represents the Scientist, the Scholar, the Philosopher who meditates upon the conditions of our existence in this universe. What is particular for this character is that his wisdom is not quintessential within him, but he acquires it only at the end of his development, which is the end of the book.

Another character that we should mention is Eric's oldest friend, Karl Walden, who appears to be an Alter Ego of our writer, as he is also a novelist. When Eric informs him about his matrimony, Karl tries to fancy his companion's wife, for he knows all the peculiarities of his friend, "the novelist's imagination had been so actively employed drawing fancy portraits of bold, strong-minded women of muscular build" (I, 30). Karl contemplates the reality surrounding him as material for his future novels. Everything converts into didactic necessity and authenticity. There is a frame within a frame or a story within a story, since Karl tries to explain the plot of a theatrical performance and his comments reflect Emily Gerard's intricacies when writing this novel. "As a novelist, my conscience forbids me to divulge the plot beforehand, so I shall leave you to find out for yourself" (I, 45). Plain characters and easily demonstrated theories or plots do not attract the reader, nor stir any stone from the bottom of the river. "Only the foolish people give us novelists and dramatists something to write about. Sense is always dull and prosaic and was the world ruled by sense alone, there would be an end of poetry and romance" (I, 45). This narrative is likely to draw the readership's attention because it is everything but dull and prosaic. The subject is enticing and its treatment is particularly unique.

The Extermination of Love presents from its very title Dr. Peterstorff's mission to annihilate love from the face of this earth since it only brings misery and infliction. All the calamities of our planet have only one source – love. It transforms "wise men into fools, rich ones to beggars [...] turtledoves and lambs to rapacious vultures and raging lions" (I, 3). Provided we suppressed love, we would banish "pain, sorrow, poverty and bloodshed from the face of our globe" (I, 2). His work as a doctor is purely scientific and from this perspective, love is just a delusion, a legend, a myth. On the contrary, from Gusti's point of view, Love is "our guiding star to Paradise, a green oasis in a barren waste, by fancies fanned, by dreams with fuel fed" (I, 46). Gusti finally realises why the honeysuckle is so sweet or why the nightingale's song is so melancholic- "Was not the answer to these enigmas everywhere the same-Love, Love, Love?" (I, 33). She is always eager to please her husband and to accomplish any of his wishes, although Eric spends his whole time in the library in order to continue his research. "She was like a faithful dog awaiting its master's orders" (I, 36). Supposing she might die, Eric

would quickly find somebody else to arrange his books for him- “that was all he cared about, the only valuable and congenial quality he recognised in his wife” (II, 3).

Gusti changes her residence into the countryside and there she approaches to different love stories, which flood her life with benevolence and affirmation. She renders her whole beauty to her lover’s existence and her life has changed radically since love meant to “bring a ray of golden sunshine into a hitherto barren existence, to warm into life a benumbed and frozen heart, to bring a draught of fresh water to parched and burning lips” (II, 11). Gusti is a witness of the love story between two youngsters, whose love defied all barriers of rank, prejudice, tradition, and mercenary considerations. He was an obscure and poor Greek, while she was a high-born damsel. Her parents opposed completely to their union and they committed suicide by drowning themselves. There were also several other love dramas she was acquainted with, which proved to be a curse rather than a blessing for the couples. Gusti’s relationship with her husband changes considerably after this respite. “A pathetic expression of resigned but fixed hopelessness” (II, 25) is replaced by the enthusiasm of first love. The first compliment that the doctor gives to his consort in sixteen years of marriage is his confidence in leaving his books to the care of his wife, “Love is the infallible and supreme apology for every weakness, mistake, or even crime” (II, 35). A pleasant word or the permission to stay beside him are enough to bring her joy and satisfaction. Gusti returns to her spouse and Eric confesses his love. He also burns his manuscript that gathered twenty years of work in vain. Gusti gives birth to twins, “a pair of rosy, dark-eyed cherubs, true children of Love” (II, 51).

The Self and the Other twined in a wonderful love story brings a new shade to the colourful rainbow of Life itself.

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ON THE THEORY OF NOMINALIZATION REVISITING -ING FORMS

Diana Anițescu
University of Bucharest, Romania

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to discuss recent analyses in the distinction between event and result nominalizations regarding their syntax. Focusing on -ing constructions, we will show that the presence of a lexical verbal projection is not enough to distinguish between these two types of nominalizations. Essentially, what makes a nominal eventive is not the verb or the VP alone, but the existence of verbal functional structure, involved in licensing the arguments of the verb, as well as control, aspectual modifiers etc. Against the view that a distinction can be drawn between nominals which come from the lexicon (i.e. result nominalizations) and those which are nominalized in syntax (i.e. event nominalizations), we argue that while all nominalizations are decomposable at one level of representation (LF, i.e. syntax or PF, i.e. morphology) not all have the same syntactic analysis.

KEYWORDS: -ing forms, eventive, functional structure, nominalizations, resultative, syntax.

Introduction

Ing-constructions have been much discussed in the literature, ever since Lees (1960). Generally speaking, there have been two main approaches to nominalizations: from a lexicalist perspective (Chomsky, 1970, Grimshaw, 1990, a.o.) and from a syntactic one (Abney, 1987, Kratzer, 1996, a.o.). We will discuss Grimshaw's lexicalist analysis of nominalizations in detail in the first section of this paper. Essentially, the author claims that the syntax of a deverbal noun is derived from its Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS).

On the other hand, syntactic analyses have relied on the traditional distinction between verbal gerunds and verbal nouns. Older and more recent analyses agree that the verbal properties and the meaning of -ing complements follow from the assumption that all -ing complements contain a V(P) in their syntactic structure. Differences between -ing nominals follow from the scope of the nominalizing affix, i.e. the size of the verbal complement that has been nominalized. The latter has become a parameter in the syntax of nominalization. One of the important works which adopt this view in the analysis of -ing complements is Abney (1987).

Abney's (1987) account of the gerund structure is based on the interaction between morphology and syntax. Thus, his analysis is based on the idea that the scope of the nominalizing affix *-ing* is responsible for the differences in the structures of the three types of gerund constructions (Ing-of, Acc-ing and Poss-

ing). Therefore, all three types will have a DP structure overall, with the –ing taking a verbal projection as complement and nominalizing it. Abney (1987: 222) assumes that “The three types of gerund differ only with regard to the point on the s-projection path of V that the conversion to a nominal category occurs: at V^0 , at VP, or at IP.”

The present paper aims at discussing more recent analyses of –ing forms in order to investigate the status of Grimshaw’s (1990) distinction between event and result nominalizations. Specifically, the question is to what extent the line between these two types of nominals can be drawn in syntax, since event nominals have been argued to inherit the argument structure from their verbal counterparts (thus being called AS nominals) and to encode arguments, while result nominals do not have argument structures (non- AS nominals) and represent results of processes in a very general sense.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 presents the key points and arguments of Grimshaw’s (1990) lexicalist theory; in the second section we focus on the main problem investigated in this article, i.e. the distinction between event and result nominals as seen by Borer (2011). Last but not least, the third section aims at providing evidence in favour of the existence of an Aspect functional projection in the syntactic derivation of these deverbal nouns.

1. Grimshaw’s (1990) theory

Grimshaw (1990) distinguished between three types of nominalizations: complex event nominals (1a), simple event nominals (1b) and result nominals (1c).

- (1) a. The examination of the patients took a long time (Complex)
- b. The examination took a long time (Simple)
- c. The examination/The exam was on the table (Result)

According to Grimshaw (1990) only event nominals have an argument structure inherited from the corresponding verbs, while resultative nominalizations do not have an a-structure and project according to their LCS. We will not expatiate on the properties of these three classes, but we will summarize the difference between CENs and RNs in the table below (Alexiadou & Grimshaw, 2008: 3). Relevant for the present discussion are those properties which may show evidence of the presence, or lack of grammatical event structure, i.e. event reading, by-phrases as arguments, the presence/lack of implicit argument control, presence/lack of aspectual modifiers (in bold in the table).

Table 1: Differences between result and complex event nominals

Result Nominals	Complex Event Nominals
a. Non θ –assigner, No obligatory arguments e.g. The exam puzzled us. b. No event reading	a. θ -assigners, obligatory arguments e.g. The destroying *(of the trees) is outrageous. b. event reading

Result Nominals	Complex Event Nominals
c. No agent-oriented modifiers e.g.: *Sam's intentional exam of the students took a long time. d. Subjects must be interpreted possessives e.g. the instructor's (possessor) exam e. by phrases are non-arguments e.g. a picture by a painter f. no implicit argument control e.g. *the exam in order to pass all the students g. no aspectual modifiers e.g.: *the exam for three hours h. modifiers like <i>frequent, constant</i>, only with plural e.g.: Frequent/constant exams from the teacher annoyed the students. i. may be plural e.g. The assignments were long.	c. agent-oriented modifiers e.g. Sam's intentional examination of the students took a long time. d. subjects are arguments and have specific theta roles e.g. the instructor's (agent) examination of the papers/the examination of the papers by the instructor e. by phrases are arguments e.g. the destruction of the city by the enemy f. implicit argument control e.g.: the assignment in order to pass all the students g. aspectual modifiers e.g. the examination of the paper in three hours h. modifiers like <i>frequent, constant</i> appear with singular e.g.: The constant examination of Sally bothered people. i. must be singular e.g. Assignment of difficult problems always causes problems.

With respect to the theory of nominalization, Grimshaw (1990) has two main arguments. Firstly, she argues that the nominalization is an operation on the argument structure of the verb which suppresses its EA. This is why, according to her, the Genitive subject of both result and event nominals is always an argument-adjunct, a modifier and therefore optional. The second assumption is that, since event nominals take obligatory arguments and since the EA is an argument-adjunct, then the IA of transitive verbs is obligatory. For languages that have two Genitives in E-nominals (2) (i.e. the Subject Genitive and the Object Genitive) such as English, the object/Theme will be an obligatory argument, while the subject/Agent will be only a modifier, therefore optional (3).

(2) John's reading *(of the book).

(3) the reading *(of the book).

As Cornilescu (2001) argues, in the case of Romance languages which have only one type of Genitive (see Valois 1991, a.o), such as Romanian (4), the Agent cannot be lexicalized. This is a consequence of the fact that the only structural case position is blocked by the obligatory DO and there is not enough functional structure left to license a second argument. As we can see in the example below, there is no Agent, but the DO *orașului* 'the city's' is present with the deverbal noun *descrierea* 'the description'.

- (4) Descrierea oraşului a fost încântătoare.
 ‘The city’s description was delightful.’

After discussing the distinction made by Grimshaw and her main arguments, in the next section we will concentrate on whether this distinction has been maintained in the literature or not. Thus, we will present the Distributed Morphology approach to nominalizations (Marantz, 1997, Alexiadou, 2001, Harley, 2009, a.o) and Borer’s (2001) more recent syntactic approach in an attempt to show that, contrary to lexicalist theories, all nominalizations are derived in syntax. We will provide evidence that both e-nominals and r-nominals have an embedded VP and that only further functional verb structure can make a difference between the two types.

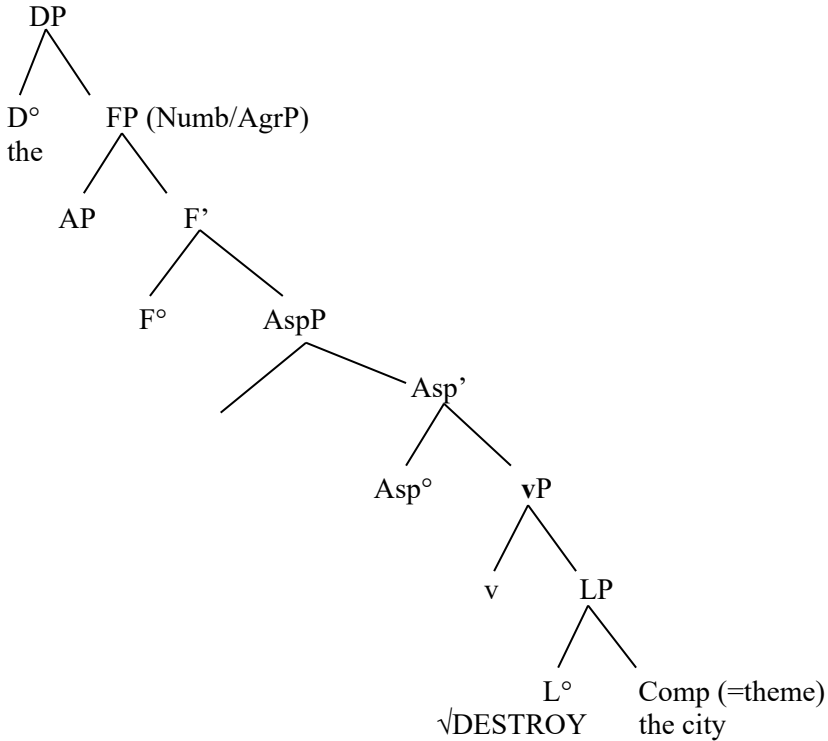
2. The status of the process/result distinction

2.1. Theoretical background

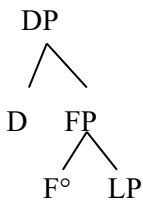
The first mention of events as ontological categories expressed linguistically through *Ing-of* nominals belongs to Thomson (1971). Then, in 1990, Grimshaw proposed the lexicalist distinction between event and result nominalization, a distinction which we have discussed above. Valois (1991) proposed that not all nominalizations come from the lexicon as such, but only the resultative ones. Event nominalizations are formed in syntax on the basis of a verb, hence their event properties. Therefore, the line between syntax and the lexicon was established on whether the nominalization exhibited event properties, thought to be an indication of the presence of a lexical verbal projection.

Ever since the Distributed Morphology framework (Marantz, 1997, a.o.), all types of nominalizations have been argued to be formed syntactically, starting from a-categorial roots which combine in syntax with categorizing heads (n^0 , v^0) in order to receive categorial features and interpretation. However, Alexiadou (2001) argues that only complex event nominals have a verbal projection in their structure, from which the verb-like properties (e.g. the a-structure, aspectual modifiers, etc.) follow. In contrast, result nominals, are based on a lexical root, on top of which there is nominal functional structure. No lexical verb is ever projected. Thus, the syntactic structure of process nominalizations has both nominal functional projections (the nominalizing affix, determiners) and verbal ones (v and Asp) (1 a). On the other hand, result nominalizations cannot have such verbal projections and will have only nominal functional projections (such as determiners and possibly Number, AGR) as in (1b) (where LP = lexical phrase)

(1) a. the destruction of the city



b. a kick



(from Alexiadou, 2001: 18)

On the other hand, as will be seen, more recently Borer (2011) argues that such an analysis (also proposed by Harley, 2009) cannot be sustained, that all nominalizations have a verbal projection and what makes a nominal eventive is not the presence of the verb or the VP alone, but that of verbal functional structure etc. As a general estimation it is fair to say that the distinction between the two classes has survived in its original form. Thus Borer (2011:3) considers it a “foregone conclusion”.

As announced at the beginning of the paper, the discussion centers on English *-Ing nominals*. A starting point in the distinction between E-nominals and R-nominals is their interpretation. It has been pointed out (Grimshaw 1990, a.o.) that *-Ing of nominals* have only E-readings. However, as will be seen, it has been found

out that *-Ing of forms* also have R-readings. Therefore, we need to find contexts discriminating between E-readings and R-readings. From a theoretical perspective, there are distinct proposals for a redefinition of the event vs. result distinction from a derivational perspective, since as it is well-known that Grimshaw's approach is lexicalist.

2.2. There are R-ing nominals

A closer examination of Grimshaw's examples and criteria shows us that actually, there is evidence that *ing-nominals* occur in contexts where, according to her own criteria, they are not E-nominals, but R-nominals. Borer (2011: 5) identifies one such context: *this kind of* _____. As the author illustrates, the slot may be occupied by a noun (2a), including an *-ing* deverbal noun, but in this context the presence of an internal argument of the nominalization is quite infelicitous, as shown below in (2)-(3), (from Borer, 2011: 5). Recall however, that E-nominals require the presence of the IA. Other identifying properties of E-nominals (control in purpose clauses (3c), aspectual modifiers (3d), presence of by-phrases in (e) also produce ungrammatical results in this context:

- (2) a. this kind of table/ friendship/happiness
 - b. this kind of destruction/transmission/ adherence/attainment
 - c. this kind of fighting/ bullying/ parenting/
- (3) a. ??this kind of destruction of cities; this kind of transmission of information
 - b. *this kind of outbidding of friends/ *this kind of bullying of the innocent.
 - c. *this kind of bullying **in order to make up for low self esteem**
 - d. *this kind of parenting **for prolonged years**
 - e. *this kind of terrorizing **by immature males**

In the second place, Grimshaw (1990) distinguishes between *ing-nominals* (event nominalizations) and nominals derived with other English suffixes: *-ation, -ment, -ance/ence, -al* (result nominalizations). Grimshaw's argument is the contrast between 4c and 5c or 6c. In her analysis only R-nominals admit the (passive-like) movement of the object to the pronominal specifier position. Since *-sion/-ment/ -ance/-al* etc. have R-readings, (5c) and (6 c) are grammatical. In contrast, the promotion of the internal argument to the specifier position is blocked in event nominalization, since event-properties depend on the presence of an internal argument in its original position in Grimshaw's analysis. This will account for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (1c), if that *ing-of nominals* only have event-readings.

- (4) a. the transmitting of the documents by Kim/ the deferring of the payment by the bank

b. Kim's transmitting of the documents/the bank's deferring of the payment

c. *the document's transmitting (by Kim)/ *the payment's deferring (by the bank)

(5) a. the transmission/transmittance of the documents by Kim

b. Kim's transmission/transmittance of the documents

c. the document's transmission/transmittance (by Kim)

(6) a. the deferment of the loan (by the bank)

b. the bank's deferment of the loan

c. the loan's deferment (by the bank)

(from Borer, 2011: 4)

Unfortunately, Grimshaw's empirical claims are not entirely correct. In the first place, according to Grimshaw's analysis, (5c) and (6c) must be R-nominals. However, as shown by Borer (2011: 4), they may pass all the diagnostics for event nominals (as in (7): aspectual modifiers, by-phrases), even in the structure with the preposed internal argument; in other words, preposing the IA does not automatically show an R-reading.

(7) a. the document's constant/intentional transmission in seven hours by Kim

b. the loan payment's (frequent) deferment (by the bank)

(from Borer, 2011: 4)

It must be concluded that the grammaticality of (5c)/(6c) is not an indication that these nominals are R-nominals. Thus, *-ing*, as well as *-ation*+kin suffixes (as Borer, 2011 calls them) allow both R and E readings. Notice that at this point, as Borer (2011: 4) explains, if *-ing* nominals may be R/E-nominals, it is not clear why, (4c) is ungrammatical.

The interest of this result is that it shows the fact both *Ing-of nominals* and *-ation* +kin nominals are regular forms which are derived in syntax. Since they do not come already formed from the lexicon, there is no guarantee that they will always have an eventive or resultative reading. Also, this conclusion leads to a solution to another problem discussed in the literature, that of Synthetic Compounds.

2.3. Synthetic Compounds

The fact that *ing-of* nominals do not always have E-readings provides an answer to another difficult problem, that of *-ing compounds* and other synthetic compounds. These syntactic compounds are illustrated below. As we can see from the examples, synthetic compounds is a cover term for both *-ing* derivatives and nouns derived with other suffixes, such as *-er*.

(8) a. truck driving, letter writing, bread eating.

b. truck driver, letter writing, bread eater.

(from Borer, 2011: 6)

From an empirical point of view, according to Roeper and Sigel (1978), synthetic compounds are derived in syntax, starting from a regular VP structure and incorporating an argument or an adjunct. The derivation of synthetic compounds is based on some version of Roeper's and Siegel's First Sister Principle, claiming at least the following:

(9) There exist N+N compounds, call them Synthetic Compounds, in which the head contains a verbal nexus, and the non-head exhibits (syntactic or lexical) *argumental dependency on it*.

(from Borer, 2011: 7)

In other words, when the verb is transitive, what is incorporated, i.e. the non-head constituent, is the internal argument. According to these criteria, the presence of VP and the IA should be an indication that synthetic compounds should have, in Grimshaw's terms, an E-reading. However, **synthetic compounds show no Event properties**.

Borer (2011: 8) compares Synthetic Compounds with *-Ing of AS-Nominals* and notices that in the case of *ing-of nominals*, we encounter the identifying properties of E-nominals, which show eventhood: by-phrases (10a), aspectual modifiers (10b), control in purpose clauses (10c), while these properties are absent in Synthetic Compounds, leading to ungrammatical sentences (11 a-c):

(10) a. The breaking of the door **by Mary** was unexpected. → by-phrases are arguments

b. The breaking of the door **in two minutes** surprised everybody. → aspectual modifiers

c. The breaking of the door **in order to retrieve her locked-up dog** was surprising. → control in purpose clauses

(11) a. (I watched) the door breaking (***by Mary**) → no by-phrases

b. (I read about) the emperor stabbing (***for ten minutes**) → no aspectual modifiers

c. I heard about the emperor stabbing (***in order to kill him**) → no control in purpose clauses.

(from Borer, 2011: 8)

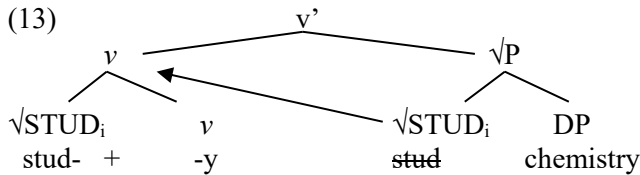
The author explains that additional evidence for the absence of grammatical event structure in Synthetic compounds comes from their felicity in the context of *this kind of*____, in contrast with AS-nominals (recall 2, 3) above.

(12) this kind of spouse terrorizing/ child parenting/ tomato growing/door breaking

(from Borer, 2011: 8)

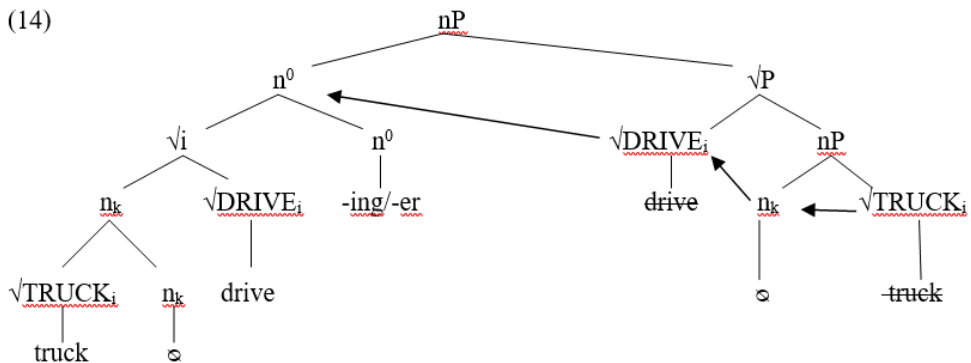
In order to account on the one hand for the presence of IA in Synthetic Compounds and on the other hand for the absence of event structure properties, Harley (2009)

proposes that since (only) verbs have an internal event variable, event properties should manifest only in derivations where the category v/V is present. Harley adopts the proposal put forth in Marantz (1997), and also used by Alexiadou (2001) according to which the starting point of the derivation consists of a categorial lexical roots, not words, that these roots select directly their complements (IA), before the categorization of the root into a verb. The root and its complement make up a RootP. Then, as Borer (2011: 9) explains, the head root further merges with a categorial v head, as we can see in the following structure proposed for regular clauses:



The author (Borer, 2011: 9) goes on to explain that in Harley's (2009) representation of synthetic compounds, the complement will incorporate into the root, just like in the derivation above, but unlike regular clauses, the merger will then incorporate into an n -head, as in (14) below, thus eliminating the need for a verbal projection. This way, she can explain why Synthetic Compounds have an IA and no event properties. Moreover, as Borer (2011: 10) points out, Harley (2009) 'seeks to reconcile, the presence of an internal argument which is dependent on some head, with the fact that English does not have an N+V compounding strategy'. Thus, all compounds eventually are/become N+N structures.

Harley uses this result to argue in favour of root selection and against selection by already categorized verbs. Furthermore, to the extent that eventhood depends on the presence of the category v/V , (14) is expected to show no AS and event properties, as it does.



(from Borer, 2011: 10)

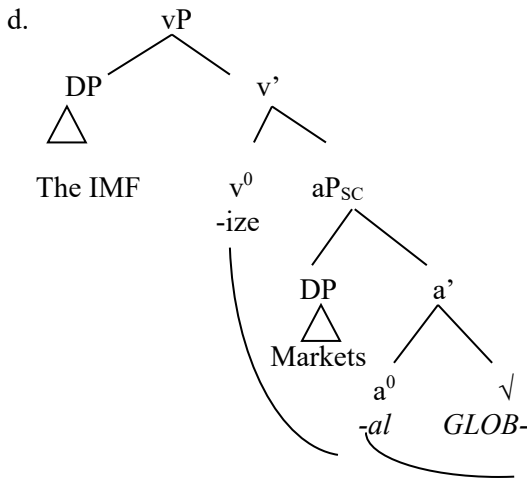
The analysis faces unsurmountable empirical difficulties. One problem, highlighted in Borer (2011), is the fact synthetic compounds may be based on verbs which are themselves derived. Let us look at example (15) with *market globalization*. Borer (2011: 11) explains that according to Harley's (2009) proposal, in (15):

The root \sqrt{GLOB} incorporates into the little *a* head, which spells as *-al*, and the result adjective, incorporates into *-ize*. The argument *markets*, in turn is not in actuality the internal argument of *globalize*, or of the root \sqrt{GLOB} , but rather a specifier, the external argument of a little *a* Small clause headed by $(\sqrt{GLOB})-al$. The problem raised by such compounds is that with such verbs, the incorporated argument cannot possibly be selected by the root, and the derivation presented in (14) cannot go through as such. (Borer, 2011: 11)

(15) a. The IMF globalizes markets.

b. $[_v \text{ -ize} \dots [_{a-sc} \text{ } [_n \text{ markets}]] \text{ } [_a \text{ } al_a \text{ } \sqrt{GLOB}]]]$

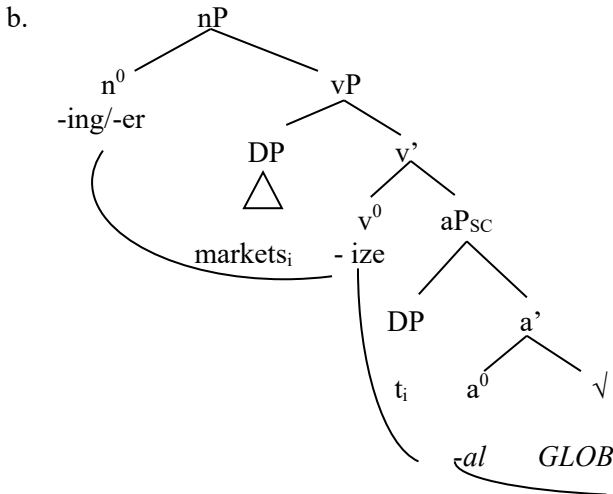
c. $[_v \text{ } \sqrt{GLOB} \text{ -al -ize} \text{ } [_{a-sc} \text{ } [_n \text{ markets}]] \text{ } [_a \text{ } \sqrt{GLOB} \text{ -al } \sqrt{GLOB}]]]$
(from Borer, 2011: 11)



Should we derive the Synthetic Compound *market globalizing* from (15), following as closely as possible the operations in (14), the result would be the representation in (16):

(16) a. $[_n \text{ -ing/-er} \text{ } [_v \text{ } [_n \text{ market}]] \text{ } [_v \sqrt{GLOB} \text{ -al -ize}]] \text{ } [_{a-sc} \text{ } [_n \text{ markets}]] \text{ } [_a \text{ } \sqrt{GLOB} \text{ -al } \sqrt{GLOB}]]]$

(from Borer, 2011: 11)



As Borer (2011: 11) argues, in the derivation above, we can clearly see that $[_n\text{market}]$, which is in the specifier position of the adjectival small clause, incorporated into the already formed verb *globalize*. This happens because it cannot incorporate downwards, either onto the root or onto *-al* for structural reasons. Also, the presence of this verb should trigger event properties in the Synthetic Compound, but as we have already seen, this does not happen.

Once more, Borer (2011: 11) uses the derivation in (16) to argue against root selection. As (16) involves the incorporation of the noun *markets* into the already categorized verb *globalize*, and not a root, root selection is excluded. She claims that this is an undesirable result for at least two reasons.

First, recall that one argument for (14) was that it assumed a well-grounded N+N structure for compounds; in contrast (15) assumes a N+V compounding strategy, not motivated for English. Secondly, as already mentioned, the presence of the verb wrongly predicts AS and even properties, both absent from Synthetic Compounds. This wrong prediction indicates that one of the assumptions of Harley's analysis is wrong. As shown, in her own system, the derivation of synthetic compounds may involve incorporation into a v, and thus the presence of a v. Yet, synthetic compounds do not show event properties. The more general result of the analysis of both Synthetic Compounds and *Ing-of nominals* is that both are derived in syntax and that the presence of the v/V constituent is not sufficient for inducing event properties (against Alexiadou (2001) a.o).

2.4. Conclusions and consequences for the theory of nominalizations

Like R-nominals, Synthetic Compounds do not show event properties, but may show evidence of a verb. Therefore, the presence of V does not guarantee E-readings. R-readings are also possible. At this point, the question that arises is whether we can maintain the distinction between E/R –nominals in syntax, or whether this is an interpretative problem alone. In the next section we present the

Borer's answer to this problem: what makes a nominal eventive is not the verb or the VP alone, but the existence of verbal functional structure, involved in licensing the arguments of the verb, as well as control, aspectual modifiers etc.

3. Differentiating E/R nominals in syntax

The results of the previous discussion show that all nominalizations have a fully regular reading, that they are derived in syntax and that a lexical VP projection is not enough to account for the event properties associated with E-nominals. Therefore, the question which arises is how we can differentiate between E-nominals and R-nominals in syntax and how we can account for the presence or absence, respectively, of event properties. We will argue that the answer is a verbal functional projection, namely Aspect.

In Borer's view (2011), the distinction between E/R-nominal hinges on the presence/absence of verbal functional structure, not on the presence/absence of the lexical category verb (for further insight see Borer, 2011). Thus, both verbal gerunds (i.e. *Acc-ing* and *Poss-ing*) and verbal nouns (*Ing-of nominals*) include the functional projection of Aspect (i.e. lexical aspect), manifest mainly through the presence of aspectual modifiers (*in two weeks/for two weeks, etc*) corresponding with the aspectual class of their base verb (1 a, b). Additionally, they may occur with modifiers such as *frequent* or *constant* (2 a, b):

(1) a. She read the book in one week.

The reading of the book in one week was an accomplishment.

b. He sang the same song for three hours.

The singing of the song for three hours annoyed everyone.

(2) a. The constant telling of lies pushed John to a breaking point.

b. The frequent killing of birds is condemned by everyone.

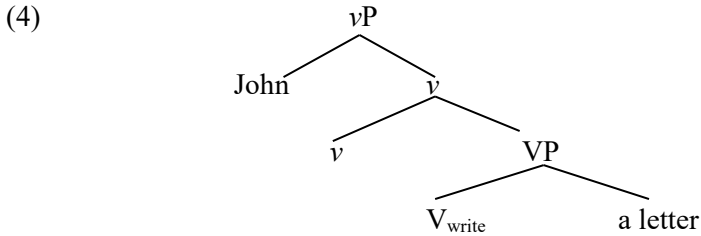
Furthermore, verbal gerunds also exhibit grammatical aspect. This can be easily seen in the following example (3). So far, evidence points to an Aspect projection:

(3) His /him having been jogging all morning came as a surprise.

Grimshaw (1990) argues that event nominalizations inherit the a-structure from the verb and, therefore, in the case of transitive verbs, the IA is always present with E-nominals. Since we have seen that eventhood is, in fact, determined by verbal functional projections, the licensing of the IA must be connected to the projection of Aspect. In order to see the connection between the Aspect projection and the IA we need to take a look at the event structure of a transitive verb.

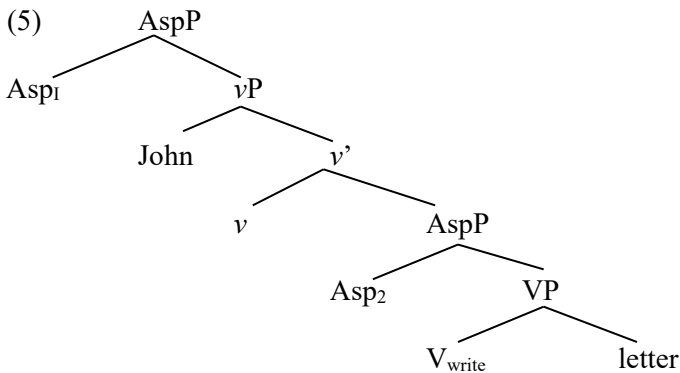
Zagona (2007: 474), among others, proposes that the internal structure of the verb phrase structurally represents the components of complex events. Thus, following Hale and Keyser (1993), she proposes that separate verbal heads within vP express separate subevents. For instance, the VP *John write a letter*, which is an

accomplishment, is made out of two verbs: a light verb *v* which means CAUSE and a lexical verb *write*. She explains that the NP in the specifier of the causative verb will be the causer, or the Agent, while the object/complement of the lexical verb *write* bears the theta role of Theme and represents ‘the participant that undergoes a change to a final state’ (Zagona, 2007: 474)



(from Zagona, 2007: 474)

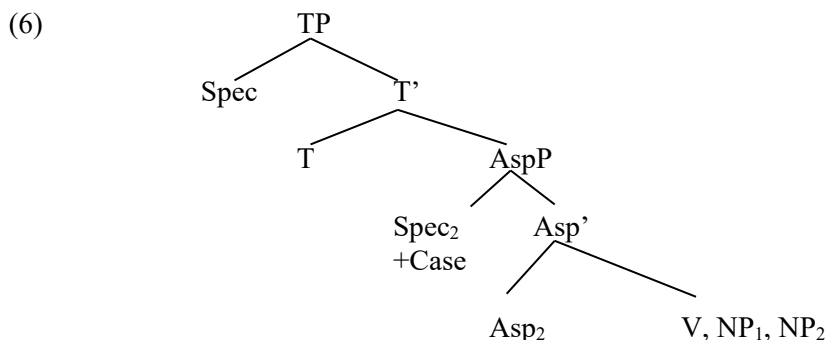
Thus, the structure of the vP, as argued by the author, will be that of a complex event which comprises two related subevents. The first subevent is John’s (Agent) causing activity, also representing the ‘outer event’. The second one is the letter’s (Theme) coming into existence, or ‘the inner’ event. For each of them, Zagona (2007: 475) proposes the existence of a corresponding Aspect head, as we can see in (5):



(from Zagona, 2007: 475)

Zagona (2007: 475) explains that the two Aspect heads in (5) are not different categories. Thus, she proposes that Asp₁ should be interpreted as the ‘initiative event by virtue of the meaning of vCAUSE’. On the other hand, Asp₂ is seen as ‘the subevent that culminates in a state that ends the event’. The IA *letter* is projected under the second aspect head. Therefore, it is easy to assume that when the IA is present with an event nominalization, the aspect projection will be present too.

Borer (1994) proposes that the projection of a-structure is mediated by Aspect and that the Theme NP acts as an event measurer, an interpretation derived from the Spec-Head relationship with an aspectual head which itself is associated with event measurement. Thus, the derivation of a transitive sentence will be the following one, with Case being assigned in Aspectual functional projections:



As we can see, the Theme IA is projected in the Aspectual projection and it receives case in the specifier position of AspP. Furthermore, the number of the IA may determine the lexical aspect of a sentence/nominalization. Thus, the combination with a bare plural may trigger an activity reading:

- (7) the reading of newspapers all morning → Bare plural → activity
 the reading of two books in one week → accomplishment.

An interesting problem may be that of E-nominals without an IA. As remarked by Sleeman and Britto (2010) not all E-nominals have an expressed IA. However, in such cases, aspect is still manifest through the occurrence of aspectual modifiers:

- (8) The discussion lasted two hours.

For Romanian, Cornilescu (2001) shows that there is a connection between the presence of the DO with event nominalizations and the telicity of the nominalizing affix. Thus, transitive non-stative verbs are mostly accomplishments including a process followed by a change of state and a resulting state. Telic predications will include the resulting state which is identified as the Theme IA, while atelic predications include only the process identified by the Agent. This is why Themes (IA) must be overtly expressed in telic predications. In Romanian, both the infinitive and the supine affixes in Noun-Object structures may yield telic predications (9) and may recategorize as activities with a BP object (10):

- (9) a. construirea podului în două luni
 'the building of the bridge in two months.'
 b. cititul ziarelor de dimineață într-o oră
 'the Reading of the morning papers in one hour'

- (10)a. construirea catedralelor vreme de secole
‘the building of the cathedrals for centuries’
b. cititul de ziare ore întregi pe zi
‘the reading of newspapers for hours daily’.
(from Cornilescu, 2001: 485-486)

The supine Noun-Subject structure will always be an activity. Therefore, its object is not obligatorily lexicalized, only the Agent. This can be easily seen in the following example provided by the author:

- (11) Pescuitul lui Ion în ape tulburi ani în şir.
‘Ion’s fishing in troubled waters for years on end.’
(from Cornilescu, 2001: 485-486)

What follows is that the suffix has aspectual features: the infinitive is [+Telic], while the supine is [-Telic]. Therefore, with an infinitive nominalization, the object will be obligatory and case-assigned. The supine suffix in NS structures does not need a lexicalized object and is derived from unergative verbs such as *râsul* ‘the laughter’, *plânsul* ‘the crying’, etc.

After having discussed the main arguments in favour of projecting Aspect in the derivation of an event nominalization, we may draw the conclusion that the functional projection required for a nominal to have event properties is that of Aspect. Thus, we have seen that a lexical VP is not enough to trigger an event reading and there is a need of further verbal structure, of functional projections. The fact that we encounter adverbs, IAs and even grammatical aspect (in the case of verbal gerunds) is an indication of the presence of such a functional projection.

Conclusions

At the end of the present discussion, we can draw the conclusion that the distinction between E-nominals and R-nominals is still valid and that both nominalizations are derived in syntax. Contrary to some analyses (Alexiadou, 2001, Harley, 2009, Alexiadou & Grimshaw, 2008) which argue that only E-nominals have a v/V projection which is responsible for introducing the event variable, the results of our discussion show that both e-nominals and r-nominals have a v/V projection and that what truly distinguishes between the two classes of deverbal nouns is the presence/absence of verbal functional structure, i.e. an Aspect projection.

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GLOCALISED HUMOUR IN THE NEW MEDIA INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION TAXING LOCAL FORECAST ALERTS AGAINST THE GLOBAL IMPORT

Diana Cotrău, Alexandra Cotoc
“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: It has been remarked by specialists and laymen alike that weather disasters have been preferentially constructed as media events for the past couple of decades. As such, they constitute spectacles inviting participatory culture (Jannis Androutsopoulos), *id est* the consumer public, Social Media employers included, may, and will, react affectively to extreme weather texts in ways that are culture specific. That is, although weather events media coverage is relatively conservative in terms of gender, class and race, and elicits a controlled range of emotions (Leyda and Negra), the New local audiences may bypass such limitations and react, given the affordances of the New Media, in culture-determined ways in their capacity of *prosumers* (concomitant consumers and producers of media).

This paper intends to explore how humorous multimodal posts in social networks sites by a hyperconnected local audience, place in a less-than-preferred perspective local forecast alerts against the hegemonic backdrop of the regions of the world which regularly register a high incidence of natural disasters given their location. The analytical material comprises mass media texts and mediated official local weather alerts, as well as a selection of multimodal contributions posted and disseminated by digi-participants on social network sites or as comments to the aforementioned mass media output.

KEYWORDS: humour, New Media, interpersonal communication, glocalisation, participatory culture, media spectacle, cultural hegemony, Internet Linguistics.

Introduction

Similar to people everywhere, researchers cannot but note that the mass-media have for the past couple of decades spectacularised extreme weather phenomena (Leyda and Negra) with a tendency to extrapolate the invariably ‘alert’ forecasts to all regions in the world, irrespective of the latter’s climatic profiles. The underlying reasons have been amply discussed elsewhere, so that our intention for this paper is instead to explore how, with the advent and development of the New Media such exaggerations as are often the case in the mass-media may be, and are, pointed the finger at by the New audiences. Indeed, the once traditional, if passive, consumers now react in ways that elude presumed media expectations and subject-positionings. Technologically adept and media literate, with the potential of generating content always at the ready, today’s *prosumers* (Fuchs, 2011) take full advantage of both the democracy and the affordances of the medium, particularly those of the Social Media. Consequently, they will tax ideologically such mass-media blatant claims where weather is concerned even as they form a participatory culture (Jannis Androutsopoulos) displaying a spontaneous intersubjectivity.

Moreover, from what we have noted in perhaps less than a scientific and more of a lay capacity, such micro-subjectivities as coalesce and become the source of reactive Net-speech to mass-media triggers are compounded by the shared knowledge of ‘genuinely’ extreme weather events reported elsewhere, compared to the local (Romanian) phenomena, the latter typical of a moderate climate. As such, we have proposed to survey the linguistic inputs by the local audience in the form of interpersonal communication on the Net (as direct comments to said media weather alerts and reports, or as correlated posts on the Social Media). Our supposition is that the humour we have noted some of them to be imbued with is stemming from the intrinsic message that the efforts of the local media to capture the public are transparent, that local officials and administrators are using the opportunity of a weather event to aggrandize their actions by having them cloaked in a particular form of discourse, and lastly, that cultural hegemony vectors may traverse even the neutral and objective domain of (a particular) science: climatology, when the latter is mediated.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Under the social and cultural circumstances framing our epistemological undertaking we felt the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, van Teun) approach to be adequate for our broadly Internet Linguistics analysis. Our intention is to sample the mass-media weather alerts and reports, and the mediated official briefings, in order to identify the discourse elements that have potentially triggered the humorous posts by the local consumers and the ensuing interpersonal communication on the Net (in the Social Media or on the electronic newspaper platforms affording interactivity), as well as analysing how the said humour obtains.

Consequently, we have gathered two corpora (Corpus 1 and Corpus 2), the one consisting in mass-media output, and the other, in individual reactive Net inputs. In the case of the first corpus, we conducted a survey of local (Romanian) mass-media across the month of August 2017 and selected some relevant texts reporting or related to a spate of ‘extreme’ local weather. We used *TextAlyser* (the Text Analysis Online Program for finding the most frequent phrases and words, giving overview about text style, etc.) to process the texts, focusing on such repetitive focal semantic clusters that would potentially explain the reactive use of humour in the individual comments correlative with the sampled media discourses. The second corpus was compiled through the use of the *hashtag* as a corpus gathering instrument and semantic tool. In this case, in addition to the purely linguistic dimension we have also taken into account the multimodality of the posts collected, as we consider it to be having a substantial contribution to reinforcing, or singularly creating, humour. All the more so as the hashtag is used by the digi-participants themselves in order to create a multimodal discourse and to hyper-connect the discourses treating the same topics. It stands to reason, then, to use the same instrument to trace down the relevant posts and comments. The hashtag

allows for topic retrieval using one or more words, phrases, structures and even entire sentences. The words can be separated from one another using hashtags and this gives the hashtag a labyrinthine semantic value as it either narrows down the scope of the query or adds different (semantic / pragmatic) dimensions to the same topic. For example:

#furtunabucuresti #emptybus #emptytown;
#casastii #furtuna #bucuresti;
#distribuie #si #tuFurtună deasupra Bucureștiului#bucuresti #furtuna.

Obviously, the hashtag is both an affordance which allows users to be creative and a metadata tag which allows them to produce messages / posts which are easily found by other users who share the same interests. The use of the hashtag leads to a “searchable talk” and encourages collaboration among digi-participants by providing “conversational tagging” (see Zappavigna, 2012 and 2015, Huang, Hornton, and Efthimiadis 2010) as it engages users in digital content production.

Eventually, given that the New Media are congenial to blending global and local elements, gathering in the same space digi-participants from across the world, and thus allowing for the nascence of a hybrid discourse, we intend to diagnose the extent to which such actuation underlies the humor of the local Romanian media employers. We expect users to express culture-specific opinions regarding the weather phenomena in question, almost indiscriminately mediated as ‘extreme’ across the local mass-media, and to engage in interpersonal communication. They, thus, contribute to the construction of a threaded item of information in which they can negotiate a glocal identity, the latter reflecting an interplay between local and a variety of exogenous ideas, attitudes and practices. The emerged glocal identity is, at once, the participatory culture invited by the media event and the “imagined community” (Joseph, 2004) providing a group identity for the users who contribute to these threads.

In deconstructing the humouristic dimension of the individual posts and comments, we have resorted to the tripartite humour theory (cf. Attardo, 1994), which establishes the conditions, the goals, and the explanation of the phenomenon, as summarised below:

- *Essentialist theories*: establish the necessary and sufficient conditions for the phenomenon to occur (defining its “essence”).
- *Teleological theories*: describe the goals of the phenomenon, and how its mechanisms are shaped and determined by its goals.
- *Substantialist theories*: find the unifying factor for the explanation of the phenomenon in the “concrete” contents of the phenomenon.

While linguistic theories are generally *essentialist* and/or *teleological* (sociolinguistic), and the psychological and sociological theories are *substantialist*, our analysis will incorporate elements of all three. Consequently, we will be employing an analytical grid comprising elements of Semantics, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, and Semiotics, to apply to the individual comments/posts by the

media employers, with the intention of diagnosing them, and/or reaching new findings against which we could verify our initial hypotheses.

Hegemonic referencing (cultural and geopolitical) vs. the contextualised local discourse (cultural specifics)

Subject to our initial hypotheses, we have selected for processing through *Textalyser* (see above) the headlines and media texts where cultural references, be they direct or oblique, were detectable. We should also note that during the selection process we came across some noteworthy media meta comments and cross-referencing, one of which we exemplify below but will not include into our analysis *per se*.

(1)

Cum au transmis televiziunile “furtuna” ratata din Bucuresti: De la “Furtuna violenta, clipe de cosmar”, la codul roz si “Uraganul Gabi s-a pierdut cu Firea”

[How the television channels broadcast the failed “storm” in Bucharest: From the “Violent Storm, Nightmare Moments” to the pink code and “Hurricane Gabi loses its wits”]

The *failed storm* [Rom. *Furtuna ratată*] choice of syntagm provides an intrinsically hegemonic reference, by comparison to the hurricanes causing huge damage, casualties and fatalities in the USA roughly predating the local Romanian storm alert. The *pink code* [Rom. *codul roz*] references the colour coding of the severity of weather phenomena (scaled from yellow through orange to red, the highest) pink not being among them. The descriptive epithet – pink – also relates to possible ideological counter-positioning, given the political leanings of the newspaper carrying this headline. Eventually, local readers may also detect a culture- and gender-determined use of *pink* as connoting a ‘girly’ anticipation of an apparently severe meteo phenomenon, as well as the local general knowledge of the Mayor of Bucharest’s (Gabi Firea) inadequate choices of dress colours on informal occasions. In addition, and to give due credit to the generally creative use of puns in headlines, there is wordplay on the high official’s last name, too: Firea, which as a common noun is also the Romanian word for *wits*, as in *being at one’s wits’ end*. Paralleling to some degree the gendered, sexist even, culturally specific associations noted above, one should also note that hurricanes in the USA causing huge destruction are usually assigned female names. Thus, calling the failed storm by the diminutive Gabi, ridicules both the person and a situation exacerbated by the official forecast alerts emitted by an expectedly over-anxious and yet uncharacteristically extra-zealous, female mayor.

On a final note, slightly removed from the line of argumentation above, but not from our research objective, the media inter-referencing aforementioned also evidences and testifies to the existence of a participatory culture, which it legitimizes by evaluating favourably its inputs taking the shape of reactive comments on the *fora* and Social Media. To be true to fact, it is these headlines themselves that have ignited our interest in an epistemic exploration of the

enhanced reactivity of Internauts to the ostensible mediation of a local weather event.

With the help of *Textalyser* we processed 5 newspaper texts (Corpus 1) dwelling on the targeted local storm. The results yielded a high incidence of the following semantic clusters:

furtuna, instabilitate atmosferică, vijelie, fenomene meteo extreme, ploi torențiale, intensificări, rafale [storm, atmospheric instability, blizzard, extreme weather phenomena, torrential rainfall, heavy rainfall, gusts of wind]: 96

gabriela firea, primarul general, primarul capitalei, administratia [the mayor general, the mayor of the capital city, the administration]: 76

avertizare, avertizările meteorologice, avertizarea meteorologică emisă, alertare, previne [warning, weather warning, broadcast weather warning, alert]: 43

cod, cod portocaliu, cod galben, avertizare cod [code, orange code, yellow code, code alert]: 41

a murit, pierderea de vieți [died, loss of human lives]: 19

There is a marked asymmetry between the use of lexical items denoting the severity of the weather phenomenon (96+41), the incidence of the name and office of the mayor of Bucharest (76), the lexical string denoting population alert (43), and the recorded number of casualties and fatalities (19). The discrepancy may point to the fact that, on the one hand, some newspapers have portrayed the mayor preferentially even while they constructed a media event, and on the other, it may replicate the disjunction between her (the mayor's) anticipatory actions and the actual magnitude of the 'storm'. The media spectacle is reiterated through the selective use of vocabulary connoting the extreme end of the 'rain' lexical continuum: e.g. storm, blizzard, torrential rain, heavy rainfall, gusts of wind. This is but one element in the strategy of constructing weather as a media event. However, we appreciate this as a potential explanation for the nature of the reactive comments posted by local Internauts. Moreover, we can safely say that, the use of humour by the social media employers in the aftermath of the storm to tax the spectacular media event and to evaluate the administrative performance of the mayor is not only explicable but can also be regarded as a culture-determined affective reaction.

Interpersonal communication and thematic hybridization

Corpus 2 was gathered through the use of the hashtag (#furtunaseptembriebucuresti) across network sites (mainly Facebook) and electronic media. We have identified several instances where the local weather manifestations are overtly, or alternately, covertly, compared to the ones occurring earlier the same year in geo-regions displaying a high incidence, albeit unusual

recurrence, of extreme atmospheric phenomena. Two of the most relevant examples are a brief exchange (2) between two digi-participants on a social network site, and a multimodal prosumer-type of post (3):

(2)

Mi-a zis casiera de la Mega Image ca e atata lume ca zici ca vine Craciunul [*the cashier at Mega Image told me there were so many people one would say Christmas was coming*]

Nu Craciunul, ci Uraganul si s-au pierdut cu Firea [*not Christmas, but the Hurricane and they are at their wit's end*]

This short dialogue is relevant for how a participatory culture forms and operates. While the first participant seemingly addresses someone in particular, his contribution can also be regarded as a trigger inviting others to contribute similar, supportive comments after and if detecting the humour in the original post alongside its multiple connotations. The implication in (2)(a) is that the local residents are flooding the local hypermarkets to procure large amounts of food (as if for Christmas, when Romanians customarily feast) and store them, as they might stay captive in their homes due to the severe weather forecast. The equally humorous reply, also denoting implicit shared knowledge and intersubjectivity, resorts to wordplay on the mayor of Bucharest's surname, as well as referencing the 'authentic' severe weather phenomena that have been recorded in the USA. In addition to humour, there is sarcasm which is both self-directed as well as aimed at the emphatic conduct of the mayor in what is presumably perceived as her attempts to echo the actions taken in similar situations, in recent times, in other areas of the world. The use of the term hurricane suggests there might be some high sensitivity, on behalf of the locals, to cultural hegemony (hurricanes are peculiar to the United States, a first world country, and the neighbouring regions, which are often assimilated to them).



(3)

The multimodal post comprising a photo and an embedded caption is also a reaction ridiculing the exaggerated weather alerts and the way the locals might

have reacted had they paid heed to the official risk alerts largely labelled as apocalyptic. The caption is explicit – *Romanian people returning to their homes after the legendary 20 September storm (circa 2017, colorized)*. The wording replicates the register employed for documenting a sort of primordial catastrophe, of Biblical magnitude, a reverted Exodus, as seen from a distant future (e.g. *circa* (sic) *2017, colorized*), the latter customarily used with stills/shots from the pre-color era of film-making and photography. The conspicuous use of a photo that is incongruously not of local Romanians (as can be noted from some of the specific garments and facial features), as well as the unlikelihood for such a large mass of Romanian people to join, possibly, a pilgrimage, or a convoy of migrants, builds on the common knowledge of topical facts shared by the author(s) and the audience. The juxtaposition of the alien imagery, the caption claiming the photo to be of locals, in the context of an overrated storm, is the main source of humour. Likewise, the blatant overlapping between the (real) *Other* (possibly Asian refugees) and the (suggested) *self* (local Romanians) has germinated a hybrid, contingent on the European political, demographic, and cultural developments. Likening the plight of migrants escaping their war-torn countries to that of local Romanians bombarded by spectacular weather alerts rather than by rain begets self-directed sarcasm and irony.

Some more discussion and conclusions

Following our analytic process, we cannot but also remark that the online journals acknowledge the local (Romanian) propensity for humour and the creativity of the digi-participants who are co-producers of news events through their comments and posts, especially on online social network sites. This evaluation is legitimised by explicit headlines:

(4)

Excesul de zel de care au dat dovadă autoritățile bucureștene privind atenționarea de furtună și condiții meteo extreme din Capitală a fost taxat de internați, pe Facebook, cu multă creativitate

[*The excess zeal displayed by Bucharest authorities in relation to the storm and extreme weather conditions alerts in the Capital city was taxed by Internauts, on Facebook, most creatively*].

In addition, headlines such as this confirm the intertwining feature of the new media discourse which combines online journal production with social network sites (particularly Facebook) users' contributions. And, if needs be, it is further proof of the fact that for local Romanians, Facebook is a preferred digital space not only for constructing a personal and/or professional network of contacts, but also for engaging in discussions about global or local issues. They, thus, convert this social network site into a tool for addressing problematic societal concerns, as well as achieving glocalisation, which is scaffolded by the use of a lingua franca in some of the posts or comments on Facebook. We have noted several containing English word/phrase hashtags primarily intended at increasing visibility, but

subsidiarily facilitating the integration of a local phenomenon into the global context.

More online journals also produced during our target period headlines acknowledging the partly humorous, partly deriding comments aimed at the self-proclaimed efforts and excessive actions taken by the local authorities in dealing with an anticipated local weather disaster. They, thus, empower the audience who through their digi-comments are, in fact, critically assessing the news items. The electronic journals platforms are not simply user-friendly, but actually hyperconnect the readers and the different digital spaces such that the news items make readily accessible and manageable content. In fact, the news items are as much as scanned by the digi-participants, who most often click away in a matter of seconds. This is the reason why the headlines address readers directly, on a one-to-one basis, as if singularising them, in addition to carrying intriguing messages or formulating rhetorical questions containing implicit, shared answers. Another strategy used by online journals to manipulate audiences into reading pre-guided online content is the use of phrases inviting users to surf sites for custom-made gratifications with the promise of *spectacularised* news. As such, the structure *read also + hyperlinked headline* is embedded in the body of the article. The online journals also emphasize the multimodal structure of the news, by announcing from the very beginning that the article/column/editorial features a photo gallery and/or videos. This is a marketing adjustment to the digi-profile of prosumers, who are no longer content with just reading texts, but also look to consume video clips or images which oftentimes add eye-catching drama to the otherwise commonplacal *status quo*.

In conclusion, having analysed two types of contextualised texts and discourses in terms of their producers and their targeted audiences, mediated as contrasted to 'authentic', as regards to extreme weather reports constructed as media events, we have reached some conclusions which confirm our initial hypotheses. Humour obtains through the juxtaposition of the intersubjective knowledge of digi-participants and the topical contents of the mass-media constructed event. Local discourse is sensitive to global referencing, as made apparent by a linguistic and stylistic bricolage with the ostensible goal of achieving humour, the latter clearly culture-determined. Glocalisation is inherent to how the digital participatory culture contrasts the over-zealous local administrative actions and the local mass-media's mimicking of the panic campaigns in some first world states traditionally experiencing large scale extreme weather phenomena.

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Internet Tools

<http://textalyser.net/>

WHY NEO-WHORFIAN DEVELOPMENTS DO NOT WORK

Laura Carmen Cuțitaru
“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iasi, Romania

ABSTRACT: This paper begins by stating the tenets of what is traditionally known as the “Sapir-Whorf” Hypothesis and brings up the new, interdisciplinary developments that have emerged since the ‘90s in most cognitive-oriented approaches in human sciences. Relying on evidence from cognitive linguistics and biology, it then tries to discredit one of the most fascinating and successful myths circulating nowadays, concerning the way in which language influences man’s perception of reality.

KEYWORDS: language determinism, perception, embodiment of language.

The idea that language influences thought is not a new one. In the U.S., it is generally believed that this theory was first formulated by early 20th century American linguists, a very blind eye being thus turned to the German linguistics contribution dating as far back as the 17th century (Leibniz) and concluding with early 19th century (Humboldt). The name given to this supposed relationship between language and thought, the “Sapir-Whorf hypothesis”, which falsely suggests cooperation between the American anthropological linguist Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and his student, Benjamin Lee Whorf, reflects a common perception according to which the latter took to extreme an idea formulated previously by the former. What does Edward Sapir (1993: 10-11) say, more precisely?

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. /.../. The fact of the matter is that the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. /.../. Even comparatively simple acts of perception are very much more at the mercy of the social patterns called words than we might suppose. If one draws some dozen lines, for instance, of different shapes, one perceives them as divisible into such categories as ‘straight’, ‘crooked’, ‘curved’, ‘zigzag’ because of the classificatory suggestiveness of the linguistic terms themselves. We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.

Somewhere else he claims that diverse grammatical categories like tense, case or gender make us unconsciously project implicit expectations onto our field of experience. We do not discover them by experience, but rather conversely language imposes them tyrannically on us, orienting thus our perception and behavior. One important clarification has to be made here: language, in this

acception, means one's *mother* tongue. Sapir's ideas target *vocabulary*, while Benjamin L. Whorf (1993:34) seems to consider *syntax* more:

/.../ the background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impression /.../ . We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. /.../... no individual is free to describe nature with absolute impartiality but is constrained to certain modes of interpretation.

Hence, a truly free, objective description of the world is impossible as long as human thinking is poured into fixed, pre-existent (linguistic) forms.

One argument in support of this hypothesis is the way in which *time* is expressed in the language of the Hopi tribes living in Arizona. According to Whorf, there is a marked discrepancy in the way Europeans and the Hopi perceive time. To us, time is a succession of events that can be grouped into past, present and future; in contrast, Hopi would be a timeless language in which speakers express their attitude toward an event, for example, expectation for future.¹

Starting with the '90s, we witness an unprecedented revival of this hypothesis that makes its way into interdisciplinary areas. For example, behavioral economist Keith Chen claims² that one's mother tongue can affect our money saving capacity. He and his Yale team discovered that, in the minds of speakers of languages with no temporal grammatical markers (like Mandarin Chinese), the past, the present and the future are not sharply dissociated: the dissociation is achieved through an adverb of time, while the verbal form remains unchanged. Thus, where English speakers say *I eat, I ate, I will eat*, the Chinese say *I eat today, I eat yesterday, I eat tomorrow*. This supposedly encourages saving money more easily as compared to speakers of languages in which, due to sharp linguistic distinctions, people tend to see the future as something distant, therefore demotivating.

American psychologist Lera Boroditsky approaches *time* from a comparative perspective. She mentions that (native) English speakers use *horizontal spatial* metaphors (the future is ahead, the past is behind) in contrast to speakers of Mandarin Chinese, who use *vertical spatial* metaphors (the future is up, the past is down). In one of her experiments at Stanford University, a set of pictures showing time progression (for example a man aging) were given to speakers of different languages to arrange in chronological order. Speakers of English arranged such items from left to right, speakers of Hebrew did this from right to left (unsurprisingly, since they also write in this way), while members of a small aboriginal community in Australia (named Kuuk Thaayorre), who use cardinal-direction terms (north, east...) to define space, arranged the cards from east to west. That means that, if they were facing south, the cards went left to right, and the other way round if they were facing north. When they faced east, the cards came

¹ Whorf's claims have been later disproved by Ekkehart Malotki's extensive studies.

² His June 2012 conference *Could your language affect your ability to save money?* (see *Works Cited*)

toward the body and viceversa. All of this would be proof of speakers of different languages experiencing time differently.

Boroditsky (online article, see *Works Cited*) maintains that even basic aspects of time perception can be affected by language: *duration*, for example, has been the target of other experiments. She cites one case in which English is contrasted to Spanish and Greek concerning how duration is expressed:

For example, English speakers prefer to talk about duration in terms of length (e.g., “That was a short talk,” “The meeting didn’t take long”), while Spanish and Greek speakers prefer to talk about time in terms of amount, relying more on words like “much” “big”, and “little” rather than “short” and “long”. /.../ when asked to estimate duration, English speakers are more likely to be confused by distance information, estimating that a line of greater length remains on the test screen for a longer period of time, whereas Greek speakers are more likely to be confused by amount, estimating that a container that is fuller remains longer on the screen.

In their own experiments on the same issue, linguists Emanuel Bylund³ and Panos Athanasopoulos⁴ (2017: 911-16) reach the same conclusion by contrasting Spanish to Swedish: the Spanish speakers refer to time in terms of volume (they say *a small break*), whereas the Swedish refer to time in terms of distance (they say *a short break*). In their experiment, computer animations of a slowly growing line are shown, that last for 3 seconds, but the line does not always grow to the same length. The duration is harder to estimate to the Swedes, because they talk about time in terms of distance (a longer line will be an indication of a longer time, they expect), and easier to the Spanish, because they talk volume (and are not tricked by the length of the line). Conversely, the duration in an animation of a jug slowly being filled up is harder to the Spanish (who expect bigger volume with a longer time) and easier to the Swedes (who are not tricked by volume).⁵

There are numerous experiments going along the same lines, in different parts of the academic world. But there is a fundamental mistake in this kind of approach, namely confusion between *perceiving* reality and *expressing* it. The fact that Chinese mandarin speakers do not have distinctive grammatical temporal morphemes does not mean they experience time (an ontological category) as a continuum, but only that they just express tense (a grammatical category) differently. They also lack a distinctive verbal form for subjunctive, but this does not mean they cannot tell what is unreal from what is real; neither does it stop them from speaking hypothetically. They just use other verbal means.

In reality, no matter the mother tongue, we all perceive reality in the same way because, due to the human nature we share, we have the same bodily senses. Studies in neurology show that we are so alike biologically speaking, that we form

³ From Stellenbosch University in South Africa.

⁴ From Lancaster University in the U.K.

⁵ I wonder what the results would be in our case, speakers of Romanian: we use both *small* and *short*, respectively *big* and *long* with reference to time periods (e.g. *o pauză scurtă/mică* și *o pauză lungă/mare*).

similar neural patterns in our brains, which gives birth to similar mental images of the things that we see and otherwise experience in the world. The mind is made up of ideas that are, one way or another, cerebral representations of the body, and *the images going through our minds reflect the interaction between the organism and the environment*. Our cerebral circuits are moulded by our concrete interaction with the environment (Damasio 2003: 191-96). It naturally follows that, since language encodes our mental images and ideas, *it encodes our experience*. A language mirrors the environmental challenges a community of speakers have had in their history, and it says nothing about *perception* of reality, only about its *expression*.

We have seen that, in the fact that different speakers arrange cards left to right, or right to left, east to west or viceversa, Lera Boroditsky sees a different perception of time. On the contrary, there is a basic unity of perception here: everyone uses *space* to speak about time (the differences left-right and so on are motivated culturally). And this happens because time is an objective, ontological category which does not depend on human perception. *A day* is the time it takes Earth to *rotate* around its own axis. The definition of time includes movement, while movement is defined as change of *place or position in space*. The formula in physics brings these together: $d(\text{istance}) = s(\text{peed}) \times t(\text{ime})$. A different type of *perception* of time would imply bringing in this equation a different factor. Instead, all peoples on this planet express time in terms of space.

I believe my point can be further grasped if I bring up another of Boroditsky's own examples given her online article: names of colors. She says:

To test whether differences in color language lead to differences in color perception, we compared Russian and English speakers' ability to discriminate shades of blue. In Russian there is no single word that covers all the colors that English speakers call "blue." Russian makes an obligatory distinction between light blue (goluboy) and dark blue (sinii). Does this distinction mean that sinii blues look more different from goluboy blues to Russian speakers? Indeed, the data say yes. Russian speakers are quicker to distinguish two shades of blue that are called by the different names in Russian (i.e., one being sinii and the other being goluboy) than if the two fall into the same category. For English speakers, all these shades are still designated by the same word, "blue," and there are no comparable differences in reaction time. /.../ it is language per se that creates this difference in perception between Russian and English speakers.

Color perception is a matter of the *brain*, not of the language.⁶ It is not something we can train at. It does not depend on our will power. By the same logic, the presence of the words *red* and *green* in the vocabulary of a daltonic person would have to be enough to correct the inability of the sufferer to distinguish between these two colors.

Words are not a good place to look at when it comes to perception; many times, they are present in some people's vocabulary due to the process of

⁶ See the experiments cited in Timothy Jay's *The Psychology of Language* (2003:435-37), carried out by different teams of experimenters at different points in time, ending in the same conclusions.

borrowing, which testifies only to the direct contact between two communities: in the north-eastern part of Romania, in the province of Moldavia which used to border on the former Soviet Empire, older rural people use the Slavic word *siniliu* to designate the blue of a pigment used mostly for house painting and white laundry rinsing (learned Romanians know this word from books and they never use it since it is a regionalism). This does not confer old rural people a better ability to distinguish between shades of blue any more than knowing phrases like *canary blue*, *celestial blue*, *cobalt blue*, *electric blue*, *metallic blue*, *mineral blue*, *Persian blue*, *petrol blue*, *royal blue*, *sapphire blue*, *turquoise blue* allows painters to perceive more shades of blue than everyone else. What they *are* better at is *identifying by name*. The reaction time in the experiment above, longer or shorter, depends on the many factors that come into play after perception of color: recognition of color, accessing appropriate words, mental formulation of name, then articulation proper.

Starting from the concept of *color* and going through *basic-level* then *spatial-relations* concepts, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson bring up the latest discoveries in neuroscience and, by contrasting metaphors in different cultures, they convincingly (and lengthily) defend the idea that “concepts are not just reflections of an external reality, but they are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, especially by our sensorimotor system.” (1999: 22)

Language embodiment, an idea Lakoff is famous for, means that human concepts⁷ and categorizations⁸ are determined by our bodies and brains in their direct interaction with the environment through our five senses. Not only that: our biological makeup determines our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization. Their studies on metaphors⁹ in various linguistic systems show that speakers categorize the world in pretty much the same way. We do have similar or identical mental representations of the world. An important consequence here for us is that *no language can create its own perception of reality*. A language just *reflects the structure* of a certain conceptual system. Linguistic diversity says nothing about perception. Seven thousand languages (as are claimed to be currently spoken on Earth) are not seven thousand ways to see the world. They are proof only of man’s wealth of mental resources.

As unsubstantiated as language determinism is, it has proven fertile ground for new developments. Let us not forget that, originally, Whorf’s claims referred strictly to one’s mother tongue. But nowadays we can see a multitude of experiments and studies that try to demonstrate that, if one’s *mother tongue* dictates a certain type of perception of reality (evidence against is simply dismissed), then *mastering a foreign language can grant one access to a different kind of perception*. Boroditsky claims that when someone is learning a new

⁷ A concept is a set of properties that we ascribe to a class of objects.

⁸ Categorization is the process of assigning an object to a concept.

⁹ Examples: good things like health, happiness, or life are verbally or gesturally associated with “up”, while bad things like sickness, death, or sadness with “down”.

language, they are not simply learning a new way of speaking but (unintentionally) a new way of thinking. Athanasopoulos claims, in the same vein, that by learning a new language one suddenly becomes *attuned to perceptual dimensions* one was not aware before.

It is wrong to bring up *perception* again since this is the same for all human beings. The fact that English has a continuous aspect when describing actions, which is absent in Romanian, for example, does not mean that Romanian speakers are not attuned to the concept of continuity and suddenly become aware of that thanks to English. Aspect, gender, mood and any other grammatical categories that set languages apart are inherited culturally and have a social nature. Fortunately, a foreign language alters only the way in which we name and speak about things, not how we experience them. If the contrary were true, then the more languages one knows, the better candidates they would be to schizophrenia. From a strictly linguistic point of view, a direct, unmediated connection between name and perception would demonstrate iconicity of language. If nothing else, the very fact that there are so many languages on Earth is proof enough of prevailing arbitrariness, therefore such theories cannot withstand scrutiny.

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LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

THE CASE OF YOUNG ADULTS IN ROMANIA

Alina Oltean-Cîmpean
“Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: People have certain beliefs about language that shape their interactions and linguistic practices. These beliefs are encountered in such ideologies as: *the standard language ideology*, *the one nation-one language ideology*, *the mother tongue ideology* and *the ideology of purism*, with each one showing traits that can contradict present multilingual realities. The present paper aims at identifying the manner in which these ideologies manifest themselves among young adults in Romania. To this end, the paper is corpus-based with data collected at the Faculty of Letters from Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca via questionnaires. Although the data collection was limited to 19 year old multilingual students from the faculty, the results have shown that the informants’ beliefs about language and language use are complex and that they are influenced by all four ideologies.

KEYWORDS: language ideologies, multilingualism, mother tongue, linguistic practices, language beliefs, young adults:

Introduction

Language ideologies represent people’s beliefs about language(s) and they have been of interest in the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. An ideology can be defined as “a constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative, ideas and attitudes related to some aspect(s) of social ‘reality’” (Blommaert and Verschueren 25) or as “shared framework(s) of social beliefs that organise and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members” (Ricento 44). These definitions can be extended to language as well, since language ideologies have social implications as well, as they are often related to power and identity (Blackledge). Furthermore, from a normative point of view ideologies can affect group membership since they promote an ‘us vs. them’ discourse, leading to some languages being considered as superior to others (e.g. the official language of a country is seen as holding more value than unofficial ones). As a result, “language ideologies contribute to the production and reproduction of social difference, constructing some languages and varieties as of greater worth than other languages and varieties” (33). However, it should be mentioned that just as language is not fixed, ideologies can also change, since they require that the group that is less powerful comply (Blackledge).

In today’s societies the debate regarding ideologies is centred on the discrepancy between monolingual ideologies and multilingual realities. Since language is most often tied to identity and nationality, ‘the commonality of language’ (Blackledge and Creese) is viewed as being important in state-formation and in creating and maintaining national homogeneity. As a result, monolingualism

is viewed as being the desirable state. However, this not only ignores the linguistic varieties of members of minority communities but also the actual linguistic practices of speakers from the majority. Furthermore, from this perspective multilingualism is considered a threat to national unity and values. Multilingual ideologies, on the other hand, promote plurality and view differences as an asset rather than something negative. However, by promoting one ‘official’ language over another even “an apparent liberal orientation to equality of opportunity for all may mask an ideological drive towards homogeneity, a drive that potentially marginalises or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling to conform” (27). As a result of these views, there are four language ideologies that can be identified: *the standard language ideology*, *the one nation-one language ideology*, *the mother tongue ideology* and *the ideology of purism*.

The standard language ideology is based on the concept that language is a homogeneous entity with the process of standardization stemming from the desire of having one, common standardized language. As a result, the process of standardization “works by promoting invariance and uniformity in language structure ... [and thus] consists of the imposition of [this] uniformity upon a class of objects” (Milroy 531). However, this does not take into consideration that languages are not fixed but fluid entities that are subjected to change, thus ignoring that an “absolute standardisation of a spoken language is never achieved [for] the only full standardised language is a dead language” (Milroy and Milroy 19). Furthermore, this view does not take into account either the actual linguistic practices of speakers or linguistic variety, since it is not a matter of speaking but rather a matter of “exhibiting loyalty towards a denotational code whose high status and norms of correctness are created and supported by powerful institutions such as universal education, language academies, press capitalism, linguistic science, and linguistic markets that instil in speakers a respect for the norm” (Gal 17). As a result, standardisation creates inequalities between speakers and varieties.

The *one nation-one language* ideology has at its basis the view that language is territorially bound and that there is an essential link between national identity and language. As a result, a nation should be unified under one common and homogenous language, with diversity being considered a threat to national unity. This concept has been at the basis of state-formation since “discourse about national languages and national identities is a key feature of European modernity underlying the formation of the European nation-states” (Auer 406). However, similar to the standard language ideology this one can as well lead to discrimination since it generally ignores the multilingual and multicultural past and/or present of a territory.

The *mother tongue* ideology is based on the belief that each individual has one sole ‘mother tongue’ (MT) (Weber and Horner). However, there is no clear definition of what an MT is, so that it could be the language one learns first, the one known best or the one an individual identifies with (Deumert according to Weber and Horner). Most often, individuals identify their MT according to their identity and especially their national identity. This is the case of monolinguals as

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson considered that a definition is not required for them since they identify with the one language they know and use

people who are monolingual, and have always been so, do not need definitions of 'mother tongue': regardless of how 'mother tongue' is defined, theirs remains the same. The only monolinguals for whom a definition is needed are those who learned one language as their first language and then completely forgot it. (450-451)

On the other hand, multilinguals might need a definition since "depending on how 'multilingual' is defined, a sizeable proportion of multilinguals may themselves have a difficulty in answering a query as to what their mother tongue is" (451), which could mean that individuals might chose more than one MT for themselves. Since there is no one definition for an MT, it can be considered that the MT is a fluid rather than static entity, which offers a certain freedom to the speaker in choosing their own MT(s). However, it should be mentioned that there is a drawback to this ideology since it differentiates between native and non-native speakers with the latter being considered 'deficient' when compared to the former, assuming a monolingual norm as well (Weber and Horner).

The ideology of *purism* is closely related to the previous three ideologies and it is of interest for both scholars and laymen since

ordinary speakers with many different mother tongues and with no formal training in linguistics ... [somehow] share certain beliefs about what language is, how it develops or should develop, whether it has good or bad qualities, etc. ... [and in addition] there is a recurring phenomenon that speakers of a language agree that the state of their language is in decline, that it contains too many words from informal varieties, that it is threatened by modernising and foreign influence: in short, that it was better in the olden days and that nowadays something needs to be done to restore it to its former glory. (Langer and Davies 1)

As one may notice, this is one ideology that appeals to everyone and that covers several aspects of a language. Furthermore, according to Langer and Davies the perceived negative influences can arise from within the same language variety or from external sources. As a result, purism is concerned with removing unwanted elements from the language and maintaining those that are considered desirable, which shows that purists have a certain appreciation of the prestige of their linguistic variety (Langer and Davies). However, purism does not occur automatically, but it is rather periodically activated by folk perceptions on the decline or corruption of the language. Furthermore, "purism only affects languages which are standardised or are in the process of standardisation since, before we can remove elements from a linguistic norm, one has to have a linguistic norm" (5). As a result, the ideology of purism is closely related to the standard language one in that both of them choose the variety they promote based on prestige and in both situations 'non-standard' and 'foreign' forms are perceived as a threat to national cohesion and identity.

Although the four ideologies have individual traits, they have many similarities as well. Thus, they are interconnected, and they all contribute, one way

or another, to both people's and, in some cases, researchers' beliefs regarding language, language use and change. The present paper aims at identifying the beliefs, in terms of language ideologies, encountered among young adults in Romania.

Methodological framework

The data for the present paper was collected throughout the month of October 2017 at the Faculty of Letters from Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. All of the forty-eight informants are 19 years old, of which thirty-four are Romanian, fourteen are Hungarian and one is Dutch. They are all multilingual speakers, knowing at least one more language beside their MT(s), with all of them knowing English, this being their minor specialization at the faculty. There have been several MTs identified among the informants, namely Dutch (1), Hungarian (14), Hungarian and Romanian (1), Romanian (32), and Romanian and Greek (1). All of the participants completed a questionnaire containing nineteen closed-ended questions and six open-ended ones. The first six questions were meant to offer a linguistic background for the informants, containing questions about their MTs, the languages they know and the ones they use most often. The next thirteen questions were multiple choice, informants being able to choose a maximum of two answers, and they were meant to identify the participants' views regarding language and language use. The last six questions were meant to offer more insight into the participants' views since they had to give their own answers to questions about language and language use. For the purpose of the present paper I have chosen to present and discuss the results of the thirteen multiple choice questions and five of the six open-ended ones. Throughout the analysis of the data, the terms two *informants* and *participants* will be used interchangeably in order to refer to those who took part in the study.

Results and discussion

The first two questions both deal with the preferable linguistic state of an individual and a country. As a result, the first question is concerned with whether a person should preferably be monolingual (a), bilingual (b) or multilingual (c). Out of the forty-eight participants thirty chose (c), twelve chose the (b), seven chose both (b) and (c), while neither of them chose (a). For the second question the results show that ten participants chose monolingual, seventeen chose bilingual, nineteen chose multilingual, two chose bi-/multilingual, while one chose mono-/bilingual. The results from these two questions unveil that although all of the participants consider individual multilingualism as being the preferred state, some of them consider that at the societal level monolingualism should be the norm. This could stem from the notion that each nation should have only one language in order to create unity.

Continuing at a societal level, the next question deals with the number of official languages that a country should have. The results received show that seven informants chose only the language of the majority (a), four chose all the languages spoken in the given country (b), nine chose the language of the majority and the language of the biggest minority (c), twenty-one chose the language of the majority and another international language (d), six chose a combination between (c) and (d), one chose a combination between (b) and (c), and one chose a combination between (a) and (d). However, neither of the participants chose the fifth option, no language (e), which clearly shows that all of the informants consider that each country needs to have at least one official language. It is worth noting that although most participants who support societal multilingualism have chosen an answer that continues to promote it, only five of the ten who chose societal monolingualism chose only the language of the majority here. The rest of them chose the fourth option. This shows that there are informants who distinguish between the official nature and the official language of a country. Furthermore, there was another difference that appeared between the Hungarian and Dutch informants and the Romanian ones, since all of the former participants chose options (b), (c) and (d), unlike the latter. This difference shows more inclusiveness, which could be attributed to the fact that they themselves are part of minorities.

The next question deals with whether one needs to know the official language of the country of residence (a), to have been born in a given country (b) or to live and work in a given country (c) in order to consider oneself Romanian/English/French/Hungarian etc. According to the answers, twelve chose option (a), seventeen chose option (b), five chose option (c), six chose (a) and (b), five chose (a) and (c), two chose (b) and (c), and one chose all three options. The answers given show that most of the informants consider that there is a connection between identifying oneself as being part of a country and knowing the official language and/or being born in the given country. However, this brings about a certain degree of exclusion since it means that one cannot consider themselves Romanian, for instance, if they were not born here or if they do not know the official language.

The next question is a more direct one since it asked the participants what official language they would choose for a new formed state, Newland, with the option being all the languages spoken in Newland (a), no language (b) or Newlandish (c). The majority of informants, thirty-five, chose option (c), while the rest were divided between (a) – ten, (b) – three, and (a) and (c) – 1. Considering the majority of answers, there is a clear connection to the *one nation – one language* ideology since most informants consider that the official language of a country should be the same as the name of the country (although in reality this is not always so) and that everyone should be united under one language. What is worth noting is that many of the participants who chose by-/multilingualism for the state of a society and more than one official language for a country, opted in this case for only one official language, Newlandish. This pattern was also noticeable when the participants were asked what official language(s) they would choose for

Romania if they were the ones deciding. From the possible answers, Romanian (a), Romanian and the minority languages in Romania (b), Romanian and the language of the largest majority (c), Romanian and English (d) and no language (e), most informants chose (d) – seventeen, followed by (a) – fifteen, (c) – eight, (b) – three, (b) + (d) – three, (a) + (d) – one, (b) + (c) – one, and (c) + (d) – one. The results show that most of the participants consider that Romania should have an official language and that Romanian should either be the official language or one of them. What is more, few of the participants opted for minority languages being recognised as official languages, with most of them being Dutch or Hungarian. This unveils once more that at least to a certain degree there is a difference in perspective regarding societal multilingualism when it comes to members of minority communities and those of the majority.

When asked which characteristics, citizenship (a), language (b), nationality (c) or none of the above (d), are important in defining one's identity, the majority of the informants chose (b) + (c) – thirteen, (d) – eleven, (b) – eight, (c) – seven, (a) – five, (a) + (c) – three, and (a) + (b) – two. These results show that a majority of the participants consider that language is important in defining one's identity, with twenty-three of them choosing language as important. This unveils an emotional connection that the participants have to language, which in turn can influence their attitudes towards language as well, as it can be noticed in the next question as well. When asked whether the MT is important in order to be a part of a community, thirty-three participants stated that it was important, ten considered it as defining, while six stated it was unimportant. What is more, neither of the individuals who are part of minorities chose language as being defining, which once more shows a difference in perception between members of minorities and those of the majority. Unlike with the previous questions, with this one the participants were able to also motivate their answers, which offered some insight on how they view language and its connection to a community and communication. Among those who chose MT as being defining the motivations given were the following: 'Knowing the given language facilitates integration and brings the advantage of a real understanding of any situation', 'Because the mother tongue can have a significant impact in the cultural and social development of an individual', and 'It supports integration in society'. Among the answers from those who believe the MT to be important the following were found: 'I consider that the mother tongue represents to a certain degree the cultural identity of that person as well, which will influence their integration in a community though it will not stop it', 'Communication is essential for every community', 'In a way, our mother tongue defines our thinking, so it has an important role when we become part of a community', 'I think that in order to be a part of a community it is important to know the mother tongue because it eliminates the psychological barriers between individuals', 'In order to be a part of a community it is important to emphasise the mother tongue', 'Because people can express their thoughts in their mother tongue', 'A person cannot be a part of a community if they cannot communicate with the given community', 'Because it brings with it a certain history and feeling of belonging to something bigger than

ourselves', and 'Without speaking the mother tongue to perfection, you cannot integrate in a community'. Lastly, some of the explanations for why language is unimportant were: 'If communication is possible with the help of a language known by the members of the community, the mother tongue is not defining', 'The mother tongue is unimportant in order to be part of a community, because the language that must be known is that of the community', 'As long as we know the language of the given community, I think that we can be a part of it', and 'A community can be formed from individuals who speak different languages as well'. The participants' answers and motivations show that most of them consider that there is a strong connection between language and identity since they consider that one's MT allows one to express their thoughts and to belong to a community. Furthermore, the MT facilitates communication and helps individuals integrate in a given community or society. On the other hand, some participants do not view a community as a homogeneous unit, but rather as a heterogeneous one where the MT is not important.

Continuing on the issue of MT, the participants were asked whether an individual can have one MT (a), several MTs (b) or no MT (c). The answers were divided between the first two options, with twenty five informants choosing (a), twenty-two choosing (b) and two choosing (a) + (b). The answers given by the participants might be influenced by their own multilingualism or by how they view the MT, which can be noticed in the next question that deals with what they think the MT represents. For this question they had to choose from the first language learnt (a), the language known best (b), the language used most often (c), the language of the country one is born in (d), the language of the community one is a part of (e) or other (f) where they asked to motivate their answer. The choices of the participants were as follows: twenty-one – (a), fourteen – (b), three – (a) + (d), two (b), two (a) + (b), two (a) + (c), one (c), one (f), one (a) + (e), one (c) + (d) and one (d) + (f). The results from this question show that there is no one definition for the MT with students choosing a range of answers, thus proving that the topic of MT is more complex than it seems. Furthermore, this complexity explains the informants' previous answers regarding the number of MTs, especially if we consider that one participant stated that and MT 'can also be defined as the language that the individual chooses to speak most often, being the one that defines their personality'.

Moving to the issue of what language should be used by the individuals who live in Romania, the following answers were gathered: twenty-one chose Romanian (c), eleven chose their mother tongue, eight chose whatever language they desire (b), six chose (a) + (c), two chose (b) + (c), while one chose other (d). These results unveil a tendency for the one nation – one language ideology since the majority of the participants have chosen Romanian as the language of use, which in turn is the official language of the country and of the majority. Furthermore, all of the (c) answers were given by Romanian informants, which support the aforementioned ideology, and show a degree of discrimination as well since they ignore the linguistic practices of the other individuals living in the

country. On the other hand, choosing (a) creates difficulties as well, since only using one's MT might hinder communication when leaving one's community.

The last multiple choice question to be mentioned here focused on whether the participants considered Romania as being multilingual (a) or monolingual (b). The majority of the informants, thirty-four chose (a), while only fourteen chose option (b). These answers show that most of the participants are aware of the *de facto* state of Romania and of the actual linguistic practices that exist in the country. However, this comes in contradiction with previous answers, since most of the participants chose Romanian as the language that should be spoken in Romania.

As mentioned before, the last five questions of the questionnaire are open-ended, in that students had to give their own answers to questions in order to identify their direct views on language and language use. To start with, participants were asked whether they consider that members of minority communities should be offered the possibility to study in the language of the community. Most of the informants agreed with this possibility, with many of them connecting language to identity, as it can be noticed in their answers: 'Yes, I consider that they should be offered this possibility because the mother tongue is often the language in which things make most sense, but I think that beside their mother tongue they have to learn the majority language of the country', 'Yes, because a person is offended when their possibility of using this language is taken away from them', 'Yes, because this would help them have a more colourful culture', 'Yes, because it is an important step in maintaining national identities', 'Yes, this way they are allowed to maintain a cultural connection with the country of origin', 'Yes, because the language of the community is defining for those individuals, and by using it in school they maintain their identity'. On the other hand, there were some participants who consider that members of minority communities should be offered the possibility to study in the language of the community but not to the detriment of the official language which needs to be known by all: 'They should, indeed, be offered this possibility, but it should not replace Romanian. The mother tongue comes like a supplement, while the language of the given country is the main course', 'Yes. As long as they also know the official language of the country', 'Yes, but at the same time the mother tongue of the country they are a part of should be mandatory as well', 'Yes, in order to protect cultural values, but Romanian classes should not be neglected either', 'I consider that they should mainly know the official language of the community they are a part of, the possibility to study their own mother tongue being only an option they can choose'. Lastly, there were three negative answers among the informants that were based on the idea that members of minority communities live in Romania and they should know Romanian in order for them to integrate and adapt, as follows: 'I don't agree with this because at one point they will leave the given community from the point of view of location, and if this happens on Romanian territory, it would be logical for them to speak Romanian and this should be encouraged through first of all studying this language', 'No, I consider that as long as they live in a country, they

should adapt to its customs', 'No, because they would no longer learn Romanian and this would make their living in Romania even harder'.

The next question deals with language use, namely how the participants view the mix of two or more languages within a discourse. In this case, the answers received varied from 'confusing', 'inadequate', 'stressful', and 'tiring', to 'important', 'good', 'interesting', 'professional' or 'efficient'. However, some of the participants presented views that were not entirely for or against mixing languages, with answers such as: 'It burdens the discourse but it is often inevitable when dealing with discussions between bilingual or multilingual individuals', 'No, I believe that the use of more than one language can be confusing in a discourse, however, it can be useful. For example, I sometimes say in English what I do not know in Romanian', 'Beneficial, as long as norms are respected without creating confusion and, at the same time, the level of understanding of the language of both interlocutors is respected', 'It depends on the audience, but mainly I'd just prefer the official language', 'I am not bothered by it, but I prefer for each sentence to be said in one language, without combining them'. It is worth noting that although the answers varied, most participants had a positive attitude towards the use of two or more languages in a discourse, which could come as a result of their own multilingual background.

Throughout the questionnaire there were several questions that dealt with what languages should be used in a country and, specifically, in Romania. These questions give participants a certain degree of power of decision over language use. The next question presents the reverse, in the sense that informants were asked how they would feel if starting tomorrow they were no longer able to use their MT. Some of the participants stated they would not be affected or they would adapt, while others would feel bad but since they know several languages it would not be very problematic for them. However, many of the reactions elicited were quite negative and emotive, as it can be noticed in the following examples: 'I'd think that a right was taken away from me, that I couldn't express myself in certain contexts', 'I'd cause a riot', 'I'd be desperate', 'Very disappointed and upset', 'I wouldn't feel good at all because I grew up with this language and it represents the country I live in', 'I'd feel bothered', 'Deprived of a part of my identity, since our mother tongue marks each one of us in a way', 'Wronged. I want to believe that we have evolved enough as individuals, in order to be able to break all communicational barriers without any discrimination', 'I'd feel that I wouldn't be able to integrate in society', 'Discriminated against, disappointed, I'd protest and I wouldn't accept this unjust thing', 'Removed from my own nationality, identity and possibility to prove my affiliation to this country', 'I think I would feel very bad, I wouldn't feel like myself anymore', 'I'd feel very bad and strange at the same time, since this is the 'language of my soul', since with it I grew up, I learnt my first songs and poems, and, even more, this is the language I spoke in with my parents for the first time', 'Frustrated because it is the language of the country I grew up and lived in until now. It is my right to speak it especially in my country'. The answers given

show a strong connection between the informants and their language, and between language and identity.

On the issue of language change, the informants were asked what they thought could affect the existence of a language. The answers for this question varied from the number of speakers, 'migration', 'incorrect speaking', 'a mix of populations', 'the diminishing of the majority', to 'immigration and linguistic loans', 'exposing it to another language', grammatical loans, 'exaggerated loans from other languages', 'the exaggerated use of international languages', 'foreign influences that ... will make the language's authenticity disappear', 'globalisation', 'excessive borrowings from other cultures, and 'the people's preference to increasingly use English'. As it can be noticed, there were quite a few informants who considered that loanwords can influence the existence of a language which contradicts one of the multiple choice questions where thirty-eight participants stated that loanwords enrich Romanian, eight considered them harmful to the language, while two believed that they have no influence on it. Furthermore, when asked their opinion towards foreign words that have been introduced in Romanian, most of the participants consider that 'they are welcome', 'they make language more colourful', 'they are important' and 'necessary', or that 'they have a positive influence since they enrich the language'. Only a few of the participants had a negative opinion about loanwords, while others agreed with them under certain conditions, as it can be noticed in the following examples: 'They are necessary in certain contexts, but they should not replace the words that already exist in Romanian', 'They are necessary in the modern and globalised world, but the Romanian equivalents must exist as well, if possible', 'They eliminate the originality of the Romanian language and they cut its roots, but at the same time they offer a step towards modernity', 'It helps with the modernisation of the language, as long as they don't destroy the identity of the language', 'They are not necessary although sometimes they simplify communication', 'Those that cannot be easily translated are welcome. Those introduced out of convenience are in plus', '... in controlled quantities foreign words help the development of the Romanian vocabulary', 'They are useful, but I find their excessive use inadequate, especially when they have an equivalent in Romanian'. The discrepancies between these answers could be explained by the fact that the informants react differently when they deal with language in general or with Romanian in particular, since in the latter situation they are directly involved as Romanian speakers.

Final remarks

The analysis of the data has identified the presence of all four language ideologies. The one that appears to be the most prevalent is the *one nation-one language* ideology, since most of the participants chose only one official language of Newland and consider that individuals who live in Romania should speak Romanian. The answers analysed bring evidence to support the complexity of the *mother tongue* ideology since informants offered a variety of responses when asked

how they would define an MT and how many MTs an individual could have. The standard language ideology and the ideology of purism were encountered as well, especially in the answers to the open-ended questions. They have been observed when informants mentioned how 'incorrect speaking', loanwords and the exaggerated use of foreign words can affect the integrity and authenticity of the language.

Another aspect that has been noticed is that, although a majority of the participants are promoters of individual and societal multilingualism, they raise some limitations as well. These limitations can be noticed in their choices for (an) official language(s) and in their answers regarding what influences the disappearance of a language. Furthermore, it can be inferred from this that while promoting multilingualism, there is an inclination towards homogeneity that can include and/or exclude certain groups. It is worth noting that one of the reasons given for promoting one language over another is that it is to the benefit of the minority community.

Another aspect identified was that there is a strong connection between most participants and language, and especially their MT. This was noticed from the fact that the informants viewed their MT as important in order to be part of a community. Furthermore, many of the participants had quite an emotional reaction when asked what they would do if they were not allowed to use their MT anymore, with answers ranging from causing a riot to being desperate and disappointed.

Although the present study has identified the beliefs that are encountered among young adults in Romania regarding language and language use, the study presents limitations as well. The fact that the questionnaires were only applied at the Faculty of Letters where most, if not all, possible informants are at least bilingual, only offers a perspective on the beliefs from a multilingual point of view. In order to be able to offer a wider view on the topic the study would need to be extended to other faculties and beyond as well. Furthermore, the study needs to be extended to other age groups as well to observe whether this factor causes differences as well.

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THE FLUIDITY OF LANGUAGE PRACTICES, PHYSICAL MOVEMENT AND MULTILINGUAL SPEAKERS' LOCAL IDENTITIES IN THE CLASSROOM

Oana Papuc

PhD Candidate, "Babeş-Bolyai University", Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to uncover the preliminary findings of the data analysis performed up to present time of the personalized use of 'language practices' (cf. Jørgensen), employed by multilingual speakers, rationally and actively utilizing all available codes comprising their linguistic repertoires. Through the use of Conversation Analysis, the Matrix Language Frame, membership categorization theory and the Rational Choice model, the research findings point to the localized portrait of a micro-community of multilingual university students, in the background of a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) framework and the guidelines of the plurilingual markers in the latest version of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, language practices, conversation analysis, fluid identity, physical movement.

Introduction

The present paper highlights a significant part of a doctoral research thesis that is concerned, broadly speaking, with showcasing current issues related to multilingualism and speakers' resulting multilingual practices, in superdiverse environments (Arnaut and Spotti 2). Thus, in order to trace a link between current developments in multilingual theory and a local linguistic landscape, the researcher believes that in an-depth observation of 'actual' practices in use is necessary for both assessing the validity of these new multilingual reconsiderations and in providing them with the richness of locally collected data. Therefore, the narrower scope of the present doctoral research is that of formulating a generalized theory based on the analysis of the particular manner in which a majority of young English Lx¹ speakers make use of both a co-constructed version of English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and a variety of other plurilingual practices and strategies, in the background of a Romanian university setting.

Hence, the research questions that this study initially broached correspond to: 1. How do multilingual speakers, coming from a diverse range of backgrounds and operating with differently developed linguistic repertoires interact in an educational setting, during a seminar? 2. How can this situation be understood at local and macro levels, when identifying the factors and effects specifically linked to language practices phenomena? As such, the study becomes easily identifiable as

¹ 'English L1 and Lx speakers/users' is the preferred terminology over the distinction between 'native and non-native speakers'.

sociolinguistic in nature, adopting the interactionist perspective and grounded theory approach at the core of its foundation. The researcher was also intent on making use of ethnomethodological inquiry, membership categorization theory, and the most recent of insights uncovered by similar studies made on the effects of students engaged in formal learning courses, designed as Content and Language Integrated Learning formats. The term ‘*linguaging practices*’ was specifically chosen to describe the myriad of linguistic strategies and effects observed to come forth in the analysis of the emerging data patterns, in the process of multilingual speakers’ differently developed linguistic repertoires coming together and resulting in language contact phenomena. The term is used to reference the fluid and rather unpredictable nature of the resulting plurilingual/translingual/polylingual and implicitly code-switching phenomena that emerged in the students’ ad-hoc spoken interactions, mediated through a co-constructed variant of English as *Lingua Franca* by the participants mid-conversation. Thus, ‘*linguaging practices*’ is merely used as an umbrella-term allusive to the rich palette of ‘*lingualisms*’ that have emerged in the literature in the last decades of research.

Methodology

Consequently, the points mentioned above lead to a necessary description of the micro-community chosen to be placed under observation. The participants consisted of two groups of fifteen members each, all second year Physiology students, enrolled in the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, in the University of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine, from Cluj-Napoca. These were students who had temporarily relocated to Romania through the Erasmus exchange programme, all coming from a variety of different backgrounds ranging from Canada, Romania, France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Tunisia, Mauritius, to Israel, Germany, Switzerland, and South Africa. Thus, the macro-level participant configuration of the seminar consisted of a small number of English L1 speakers, the majority of the micro-community being comprised of English Lx speakers, including the seminar professor and student staff, both of whom were coded as Romanian L1 speakers.

Data was collected on three different occasions, in both audio and video format, on the 21st and 28th of November 2016, and lastly, on the 9th of January 2017, the study being thus a semi-longitudinal one in scope. It was on the last data recording session that only one group of the two (the second group of students being the first in line on Monday’s seminar schedule) could be recorded, due to unforeseen circumstances. In any case, sufficient data had been recorded on every occasion, fieldnotes also carefully recorded, attention being specifically paid to speakers’ interactions and behavior, as well as the environment of the physical setting itself.

From a methodological point of view, in addition to making use of the tools listed just above, impromptu interviews were also taken of the seminar professor and a few students. They provided very specific insight into the social organization

of the seminar's micro-community, this reflecting quite accurately (and surprisingly) some larger social issues specific to contemporary times, including debates about migration patterns and nation-state associated identity markers seen as played out in seminar interactions. One English-Romanian L1 participant in the study also provided some insight into the particular use of various strategies of interaction made use of in the micro-community's landscape, by way of detailing some of his interactions in the seminar environment.

However, a consistent and systematic examination of participants' self-reported attitudes towards multilingualism, as well as a self-reported use of linguistic features on a daily basis, including interactions outside the seminar environment, was undertaken in the form of administering a semi-structured questionnaire to each participant in the study. The analysis of the questionnaire responses was mainly used to verify and refine the initial interpretation of the data, which was firstly done by resorting to: conversation analysis, an assessment of the sequences comprising the flow of the seminar format, measuring the level of completeness and successfulness of task accomplishment via plurilingual practices (Nussbaum et al. 2013) and by applying Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model. In order to appropriately gauge the relevant factors determining the appearance of code-switching phenomena, Myers-Scotton's Rational Choice Model and membership categorization theory have also been used, the data being approached in such a way as to 'let it speak for itself', abiding by the Grounded Theory principles of inductive scientific investigation. Therefore, by observing the types of patterns emerging from the data, what came to being was a comprehensive, general understanding of the language practices occurring in the linguistic landscape of the seminar, drawn from particular examples and a localized micro-community-specific co-constructed lingua franca.

Thus, before embarking on a presentation of the identified factors and effects of the multilingual elements and strategies comprising the socio-linguistic setting of the micro-community under observation, a brief explanation of the concepts used in this paper is necessary. The term 'multilingual speaker' is used to refer to participants from a point of view of being in command of a linguistic baggage, that is under continuous development throughout one's entire lifetime and is comprised of a series of linguistic features. These linguistic features are understood as elements pertaining to what is usually termed as 'language X' or 'language Y'. However, the previous terminology is preferred, since the term 'language' has a series of socio-ideological and even political implications, while also making it that more challenging to steer clear of the trap of conceptualizing languages as strictly defined and bordered entities that individuals own as objects and to which certain cultural markers get attached to, resulting in the right to legitimize the use of one linguistic variety over another, of one manner of speech over any other. The researcher's main goal, throughout the entire thesis, was that of trying, as much as possible, to not let any preconceptions regarding linguistic use to alter the

interpretation of the data, nor to perpetuate terminology that mostly muddles the waters of understanding multilinguals' linguistic strategies and behavior.

In this view, multilingual practices become the expression of the usage of the features comprising one's linguistic baggage, be they old or newly acquired, passive or active, and made use of to various degrees by its speakers, according to: the intentionality of messages, socio-cultural circumstances, the specifics of interaction and the assessment of self-assumed other- perceived social roles. What this amounts to is that speakers are seen as rationally and actively utilizing all available codes comprising their linguistic baggage, at all times, irrespective of their level of development, to their best abilities, and regardless of how these linguistic features are perceived by their interlocutors "as belonging together" (Jørgensen 2011a, 34).

The term 'code' will be used in this paper to refer to bundles of features similar in use, function and characteristics, and that are primarily made use of by speakers, having what Jørgensen deems as the most stable of relationships with said features (2011a), or in other words, corresponding to speakers' L1s. Then, the process of 'linguaging' refers to the expression of the use of those features comprising one's linguistic repertoire, according to the multilingual principle of 'all-languages-at-all-times' (ALAAT), and not the 'one-language-at-a-time' (OLAAT), the two pointing to the evolution, in time, of the research carried out on the topic of on-site retrieval and production of bi/multilingual features. In any case, the frequent instances of code-switching phenomena observed in the data and pertaining to a rather small number of case study participants, already points to the lack of validity of the latter, the OLAAT principle, without even taking into account the numerous studies performed in recent years in neurolinguistics, that render this view completely antiquated and not reflective of the linguistic abilities of the perennially debated 'bilingual brain'.

Furthermore, speakers are seen as employing, intentionally and rationally, a personalized variety of linguistic strategies, in the context of what Jørgensen has termed the 'linguaging framework' (2011b). These strategies are resorted to in a personalized manner by each speaker, according to the specifics of every interaction, the particular circumstances of the environment they appear in, the particular goals of the interlocutors engaged in interaction. Additionally, these strategies are also designed based on what each speaker believes it is expected of them in said interaction, taking into account the manner in which they envision their interlocutors' behavior, assumed to be related to social personas seen as available in the social landscape of the setting. However, all of these aspects are continuously negotiated, discarded, changed, and reappropriated during the course of an act of communication.

This process of self-assessment of the social personas available during the course of an interaction, respectively, the assessment of the interlocutors' potential choice of personas has been taken from Zimmerman's situated, discourse and transportable identities framework (1998). At discourse level, the interactions between student and professor, and from peer-to-peer were analyzed in terms of

turns at talk, directionality of turns, moments of overlapping speech, and corresponding and enacted roles, such as initiators or recipients of speech acts, per turns at talk and at the level of interactions overall. In terms of identity markers at situated level, indicators of these are the Membership Categories (MCs) that stand out as leading the interactions and designing the personal strategies of communication employed by speakers, to increase the chances of goals accomplishment. These categories refer to those social roles palpably embodied and performed by interlocutors, the choice of one over another largely depending on a mutual understanding and realization of social roles through interaction, in a fluid process of identity construction, deconstruction and reconstruction, socially and personally relevant to the situation and environment at hand. Finally, the transportable level of identities can be traced from recurrent behaviors and bounded activities (or in other words, MCs) that speakers seem to engage in on a regular basis, as well as linguistically recurring throughout turns at talk, these pointing mostly to personal preferences, traits, linguistic and behavioral idiosyncrasies of individual speakers.

Lastly, since the main focus of this thesis is that of analyzing multilingual practices (in this case, the linguistic features made use of in a languaging background) that speakers engage in, in the context of an educational setting such as CLIL seminars (Content and Language Integrated Learning), where seminar-related performances usually have to be communicated with both the seminar professor, student staff and other peers, one of the most visible recurrent themes throughout the data appears in the form of code-switching phenomena, this becoming the major focus of attention throughout the analysis. Accordingly, the central concept of the methodological framework of the research stems from Myers-Scotton's (2013) description of code-switching as "the use of two language varieties in the same conversation. It can occur between speakers, or between sentences in the same speaker's turn, or within a sentence" (161). The current study though extends this definition to encompass a virtually infinite number of varieties, or features, appearing both intra- and inter-sententially, in seeking to not place any initial limits on potential occurrences in the data.

Discussion of findings

All definitions of concepts used being set in place, the following pages will offer a description of the findings pertaining to the interweaving of speakers' perception of identity markers in interaction, choice of languaging practices and the unexpectedly heavy influence on the former of the physical arrangement of the seminar environment and participants' movement throughout the laboratory setting. Hence, a brief mention of the main languaging effects identified is in order, to be able to shed some much-needed light on the more particular aspects of the findings mentioned above:

1. The first effect has already been observed as constituting the high number of code-switching occurrences identified in the turns at talk recorded in both audio and video format, this being both influenced by and influencing the seminar's flexible and linguistically tolerant nature.

2. A second finding points to speakers' creative competence in the highly multilingual context of the seminar, juxtapositions of standard onto non-standard features (such as 'lymphophil', 'neutroci' – combinations of 'lymphocyte' + 'eosinophil', respectively 'neutrophil' + 'basophil') of content morphemes related to the specific terminology of veterinary medicine (in this specific case, Physiology), appearing at times, when the students were engaged in identifying and counting cells. The aforementioned two tasks were the main focus of accomplishment during the first two data recording sessions, the subsequent seminar activities, group formations, and topics of interaction being mainly oriented towards their management as indicators of content knowledge comprehension. A correct identification of cells in the blood smear placed under observation through a microscopic lens, the counting of identified cells, taking notes of the results in a table, identifying up to one hundred cells in one part of the smear, followed by a repetition of these tasks in order to culminate in obtaining the results in percentages for the purpose of diagnosing the health levels of the analyzed blood smear, simply constitute the step-by-step sequences through which students must progress to reach the goal of securing both content knowledge comprehension and skills. However, other non-standard, unclassifiable, 'bilingual blends' have been noticed appearing in speakers' turns at talk when progressing through the seminar sequences, such as 'numer' – presumably an approximated variant located somewhere between the English feature 'number' and the 'Romanian feature 'număr' uttered by a Greek L1 – English Lx speaker, and 'ungar' – an approximated version of English 'Hungarian' and the Romanian feature 'ungur', uttered by an English-Romanian L1 speaker.

3. A third finding points to the mutually influencing relationship existing between code-switching choices and the Membership Categories available for use by speakers in the micro-community. The results also point to the fluidity of speakers' assumed roles in interaction and that of the creative process of managing a public identity persona in the social landscape of the seminar.

4. Highly intriguing are also the frequent occurrences of what have been coded in this study as 'code-related' and 'content-related peer-teaching' instances. In these types of ad-hoc interactions, one of the students assumes a 'teacher-like' role in the work group, (usually in pair or other multi-member configurations), the other(s) assuming a more passive role, that of 'recipient of information', either in the form of an 'active or passive learner', the two engaging in Inform-Response-Follow-Up sequences (IRF), the main speech act structures encountered in classroom interactions. These are much longer (in the sense of necessarily including the Follow-Up section) as opposed to the type of speech act loops that are initiated by the seminar professor during lectures and the lecturing sequences at the beginning of seminars, when new tasks are required to be accomplished by the

members of the micro-community in terms of seminar performance. This difference in professor initiated and student initiated speech act formats (the 'peer-to-peer teaching' instances being student led) mainly stems from the habitual choice that students make in taking up the roles of 'passive learners', 'passive overhearers' of the content knowledge information presented by the professor.

5. Due to all of the effects identified so far, another observable phenomenon is that of the 'informalization' of the laboratory setting, where the students bring the same types of informal relationship interactions from 'outside' the university setting and inside the laboratory. These occurrences can be easily noticed in the verbal and nonverbal behaviors the students engage in. The verbal ones include frequent code-switching occurrences (some for stylistic and humorous purposes), a use of informal terms of address and expletives, informal changes of topic from seminar-related ones to personal themes of discussion, and in some instances, even singing and rapping sequences. Nonverbal strategies adopted by the participants to confirm or change their shared membership status are correlated with the verbal behaviors mentioned and also visible in the dancing and play-fighting enacted sequences, in students' performance of 'skits' or theatrical personas they make use of to assert their status in the micro-community's social hierarchy. The latter has been explained as also being a result of participants' strategic mechanism of adaptation to the unexpected presence of a researcher in the laboratory setting.

6. The playful banter and display of speakers clearly and adamantly articulating their linguistic identity to other peers and the researcher, partly through code-switching phenomena and partly through the informal elements mentioned previously, also highlight the participants' continuous meta-linguistic assessment of their interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, MCs, membership status, and choice of enacting the appropriate discourse and situated personas in interaction.

7. This awareness is also visible in the students and professor's self-directed correction of non-standard features usage, these corrections being only performed in circumstances pertaining to individual use, and not from peer-to-peer, or from professor-to-students, the main guidelines of their communicational exchanges being that of creating a 'common language' that allows the quickest transmission of messages, not necessarily focusing too extensively on the grammatical appropriateness of the type of features used and their standard or non-standard form. This situation remains unchanged, even in cases when students depart from the originally imposed macro R-O set of English features (Myers-Scotton 2005) as comprising the unmarked code in interactions with the seminar professor. Additionally, cases when the professor herself departed from the macro R-O set were registered as well, but very few in number, and were done with the purpose of reinforcing shared membership status with the students, or with the purpose of creating a more comfortable setting so that the participants can freely engage with her in feedbacking or Follow-Up sequences.

8. Lastly, the appearance of what have been coded as 'partial lingua francas', either between speakers sharing the same Lx code, or between speakers who feel

comfortable in creating what become in Myers-Scotton's words 'embedded language islands' of unmarked features (2005), especially Romanian features, constitutes one clear indicative of the speakers' multilingual creative competence, emotional connection to the newly acquired Romanian Lx features, and tendency for reappropriating what are perceived as being Romanian features into one's linguistic repertoire. These linguistic strategies and the social identity markers that are associated with them simply contribute to creating a micro-community-specific *lingua franca*.

In terms of the factors contributing to the appearance of code-switching phenomena, they fall into quite a large variety of categories, working in a mutually influencing relationship with the effects discussed so far. One of the major contributing factors and thoroughly descriptive of the micro-community's behavior and already mentioned in the title of this paper, is that of the intertwinement of students' local identities in the classroom with their physical movement in the space of the laboratory. Therefore, what will follow is a discussion on a few aspects pertaining to the students' identity, the physical layout of the laboratory activities and the micro-community's strategy of incorporating these circumstances into influencing factors on behavior management in such a way, that they fulfill their goals with the help of the linguistic strategies necessarily associated with them.

Related to the students' behavior and movement throughout the laboratory setting, the first aspect to be taken into account is the correlation between expected and assumed rights and obligations of student activity and the goals of the seminar. They directly determine group and sub-group configurations, as well as bounded activities and roles. These seminar-related activities are taking place in parallel circuits (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1997) and can be followed in terms of peer-to-peer, student-to-professor and student-to-seminar staff behavior. In peer-to-peer activities, students take up three types of roles – active, passive and individual:

A. 'Active' roles are those in which participants are enacting negotiated rights and obligations within group and task activities, actively engage in offering verbal displays of attention to task progression. This role has been linked to the seminar sequences seeking to secure content knowledge comprehension and development of skills pertaining to cell identification and counting, as crucial steps in the overall task progression.

B. 'Passive' roles are ones where participants mostly pay attention to the task progression of the team member engaged in identifying cells. The role also provides access to more initiations of speech acts constructed for the purpose of asking for feedback by engaging in verbal or nonverbal displays of tracking activity of the 'active' role. Other 'passive role'-associated activities include taking notes of the number of identified cells in a table, to ensure a proper identification of cell percentages. These students have also been observed to be prone to temporarily disengaging from the initial work group configuration and seminar activities, in order to attach themselves to and get involved in other group activities, with speakers in a similar position, thus creating ad-hoc cross-group

interactions, as well as adapting to and co-creating different micro Rules-and-Obligations sets (R-O sets being Myers-Scotton's coding for the jointly negotiated guidelines of interaction in interaction) in the laboratory environment.

C. Speakers who do not fall into either of the two categories have been observed to engage in individual activities, both seminar related and informal, the latter being chosen based on individual MCs (transportable identity markers) and may gradually include other members in bounded-activities, based on assessments of shared membership status.

Regarding student to professor interactions, they usually play out in the form of:

1. Verbal displays of student agreement to professor-initiated directive or elicitation speech acts. The more detailed the speech acts are, the higher the chances of students interpreting them as being mandatory, the usual tendency being that of seeking to express convergence with the authority figure of the seminar and thus fulfill the professor's requests, this also being part of the reason why the macro R-O set effectively works at the level of the entire micro-community, besides being the one common code in all participants' repertoires. Students that feel comfortable in asking for feedback/assistance, express this in student-initiated Follow-Up sequences:

- a. This may happen in the form of participants physically disengaging from their workstation and activity, in order to get in physical proximity to the seminar professor, meaning that they automatically engage in the macro R-O set.
- b. Or it may take the form of feedback/assistance being signaled nonverbally through a raised hand, or eye-contact.

2. Lastly, if the professor is in physical proximity to student work groups, students that have been observed to habitually avoid engaging in active, self-initiated interaction with her, take advantage of the physical layout of the environment to nonverbally signal the requirement of feedback on task progression.

3. In the end, task completion may or may not be verbally announced by students (regardless of physical proximity to the seminar professor), but if it is performed, the professor's response may be in the form of feedback (to assess the level of the successfulness of task completion) or through additional directive speech acts (after assessment of results).

Therefore, what seems to be the general type of linguistic strategies that the participants resort to are: in cases of student to professor exchange sequences, professor initiated-Inform lines appear frequently, with little Response or Follow-Up lines from students (especially during the lecturing sequences of the seminar),

but with more frequency of R/F during task progression. In peer-to-peer sequences however, the complete I-R-F format is usually used, especially when working on task accomplishment, for the purpose of intra-group roles negotiation, routine checks and feedback lines being necessary in task progression. The same dynamic has also been observed in peer-initiated teaching sequences, where dismissal from roles and reaching a joint conclusion regarding task results can only be achieved via Follow-Up lines. Members of work groups must agree on result status in order to move on to the next step in task progression, to accomplish task requirements successfully.

Furthermore, within student groups, the passive and active negotiated roles influence the choice of situated and discourse identities enacted. In fact, they not only influence each other, but also manifest simultaneously through the choice of marked or unmarked features and choice of activities, some of the markers of these identities being coded as: ‘cells counter’, ‘cells identifier’, ‘notes taker’ etc. (at situated level), and ‘diligent student’, ‘active learner’, ‘passive learner/overhearer’ etc. (at discourse and transportable levels). One other important aspect of the work-group dynamic observed in the micro-community is that of the peer-to-peer monitoring activity being actively performed alongside the professor’s monitoring activity, students engaging in role-reversals due to mostly peer-directed feedback, the role of ‘explainer’ having to be dismissed by the ‘passive’ party in the group during task progression.

Interestingly, outside group roles, some students were seen engaging in individual roles pertaining to narrations and humorous evaluation of seminar sequences/activities, prompted by the awareness of the presence of a recording device. This type of behavior showcases an augmented social persona that some speakers chose to perform, in order to assert their position in the social hierarchy of the classroom, this being driven by individual MCs such as ‘extrovert’, ‘noticeable’, ‘wanting to stand out’ etc. However, a transitioning phase between negotiated roles in work groups and peer-to-peer teaching instances has also been observed occurring, done either:

- I. Explicitly (verbally);
- II. Implicitly through code-switching (verbally) or nonverbal signaling (standing up, allowing physical access to the microscope).

Therefore, what seems to stand out as a recurrent pattern in seminar activities, is an ease in student-to-professor communicational exchanges, where the primacy of the interaction is mainly concerned with accomplishing tasks successfully, while interactions with the seminar professor are habitually taken upon as bounded-role activities by the same students. Within workgroups, members engage in at least one rotation (one role reversal) to complete the tasks, and essentially practice all skills needed for task progression, either individually or professor prompted through directive speech acts.

English unmarked features thus become the macro-imposed code in use when addressing the professor and are resorted to by students according to: the professor's physical proximity to work groups, her movement in the laboratory space, student-initiated Response/Follow-Up sequences to appeal to positive responses to directive speech acts or elicitations, and lastly, necessitation of feedback. This is a characteristic of the seminar format which the professor is adamant in reinforcing, partly due to the university's requirements of CLIL format seminars, and partly to individual emotional attachment to English Lx, the professor having acquired English features later in her linguistic repertoire's development, according to answers in an impromptu interview, her goal being that of increasing personal fluency. On the other hand, non-English marked features are also used in micro R-O sets if students share similar L1s (different to English features) or as personal choices of marked codes in code-switching sequences meant to either reinforce or change membership status within groups, in both seminar-related and informal topic changes.

So far, the outline of the findings have been mostly focused on interactions between students, and their reactions to professor initiated exchanges. However, the focus of the next pages will shift onto a sketch of the professor's behavior in the laboratory setting, from both an identity-oriented point of view and in terms of associated linguistic choices. In essence, the professor's authority can be subsumed to an outline of her perceived professional identity. This outline is played out in the frame of interactions and activities she engages in on a regular basis in her seminars. Although rather fixed in structure, it is adapted to work-groups in part, allowing room for flexibility:

1. Monitoring student activity;
2. Interaction with students identifying cells has primacy (even if feedback was not solicited);
3. During feedback, the seminar professor takes up the role of 'explainer' and directs the speech acts inductively, through leading questions, and giving clues;
4. The feedback sequences may end in:
 - a. Explicit directive speech acts (optional);
 - b. Implicit directive speech acts.
5. Disengagement from interaction with group/individual student;
6. (Optional) monitoring of peer-activity to ensure role-rotations;
7. Back to monitoring class activity at macro level (silence being taken as cue that feedback is not solicited).

Thus, in assessing the professor's behavior, it stands out that the number of student speakers and their movement throughout the laboratory setting, influence the professor's direction of address and the transitions from bidirectionality to polydirectionality during turns-at-talk, the interactions and flow of the seminar always being in flux. The fluidity of movement and the participants' physical

proximity to each other (both peer-to-peer, students-to-professor and students-to-student staff) determine the fluidity of interactions. In other words, the professor's movement throughout the physical space of the laboratory and length of interaction with each group directly influences task progression, group formations and dissolutions, and the potential for code-switching to take place.

The professor's physical positioning among group members is done in such a way to ensure a maximal projection of the information to as many students as possible, the physical proximity of the professor influencing students' choice of linguistic strategies as well. When disengaging from feedback sequences, the students retake their positions in their initially negotiated micro R-O set and go back to using initial choices of marked codes (if they differ from the macro imposed English unmarked features). Students also disengage from ad-hoc cross-group interactions in feedbacking sequences between the professor and their initial work group. However, in the case of the last data recording session, when the format of the seminar was less fixed than usual, students being given autonomy to work in whichever formations best suited their learning needs and seminar goals, in order to review the main topics for their upcoming exam, cross-group ad-hoc exchanges appeared more frequently. Habitual small-membered work-group configurations fused together into groups with larger numbers of 'passive learner' roles being chosen by participants, the lead being taken by students comfortable in fulfilling the 'active' role for their peers, even in feedbacking loops with the seminar professor. All of these activities however, were always performed in a tolerant and friendly environment, students and student staff breaking away from the tasks at hand and seminar related topics to reinforce, create or change membership status, based on similarities of MCs and engagement in group bounded-activities or topics, the code-switching occurrences playing a major role in 'informalizing' the seminar setting, alongside recurring jokes, play-fighting, dancing, singing, rapping, performing 'skits' for the recording device, and the frequent use of informal terms of address and, at times, expletives in marked code features.

A few instances of the seminar professor departing from her macro-imposed R-O set and seminar topics have also been recorded, but mostly for creating convergence with her students and for expressing a shared membership status. Similarly, students also voice their frustration or divergence with the seminar professor through the use of code-switching instances and therefore visibly depart from the macro-imposed R-O set in direct interactions with her. The end of the feedbacking sequences is also expressed at times, by students disengaging from English unmarked features and re-engaging in marked code features specific to their micro R-O set. Lastly, in instances of little code-switching or no code-switching phenomena appearing, student behavior seems to not resort to this particular linguistic strategy due to:

A. Speakers sharing identical L1s (different to English Lx) and a large number of MCs in common;

B. Speakers not sharing enough MCs to form an informal relationship, among both:

- a. English Lx speakers
- b. English L1 and English Lx speakers.

Cases of minimal code-switching seem to be prevalent in more homogenous groups, where speakers mostly makes use of non-English features as unmarked code (and therefore essentially create embedded language islands within the framework of the macro-imposed R-O set), and in groups of English Lx speakers who do not share the same membership status. In such cases, the seminar professor does not intervene in the groups' micro R-O sets, but the length of interaction seems to be shorter than in those who exhibit more openness to professor-mediated interactions

Conclusion

All in all, the variables that stand out and must be taken into account in influencing the intertwining of the movement throughout the laboratory setting, the linguistic strategies resorted to and the identity markers perceived and chosen to be enacted are linked to:

- Teacher performance;
- The unpredictability of student reactions (Cockayne 2010) affecting the flow of the seminar's format due to asymmetries in participation:
 - The authority figure (seminar professor) makes the most initiatives in opening acts;
 - Asymmetries of content knowledge;
 - Asymmetries of the rights to manage the instances to articulate said knowledge;
 - Asymmetries in directing the flow of the lesson plan and its possible variations (being known by the professor and unknown to the students), these being communicated only through the framing and focusing acts at the beginning of seminars;
 - Asymmetries of professor-student degree of informality and familiarity in interactions (based on difference in MCs and perceived membership status) and are mostly student-led.

To conclude, it seems likely that in cases where speakers tend to form a more heterogeneous mix, in terms of dissimilarity of L1s, both intra- and intersentential code-switching occurrences and a use of English Lx as unmarked features is the

prevalent state of affairs in the management of classroom-based linguistic strategies. In cases of groups where speakers tend to form a more homogeneous mix, more cases of intersentential code-switching phenomena may be observed, in addition to a predisposition to using non-English unmarked features that turn into embedded language islands. The students and professor's movement throughout the physical space of the laboratory determines transitions from bidirectional to polydirectional interactions and vice-versa, the movement itself favoring the appearance of code-switching instances. The fluidity of group formations and dissolutions influence the switching to different codes as well. The movement throughout the laboratory setting and group formations are favored by mainly two factors: accomplishing the tasks of the seminar successfully and the level of informality between members of the micro-community, this relation being under continuous reassessment of MCs and shared membership status. The markers of students' transportable identities stand out as recurring individual MCs and recurring choices of linguistic strategies, amounting to significant attributes influencing individual behavior. At the same time, features of student discourse and situated identity markers overlap with the enacted social roles and activities engaged in during interactions. The situated and discourse identity markers are specific not only to individual speakers, but also become recognizable in patterns at micro-level (in subgroups) and macro-level due to the requirements of the seminar tasks which are expected of and available to all members of the micro-community, being also played out in seminar bounded activities, roles and choices of marked and unmarked features. Furthermore, the informal character and flexible seminar environment seem to counterbalance these requirements through a transfer of the informality established between members outside the seminar environment inside its confines. Thus, a constant play between the formal and informal, between identity markers, and choices of marked and unmarked features outline the landscape of a local multilingual educational environment.

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ON THE ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES OF INCHOATIVE VERBS THAT ARE OPTIONALLY MARKED WITH REFLEXIVE MORPHOLOGY

Maria Poponeț
“Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

ABSTRACT: Folli (1999, 2002, quoted in Schäfer 2008) argues that inchoative verbs that are optionally marked with the reflexive clitic pronoun *si* in Italian differ aspectually. The verbs are aspectually ambiguous in their unmarked use, and telic in their use with *si*. Moreover, Folli argues that verbs that never take the reflexive clitic *si* in Italian show atelic behaviour, and make up the class of degree achievements in this language. In other words, she holds that the clitic *si* is responsible for the telicity of verbs. In this paper, we argue that in Romanian the clitic *se* does not separate telic verbs from atelic verbs. Inchoative verbs that are optionally marked with the reflexive clitic pronoun *se* in Romanian do not differ aspectually when modified by *in*-PPs and *for*-PPs. Furthermore, in Romanian the clitic *se* does not make a distinction between degree achievements and punctual achievements. Nonetheless, we highlight the impact of the Italian data on crosslinguistic research, i.e. the aspectual and syntactic properties of Italian inchoatives that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology indicate that (apparent) atelicity is not synonymous with unergativity.

KEYWORDS: inchoative verbs that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology, Italian, Romanian, telicity, unaccusativity, unergativity.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the aspectual properties of inchoative verbs, i.e. intransitive verbs of change of state, in Italian and Romanian with special emphasis on the verbs that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology. For ease of exposition, the verbs that take reflexive morphology will be termed *si/se*-marked, whereas the verbs that lack reflexive morphology will be termed non-*si/se*-marked.

Our paper has two main objectives: First, we test the validity of the assumption that morphological marking is responsible for the telicity of Romanian inchoatives, argued to hold for the Italian data (cf. Folli 1999, 2002, qtd. in Schäfer 2008). Second, we examine the connection between the aspectual properties of these intransitive verbs and their syntactic type, i.e. whether aspectually ambiguous verbs are unergative, their argument being an underlying subject, whereas obligatorily telic verbs are unaccusative, their argument being an underlying object (cf. Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986).

The Italian data

Folli (1999, 2002, quoted in Schäfer 2008) proposed a classification of Italian inchoatives into three categories depending on the presence or absence of the

reflexive marker *si*: (i) *si*-marked inchoatives; (ii) non-*si*-marked inchoatives; (iii) inchoatives that show *si*-marked and non-*si*-marked variants.

Examples of verbs from the three categories can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. The classification of Italian inchoatives based on morphological marking

Verbs that are <i>si</i>-marked: <i>rompere</i> “to break”, <i>alterare</i> “to alter”, <i>svegliare</i> “to awake”, <i>aprire</i> “to open”, <i>chiudere</i> “to close”, <i>espandere</i> “to expand”, <i>estendere</i> “to extend”, <i>capovolgere</i> “to capsize”, <i>sbriciolare</i> “to crumble”, <i>dividere</i> “to divide”, <i>sfilacciare</i> “to fray”, <i>fermare</i> “to halt”, <i>rovesciare</i> “to overturn”, <i>restringere</i> “to shrink”, <i>arrotolare</i> “to roll up”, <i>bagnare</i> “to wet”.
Verbs that are non-<i>si</i>-marked: <i>affondare</i> “to sink”, <i>invecchiare</i> “to age”, <i>diminuire</i> “to diminish”, <i>cambiare</i> “to change”, <i>bollire</i> “to boil”, <i>guarire</i> “to heal”, <i>migliorare</i> “to improve”, <i>maturare</i> “to mature”, <i>aumentare</i> “to increase”, <i>diminuire</i> “to decrease”.
Verbs that can be <i>si</i>-marked or non-<i>si</i>-marked: <i>fondere</i> “to melt”, <i>cuocere</i> “to bake”, <i>raffreddare</i> “to cool”, <i>riscaldare</i> “to heat”, <i>asciugare</i> “to dry”, <i>gelare</i> “to freeze”, <i>congelare</i> “to frost”, <i>bruciare</i> “to burn”, <i>sgonfiare</i> “to deflate”, <i>ingrandire</i> “to enlarge”. (Folli 1999: 149)

Importantly, Folli argues that the classification is not purely formal as morphological marking drives aspectual interpretation, i.e. the *si*-marked inchoatives are telic, while the non-*si*-marked inchoatives are atelic. Thus, she holds that the first category comprises telic verbs, the second category comprises atelic verbs, while the third category is made up of verbs whose telicity varies with the morphological marking. This category consists of verbs which optionally take *si* in the intransitive use, and can show transitive versions. The verbs are defined by the following features: a) Intransitives marked with *si* can occur with *in*-PPs, but not with *for*-PPs (cf. (1b))¹; b) Intransitives without *si* can be modified by *in*-PPs and *for*-PPs (cf. (1a)); c) The negation of the final state is infelicitous in the case of the *si*-marked variant (cf. (2b)), but it is felicitous in the context of the non-*si*-marked variant (cf. (2a)) (cf. Schäfer 2008: 16).

- (1) a. *Il cioccolato è fuso per pochi secondi/in pochi secondi.*
 DET chocolate be.AUX.3SG melt.PTCP for few second.PL in few second.PL
- b. *Il cioccolato si è fuso *per pochi secondi/in pochi secondi.*
 DET chocolate SE be.AUX.3SG melt.PTCP for few second.PL in few second.PL
 “The chocolate melted for a few seconds/in a few seconds.” (Schäfer 2008: 16, (21a,b))
- (2) a. *La casa è bruciata (per un’ora), ma non è bruciata.*
 DET house be.AUX.3SG burn.PTCP for an hour but not be.COP.3SG burn.PTCP
 “The house burned (for an hour), but it is not burnt.”

¹ A similar behaviour has been reported for *se*-marked inchoatives in Spanish (cf. Armstrong 2011).

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b.	<i>*La</i>	<i>casa</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>bruciata,</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>è</i>
	DET	house	SE	be.AUX.3SG	burn.PTCP	but	not	be.COP.3SG
	<i>bruciata.</i>							
	burn.PTCP							
	“The house burned, but it is not burnt.”				(Schäfer 2008: 16, (22a,b))			

The non-*si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” in (1a) is aspectually ambiguous: the verb can license not only *for*-PPs which specify the duration of the event, but also *in*-PPs which establish the temporal frame in which the event ends. On the other hand, the *si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” in (1b) shows an obligatorily telic behaviour: the verb cannot be modified by *for*-PPs, and only licenses *in*-PPs. Folli attributes the obligatory telicity of *si*-marked inchoatives in Italian to the clitic pronoun *si* which seems to have an aspectual role in this language.

In what follows, we will examine the aspectual properties of inchoative verbs that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology in Romanian seeking to establish if the clitic pronoun *se* can be held responsible for the telicity of these verbs. Furthermore, we address the syntactic relevance of the aspectual properties surrounding *si/se*: if it turns out that *se* marks telic verbs to the exclusion of atelic verbs in Romanian, can one claim that telic verbs are unaccusative, while atelic verbs are unergative?

The Romanian data

Just like their Italian counterparts, Romanian inchoatives can fall into three categories based on the presence or absence of the reflexive marker *se*: (i) *se*-marked inchoatives; (ii) non-*se*-marked inchoatives; (iii) inchoatives that show *se*-marked and non-*se*-marked variants.

Drawing on Dragomirescu (2010), Table 2 provides examples of inchoatives belonging to the three morphological categories.

Table 2. The classification of Romanian inchoatives based on morphological marking²

<p>Verbs that are <i>se</i>-marked: <i>a se aburi</i> “to mist up”, <i>a se accentua</i> “to become more prominent”, <i>a se accidenta</i> “to suffer an accident”, <i>a se acidula</i> “to acidify”, <i>a se acri</i> “to go sour”, <i>a se activiz(a)</i> “to become an adjective”, <i>a se afuma</i> “to become filled with smoke”, <i>a se aglomera</i> “to agglomerate”, <i>a se agrava</i> “to worsen”, <i>a se albăstri</i> “to become blue”, <i>a se alcooliza</i> “to become alcoholic”, <i>a se altera</i> “to go bad”, <i>a se ameliora</i> “to ameliorate”, <i>a se amesteca</i> “to combine”, <i>a se amplifica</i> “to amplify”, <i>a se anemia</i> “to become affected with anemia”, <i>a se animaliza</i> “to brutalize”, <i>a se aplatiza</i> “to flatten”, <i>a se asfixia</i> “to suffocate”, <i>a se aspri</i> “to worsen”, <i>a se atenua</i> “to fade”, <i>a se atrofia</i> “to atrophy”, <i>a se augmenta</i> “to increase”, <i>a se avaria</i> “to deteriorate”³, etc.</p>
<p>Verbs that are non-<i>se</i>-marked: <i>a adormi</i> “to fall asleep”, <i>a amorți</i> “to benumb”, <i>a amuți</i> “to become mute”, <i>a asurzi</i> “to become deaf”, <i>a cheli</i> “to become bald”, <i>a clocoti</i> “to boil”, <i>a crește</i> “to grow”, <i>a decădea</i> “to decline”, <i>a dospî</i> “to rise”, <i>a flămânzi</i> “to starve”, <i>a fuziona</i> “to fuse”, <i>a îmbătrâni</i> “to age”, <i>a încărunți</i> “to turn grey”, <i>a îngheța</i> “to freeze”, <i>a întineri</i> “to grow young”, <i>a învia</i> “to revive”, <i>a leșina</i> “to faint”, <i>a orbi</i> “to become blind”, <i>a paraliza</i> “to be stricken with paralysis”, <i>a plesni</i> “to burst”, <i>a reîntineri</i> “to grow young again”, <i>a reînvia</i> “to revive again”, <i>a roși</i> “to blush”, <i>a scădea</i> “to diminish”, <i>a seca</i> “to dry”, <i>a varia</i> “to vary”.</p>
<p>Verbs that can be <i>se</i>-marked or non-<i>se</i>-marked: <i>a (se) accelera</i> “to accelerate”, <i>a (se) aclimatiza</i> “to acclimatize”, <i>a (se) aglutina</i> “to agglutinate”, <i>a (se) albi</i> “to become white”, <i>a (se) anchiloza</i> “to ankylose”, <i>a (se) arde</i> “to burn; to get burnt”, <i>a (se) cangrena</i> “to gangrene”, <i>a (se) coace</i> “to come to a head; to ripen; to bake”, <i>a (se) cocli</i> “to rust”, <i>a (se) condensa</i> “to condense”, <i>a (se) crăpa</i> “to crack”, <i>a (se) cristaliza</i> “to crystallize”, <i>a (se) diftonga</i> “to diphthongize”, <i>a (se) diminuea</i> “to diminish”, <i>a (se) fierbe</i> “to boil”, <i>a (se) împietri</i> “to freeze; to petrify”, <i>a (se) îngălbeni</i> “to turn pale; to turn yellow”, <i>a (se) înverzi</i> “to go green”, <i>a (se) necroza</i> “to necrose”, <i>a (se) ologi</i> “to become crippled”, <i>a (se) oxida</i> “to oxidize”, <i>a (se) pâli</i> “to become pale; to wither”, <i>a (se) răci</i> “to catch a cold; to get cold”, <i>a (se) slăbi</i> “to lose weight; to weaken”, <i>a (se) spuza</i> “to become covered with spots”, <i>a (se) știrbi</i> “to lose teeth; to break”.</p> <p>Dragomirescu (2010: 113-114)</p>

The category of verbs that can be *se*-marked or non-*se*-marked can be further split into verbs for which the clitic *se* imposes selection restrictions, the verb forms being specialized for certain arguments, and verbs for which the clitic *se* does not impose selection restrictions.

Table 3 lists the verbs that show optional morphological marking in Romanian, some of them lacking transitive variants, and differs slightly from the third category of verbs in Table 2 above inspired from Dragomirescu.

² The table only includes verbs that show transitive variants, the types of verbs discussed by Folli (1999, 2002, qtd. in Schäfer 2008) in Italian.

³ For space reasons, we did not reproduce the complete list of the verbs in this category provided by Dragomirescu (2010).

Table 3. Romanian inchoatives that show *se*-marked and non-*se*-marked variants

Romanian verbs for which the clitic <i>se</i> imposes selection restrictions: <i>a (se) accelera</i> “to accelerate”, <i>a (se) aglutina</i> “to agglutinate”, <i>a (se) (în)albăstri</i> “to become blue”, <i>a (se) albi</i> “to become white”, <i>a (se) arde</i> “to burn; to get burnt”, <i>a (se) coace</i> “to come to a head; to ripen; to bake”, <i>a (se) diftonga</i> “to diphthongize”, <i>a (se) diminuea</i> “to diminish”, <i>a (se) împietri</i> “to freeze; to petrify”, <i>a (se) îngălbeni</i> “to turn pale; to turn yellow”, <i>a (se) inverzi</i> “to become green”, <i>a (se) învineți</i> “to turn purple”, <i>a (se) pâli</i> “to become pale; to wither”, <i>a (se) răci</i> “to catch a cold; to get cold”, <i>a (se) roși</i> “to blush; to redden”, <i>a (se) slăbi</i> “to lose weight; to weaken”, <i>a (se) știrbi</i> “to lose teeth; to break”.
Romanian verbs for which the clitic <i>se</i> does not impose selection restrictions: <i>a (se) aclimatiza</i> “to acclimatize”, <i>a (se) anchiloza</i> “to ankylose”, <i>a (se) cangrena</i> “to gangrene”, <i>a (se) cocli</i> “to rust”, <i>a (se) condensa</i> “to condense”, <i>a (se) crăpa</i> “to crack”, <i>a (se) cristaliza</i> “to crystallize”, <i>a (se) fierbe</i> “to boil”, <i>a (se) mucegăi</i> “to grow mouldy”, <i>a (se) necroza</i> “to necrose”, <i>a (se) ologi</i> “to become crippled”, <i>a (se) oxida</i> “to oxidize”, <i>a (se) putrezi</i> “to rot”, <i>a (se) râncezi</i> “to become rancid”, <i>a (se) rugini</i> “to rust”, <i>a (se) spuzi</i> “to become covered with spots”.

To simplify things, the examination of the aspectual properties of optionally *se*-marked inchoatives was confined to a selection of verbs for which the clitic *se* does not impose selection restrictions, leaving aside the verbs for which the clitic *se* imposes selection restrictions. Specifically, we tested the acceptability of the non-*se*-marked and *se*-marked versions of these verbs under modification by *in*-PPs and *for*-PPs. By hypothesis, the acceptability of *in*-PPs indicates a telic verb, while the acceptability of *for*-PPs indicates an atelic verb. The sentences had to be rated on a five-point Lickert scale, where 1 stands for “Completely unacceptable”, 2 stands for “Almost unusable”, 3 means “Debatable”, 4 signifies “Almost perfect”, 5 signifies “Perfect”.

Table 4 summarizes the results obtained from the 33 speakers consulted, aged 20-50. The first column contains the sentences put to the test, the second column contains the mean acceptability rating of each sentence which is the weighted mean, the third column includes the minimum rating received by each sentence, the fourth column includes the maximum rating received by each sentence, whereas the fifth column specifies the mode, i.e. the most frequent value assigned to each sentence.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of the results of the test for the aspectual properties of optionally *se*-marked inchoatives

Sentence	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mode
1. A. Pâinea a mucegăit în 24 de ore. “The bread grew mouldy in 24 hours.”	4.03	1	5	5
B. Pâinea a mucegăit timp de 24 de ore. “The bread grew mouldy for 24 hours.”	1.96	1	5	1
2. A. Pâinea s-a mucegăit în 24 de ore. “The bread SE grew mouldy in 24 hours.”	3.63	1	5	5
B. Pâinea s-a mucegăit timp de 24 de ore. “The bread SE grew mouldy for 24 hours.”	2.15	1	5	1
3. A. Untul a râncezit în 7 zile. “The butter became rancid in 7 days.”	4	1	5	5

Sentence	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mode
B. Untul a râncezit timp de 7 zile. “The butter became rancid for 7 days.”	2.21	1	5	1
4. A. Untul s-a râncezit în 7 zile. “The butter SE became rancid in 7 days.”	3.54	1	5	5
B. Untul s-a râncezit timp de 7 zile. “The butter SE became rancid for 7 days.”	2.03	1	4	1
5. A. Bicicleta a ruginit în 30 de zile. “The bike rusted in 30 days.”	4.27	1	5	5
B. Bicicleta a ruginit timp de 30 de zile. “The bike rusted for 30 days.”	2.24	1	5	1
6. A. Bicicleta s-a ruginit în 30 de zile. “The bike SE rusted in 30 days.”	3.09	1	5	1
B. Bicicleta s-a ruginit timp de 30 de zile. “The bike SE rusted for 30 days.”	2.06	1	5	1
7. A. Lemnul a putrezit în câteva luni. “The log rotted in a few months.”	4.39	1	5	5
B. Lemnul a putrezit timp de câteva luni. “The log rotted for a few months.”	2.78	1	5	1
8. A. Lemnul s-a putrezit în câteva luni. “The log SE rotted in a few months.”	2.54	1	5	1
B. Lemnul s-a putrezit timp de câteva luni. “The log SE rotted for a few months.”	1.66	1	4	1
9. A. Rana a cangrenat în 24 de ore. “The wound gangrened in 24 hours.”	3.57	1	5	5
B. Rana a cangrenat timp de 24 de ore. “The wound gangrened for 24 hours.”	2.66	1	5	3
10. A. Rana s-a cangrenat în 24 de ore. “The wound SE gangrened in 24 hours.”	4	1	5	5
B. Rana s-a cangrenat timp de 24 de ore. “The wound SE gangrened for 24 hours.”	2.15	1	5	1
11. A. Oala a coclit în 30 de zile. “The pot rusted in 30 days.”	3.06	1	5	4
B. Oala a coclit timp de 30 de zile. “The pot rusted for 30 days.”	2.24	1	5	1
12. A. Oala s-a coclit în 30 de zile. “The pot SE rusted in 30 days.”	3.81	1	5	5
B. Oala s-a coclit timp de 30 de zile. “The pot SE rusted for 30 days.”	2.27	1	5	1
13. A. Vaporii de apă au condensat în 60 de secunde. “The water vapours condensed in 60 seconds.”	2.57	1	5	3
B. Vaporii de apă au condensat timp de 60 de secunde. “The water vapours condensed for 60 seconds.”	2	1	5	1
14. A. Vaporii de apă s-au condensat în 60 de secunde. “The water vapours SE condensed in 60 seconds.”	4.42	1	5	5

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Sentence	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mode
B. Vaporii de apă s-au condensat timp de 60 de secunde. "The water vapours SE condensed for 60 seconds."	2.96	1	5	1; 5
15. A. Piciorul a necrozat în 7 zile. "The leg necrosed in 7 days."	3.06	1	5	1; 5
B. Piciorul a necrozat timp de 7 zile. "The leg necrosed for 7 days."	2.24	1	5	1
16. A. Piciorul s-a necrozat în 7 zile. "The leg SE necrosed in 7 days."	4.21	1	5	5
B. Piciorul s-a necrozat timp de 7 zile. "The leg SE necrosed for 7 days."	2.36	1	5	1
17. A. Apa a fiert în 10 minute. "The water boiled in 10 minutes."	4.69	3	5	5
B. Apa a fiert timp de 10 minute. "The water boiled for 10 minutes."	4.39	1	5	5
18. A. Cartofii s-au fiert în 30 de minute. "The potatoes SE boiled in 30 minutes."	4.36	1	5	5
B. Cartofii s-au fiert timp de 30 de minute. "The potatoes SE boiled for 30 minutes."	3.48	1	5	5
19. A. Mierea a cristalizat în 10 zile. "The honey crystallized in 10 days."	2.87	1	5	1
B. Mierea a cristalizat timp de 10 zile. "The honey crystallized for 10 days."	1.96	1	5	1
20. A. Mierea s-a cristalizat în 10 zile. "The honey SE crystallized in 10 days."	4.57	1	5	5
B. Mierea s-a cristalizat timp de 10 zile. "The honey SE crystallized for 10 days."	2.57	1	5	1

As is apparent from Table 4, the non-*se*-marked inchoative *a mucegăi* "to grow mouldy" modified by *in*-PPs registers a slightly higher score (4.03) than the score of the *se*-marked inchoative modified by such phrases (3.63), although the mode of both of them is 5. The ratings of the non-*se*-marked inchoative and the *se*-marked inchoative modified by *for*-PPs are very close (1.96 and 2.15), and they share mode 1.

Similar results are registered by *a (se) râncezi* "to become rancid". Under modification by *in*-PPs, the non-*se*-marked inchoative has a slightly higher score (4) than the one received by the *se*-marked inchoative (3.54), although they share mode 5. When modified by *for*-PPs, the non-*se*-marked inchoative has score 2.21, whereas the *se*-marked inchoative has score 2.03. The mode of both of them is 1.

In the case of *a (se) rugini* "to rust" modified by *in*-PPs, the non-*se*-marked inchoative has a higher rating (4.27) than the one received by the *se*-marked inchoative (3.09). The mode of the former is 5, while the mode of the latter is 1. Under modification by *for*-PPs, the scores of the two types of inchoative are very

close, i.e. 2.24 for the non-*se*-marked form, and 2.06 for the *se*-marked form. The two forms share mode 1.

A significant difference between the non-*se*-marked version and the *se*-marked version of the inchoative when modified by *in*-PPs is registered by *a (se) putrezi* “to rot”, where the non-*se*-marked version has score 4.39, while the *se*-marked version has score 2.54. The mode of the former is 5, while the mode of the latter is 1. Under modification by *for*-PPs, the non-*se*-marked version has a score more than a point higher than the score of the *se*-marked version, i.e. 2.78 vs. 1.66. The mode of both of them is 1.

On the other hand, *a cangrena* “to gangrene” and *a se cangrena* “to gangrene” register close scores under modification by *in*-PPs (3.57 and 4), and they also share mode 5. When modified by *for*-PPs, the non-*se*-marked version has a slightly higher rating (2.66) than the rating received by the *se*-marked version (2.15). Moreover, the mode of the non-*se*-marked version is 3, while the mode of the *se*-marked version is 1.

The verb *a se cocli* “to rust” has a slightly higher score (3.81) and mode (5) than *a cocli* “to rust” (3.06 and 4) under modification by *in*-PPs. When modified by *for*-PPs, *a se cocli* “to rust” and *a cocli* “to rust” have close ratings (2.27 and 2.24), and share mode 1.

Under modification by *in*-PPs, the *se*-marked inchoative *a se condensa* “to condense” registers a score which is almost two-point higher than the score of the non-*se*-marked version, i.e. 4.42 vs. 2.57. The mode of the former is 5, while the mode of the latter is 3. Moreover, the score of the *se*-marked version modified by *for*-PPs is higher (2.96) than the score of the non-*se*-marked version modified by such phrases (2). The modes of the *se*-marked version are 1 and 5, whereas the mode of the non-*se*-marked version is 1.

When modified by *in*-PPs, the *se*-marked *a se necroza* “to necrose” has a higher rating (4.21) than the one received by the non-*se*-marked *a necroza* “to necrose” (3.06). The mode of the former is 5, while the modes of the latter are 1 and 5. Under modification by *for*-PPs, the rating of the *se*-marked inchoative is slightly higher (2.36) than the rating of the non-*se*-marked inchoative (2.24), although they share mode 1.

The scores of the non-*se*-marked *a fierbe* “to boil” modified by *in*-PPs and *for*-PPs are quite close (4.69 and 4.39). The constructions also share mode 5. On the other hand, in the case of the *se*-marked version there is almost a one-point difference between the rating of the sentence modified by *in*-PPs (4.36) and the rating of the sentence modified by *for*-PPs (3.48), although the mode of both of them is 5.

When modified by *in*-PPs, the *se*-marked version *a se cristaliza* “to crystallize” registers a much higher score (4.57) than the one received by the non-*se*-marked version *a cristaliza* “to crystallize” (2.87). The mode of the former is 5, while the mode of the latter is 1. Interestingly, under modification by *for*-PPs, the score of the *se*-marked inchoative is higher (2.57) than the score of the non-*se*-marked inchoative (1.96), although they share mode 1.

To sum up, while under modification by *in*-PPs some verbs have higher scores for the *se*-marked version (i.e. *a se cangrena* “to gangrene”, *a se cocli* “to rust”, *a se condensa* “to condense”, *a se necroza* “to necrose”, *a se cristaliza* “to crystallize”), others show the opposite behaviour and register higher scores for the non-*se*-marked version (i.e. *a mucegăi* “to grow mouldy”, *a râncezi* “to become rancid”, *a rugini* “to rust”, *a putrezi* “to rot”, *a fierbe* “to boil”). We believe that these results can be interpreted as a preference for one of the two morphological versions of the inchoative, and it is not the case that the *se*-marked version is telic while the non-*se*-marked version is atelic. This conclusion is further reinforced by the low acceptability of both versions under modification by *for*-PPs, which falls into place if both versions have a change of state meaning which runs counter to the durative meaning required by *for*-PPs.

The syntactic relevance of the aspectual properties of inchoative verbs that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology

At this point, we are wondering what would have been the consequences if *se* had separated telic verbs from atelic verbs in Romanian. Specifically, would have this meant that telic verbs are unaccusative, while atelic verbs are unergative? We can give an answer to this question if we take a look at the Italian data.

Going back to sentences (1a) and (1b) above, recall that the non-*si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” in (1a) is aspectually ambiguous, i.e. the verb can license not only *for*-PPs, but also *in*-PPs, whereas the *si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” in (1b) is obligatorily telic, i.e. the verb cannot take *for*-PPs, but only *in*-PPs.

Folli (1999, 2002, quoted in Schäfer 2008) attributes the dual aspectual behaviour of the non-*si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” to its syntactic structure. Inspired by Ramchand (2008), Folli proposes the decomposition of such verbs into a process head⁴ and a resultant state as its complement: *for*-PPs modify a process in the structure of the verb, while *in*-PPs indicate the presence of a resultant state.

On the other hand, the *si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” is made up of a process head spelled out as *si*, and a resultant state in complement position.

Importantly, Folli does not claim that the verbs which contain a process are unergative: non-*si*-marked *fondere* “to melt” in (1a) can be argued to contain a process given its occurrence with *for*-PPs, but takes auxiliary *essere* “to be”, and, consequently, it is unaccusative, not unergative. The examination of the aspectual properties surrounding *si* gives rise to a fine-grained syntactic representation of Italian unaccusatives. In sentences (1a)-(2b) above containing inchoative verbs *si* does not distinguish between unaccusatives and unergatives.

The comparison with the Italian data reveals that even if it had turned out that *se* marks telic verbs to the exclusion of atelic verbs in Romanian, atelicity is not

⁴ In Ramchand’s (2008) theory the process phrase is the equivalent of the big VP in a VP structure articulated in VP shells.

necessarily associated with unergativity since the verbs seemingly showing atelic properties in Italian take auxiliary *essere* ‘be’. In fact, non-*si*-marked *fondere* ‘to melt’ can be modified not only by *for*-PPs, but also by *in*-PPs, showing atelicity and telicity properties simultaneously. Folli ascribes the aspectual properties of these verbs to their structure, i.e. non-*si*-marked verbs only contain a process phrase, the resultant phrase being contextually added.

However, the Romanian inchoatives that are optionally marked with the clitic *se* do not have distinct aspectual properties, thus the unaccusative vs. unergative split based on aspectual properties is out of the question. Both *se*-marked and non-*se*-marked verbs exhibit a telic behaviour as they allow modification by *in*-PPs, and disallow modification by *for*-PPs.

An additional argument against the alleged aspectual properties of the clitic *se* in Romanian is provided by degree achievements. While Folli claimed that degree achievements are confined to non-*si*-marked verbs in Italian, in Romanian, the clitic *se* does not distinguish between degree achievements and punctual achievements.

For starter, as is apparent from Table 5, not all non-*si*-marked verbs in Italian are non-*se*-marked in Romanian.

Table 5. *Italian non-si-marked inchoatives and their Romanian equivalents*

<p>Italian verbs that are non-<i>si</i>-marked: <i>affondare</i> “to sink”, <i>invecchiare</i> “to age”, <i>diminuire</i> “to diminish”, <i>cambiare</i> “to change”, <i>bollire</i> “to boil”, <i>guarire</i> “to heal”, <i>migliorare</i> “to improve”, <i>maturare</i> “to mature”, <i>aumentare</i> “to increase”, <i>diminuire</i> “to decrease”.</p> <p>The Romanian verbs corresponding to the Italian non-<i>si</i>-marked verbs: <i>a se scufunda</i> “to sink”, <i>a îmbătrâni</i> “to age”, <i>a se diminua</i> “to diminish”, <i>a se schimba</i> “to change”, <i>a (se) fierbe</i> “to boil”, <i>a se vindeca</i> “to heal”, <i>a se îmbunătăți</i> “to improve”, <i>a se maturiza</i> “to mature”, <i>a crește</i> “to increase”, <i>a descreește</i> “to decrease”.</p>
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Furthermore, Romanian registers other *se*-marked verbs that express degree achievements, e.g. *a se extinde* ‘to extend’, *a se înălța* ‘to become tall’, *a se îngusta* ‘to narrow’, etc. Thus, morphological marking is not associated with aspectual class as both *se*-marked (cf. (3)) and non-*se*-marked inchoatives (cf. (4)) can express degree achievements and license *in*-PPs and *for*-PPs.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>Albia</i>
bed.DET | <i>râului</i>
river.GEN | <i>s-</i>
SE | <i>a</i>
have.AUX.3SG | <i>îngustat</i>
narrow.PTCP | <i>în</i>
in | <i>3 luni/</i>
3
month.PL |
| | <i> timp</i>
time | <i>de</i>
of | <i>3 luni.</i>
3 month.PL | “The river bed narrowed in 3 months/for 3 months.” | | | |
| (4) | <i>Planta</i>
plant.DET | <i>a</i>
have.AUX.3SG | <i>crescut</i>
grow.PTCP | <i>în</i>
in | <i>câteva</i>
few | <i>zile/</i>
day.PL | <i> timp de</i>
time of |
| | <i>câteva</i>
few | <i>zile.</i>
day.PL | “The plant grew in a few days/for a few days.” | | | | |

Since the clitic *se* does not separate degree achievements from punctual achievements in Romanian, it is not the case that *se* uniformly resides in the process head in *se*-marked inchoatives (against Folli 2002, quoted in Schäfer 2008).

Conclusions

The examination of the aspectual properties of inchoatives that are optionally marked with reflexive morphology in Romanian reveals that *se* does not have an aspectual role in this language. Thus, it cannot be argued that *se* uniformly resides in the process head in *se*-marked inchoatives, a view that is also supported by degree achievements in Romanian.

Ultimately, the paper highlights the importance of comparative linguistics. On the one hand, the aspectual properties displayed by Italian inchoatives cannot be transferred to Romanian data, i.e. *se* cannot be held responsible for the telicity of verbs. On the other hand, the aspectual properties of Italian inchoatives have a bearing on crosslinguistic research showing that it is erroneous to associate (apparent) atelicity with unergativity.

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LINGUISTIC INNOVATIONS IN THE SWEDISH REFORMATION BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

Camelia Ștefan
University of Bucharest, Romania

ABSTRACT: The Protestant Reformation, with its religious and political consequences, was a powerful force behind the consolidation of the modern Swedish state. Thus, in the quest for national identity, the literary use of the Swedish language became more and more significant. Of great importance is the translation into Swedish of the New Testament, *NT* (1526) and Gustav Vasa's Bible, *GVB* (1541). Against this background, *Äldre Nysvenska* 'Early Modern Swedish' paves the way for the further establishment of Standard Swedish. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to account for the innovative linguistic features in the Swedish translations of the *NT* and *GVB*. The following aspects are taken into consideration: (i) the sociolinguistic contact situation during the Late Middle Ages and (ii) the linguistic implications of the new spelling conventions and the Latin and German influence on sentence and lexical structure. It is argued that the linguistic changes brought about by the Reformation translations of the Bible were a significant achievement in the development of the Swedish language in an attempt to "bring power and concentration to the Word of the Bible, now heard from the pulpits in the language of the country" (Stähle, 520).

KEYWORDS: Bible translation, Early Modern Swedish, Middle Low German, New Testament, Reformation.

Introduction

For 500 years, the ideas of the Protestant Reformation have reshaped not only the ecclesiastical world, but also the languages involved in the translation of the Bible, thus creating a basis for the development of the written national languages. Traditionally, the Protestant Reformation is considered to have begun on October 31st, 1517, with the publication of Martin Luther's "Ninety-five Theses" in Wittenberg. In Sweden, the spread of the Reformation ideas led to the dispossession of the Catholic Church and the consolidation of the Swedish national state under King Gustav Vasa (1496-1560).

The purpose of this study is to account for the influence of Middle Low German and High German in the translation of the New Testament (1526) and the Gustav Vasa Bible (1541) into the Swedish. The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 provides an overview of the political situation in Sweden prior to the Reformation. Section 2 describes the sociolinguistic profile of the Reformation with respect to the triglossic situation where Latin, Middle Low German (MLG), and Old Swedish were used in different contexts of formal and informal communication. Special emphasis is placed on the linguistic impact of MLG on Old Swedish, on the basis of the receptive mutual intelligibility between speakers of these languages. Section 3 examines the Bible translations into the Swedish

vernacular, pointing out the innovative structures that indicate language convergence. The conclusions are summarized in section 4.

1. The political context around the time of the Reformation

From June 17th 1397, the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden were joined in a personal union under the reign of one single monarch, in the so-called Kalmar Union (Kent, 31). While under the same monarchical rule, the languages and the provincial laws of each kingdom remained distinct, despite the fact that the Danish crown took over more and more of the political power. As a result, increasing discontent between Denmark and Sweden culminated in a bloody revolt following the coronation of Christian II of Denmark in Stockholm, in what is known as the “Stockholm Bloodbath” (Kent, 44), when 82 Swedish noblemen were beheaded by the Union loyalists. With the support of the Hanseatic League and the growing opposition towards the Danish king, Swedish nobleman Gustav Vasa and its troops succeed in defeating the Danes and expelled them. The decline of the Kalmar Union was imminent and Gustav Vasa was able to regain almost all of Sweden, except for southern province of Scania. The Swedish sovereign state reestablishes itself under the reign of the self-proclaimed King Gustav Vasa in 1523. Hence, the dissatisfaction with the Kalmar Union and the Catholic Church set the stage for a Swedish quest for national identity and territorial consolidation.

Against the backdrop of the Protestant Reformation, the election of King Gustav Vasa alienates Sweden from Catholic Europe. The establishment of the hereditary monarchy of the house of Vasa (1523-1668) straightens the position of the king in the development of the Swedish modern state. Discontent with the Catholic Church and Protestant echoes coming from Europe encouraged the king to seek greater economic and political power. Secularization of the Church property was an important act that undermined the power of the Church by confiscating and redistributing its vast properties to the benefit of the crown and the nobility. The meeting of the Council in the monastery of Västerås in 1527 proclaimed not only the establishment of the *Riksdag*¹ ‘Parliament’, but also the conversion to Protestantism and, subsequently, the adoption of Lutheranism as the state religion.

The leading figures promoting the Protestant movement in Sweden were Laurentius Andreae, the Archdeacon of Strängnäs, and the theologian Olaus Petri, who had been Luther’s student at the University of Wittenberg. A definitive rupture with Rome and the Pope took place in 1531 when the king, recently a widower, intended to remarry before a Lutheran bishop. Thus, the first Archbishop of Sweden to preach the doctrine of the Reformation was Laurentius Petri (1499-1552) who, like his brother, studied at Wittenberg under the teachings of Martin Luther. From this point on, the king proceeded to seize more of the Church’s

¹ The Swedish Diet was made up of the four estates of the realm, i.e. noblemen, clergymen, burghers, and peasants.

resources and, in 1540, was able to claim royal power by Divine Right, making it clear that the king was now the head of the Church.

2. Language contact situations prior to the Reformation

The Middle Ages see the rapid expansion of a powerful trading association of North German merchants in the Baltic region, namely the Hanseatic League. The guild started as a small union of merchants whose aim was to secure their commercial interests and trading routes against pirates across the North Sea. However, what Hansa sought was to expand its domination in the underdeveloped Scandinavia in order to achieve a hegemonic influence in the region (Braunmüller, “How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages” 57). From the central trading place of Lübeck, German craftsmen began to settle around the Swedish coastal towns and held a key role in the administrative structures in several towns and in their rapid economic prosperity. Visby, on the island of Gotland, became a thriving trading centre for cross-Baltic commerce, while the most numerous German settlements were in Stockholm and Kalmar, among other places. Moreover, there were also strong cultural ties through students of theology who would educate themselves at the newly established German universities.

The intense language contacts in the era of the Hanseatic League gave rise to a multilingual situation in the North, characterized by the interplay of three different languages in written and oral communication (Braunmüller, “Language contacts in the Late Middle Ages and in Early Modern Times” 1226).

- (i) Latin was predominantly written and used in formal communication, especially for legal documents and book-keeping. It acquired a prestigious status as it was widely used as the language of education and religious services.
- (ii) Low German was the main choice of language between German merchants and their Scandinavian partners in face-to-face communication. At the end of the 14th century, Low German replaced Latin as the written medium of communication for official purposes in the Baltic region
- (iii) The vernacular Scandinavian languages (Old Danish, Old Swedish) were used by the lower classes, in face-to-face and personal communication. After the full translation of the Bible into Swedish (1541) and Danish (1550), the vernaculars began to develop into standardized forms.

In the early Hanseatic period, the areas around the Baltic Sea were under Low German influence. A gradual change takes place after the Protestant Reformation (1517), when there was a co-existence of both Low German and Middle High German, the latter stemming from the regional varieties from southern and upper Germany on which Luther based his Bible translation. Nevertheless, Low German continued to be popular as a spoken language.

2.1. Middle Low German – Old Swedish language contact

Braunmüller notes the manifold status that Middle Low German acquired in the expansion of the Hanseatic League in Scandinavia (“How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages” 57):

- (i) A mediating language and later a *lingua franca*
- (ii) A prestigious language which gradually replaced Latin
- (iii) A model for the creation of new terms in languages for specific purposes
- (iv) A model for writing texts according to certain norms (especially in Bible translations)

The fact that Middle Low German and Swedish belong to the same Germanic family of languages suggests that, given the close genetic and typological relationships there must have existed a form of receptive multilingualism² so that German merchants and their Nordic interlocutors were able to understand each other by means of their mother tongue, without making use of an intermediate language. Thus, mutual understanding was ensured through direct communication, through a phenomenon which has also been called “semicommunication”:

this kind of (receptive) mutual intelligibility is not only based on more or less obvious linguistic similarities between the respective languages in contact, there must also exist a strong common will, high motivation and/or vital mutual interests in interacting with each other without using a foreign language. This special case of passive multilingualism works best in face-to-face situations and in purposeful (e.g. trading) communication. (Braunmüller “Language contacts in the Late Middle Ages and in Early Modern Times” 1224)

Bearing in mind the Germanic dialectal continuum stretching over large areas in Northern Europe and the receptive multilingualism in informal communication, it is possible to assess the linguistic contact Middle Low German and Old Swedish as a form of dialect contact, instead of contact between two standard languages. Since the two varieties could be freely intermixed without impeding communication, there was no need for imposing norms.

Typologically, the Scandinavian languages were already converging towards being more West Germanic than North Germanic. Some of the parallel syntactic patterns include (Braunmüller “Language contacts in the Late Middle Ages and in Early Modern Times”, 1230):

- (i) The position of the finite verb on the second place in main clauses (deviations from the V2 principle could appear in poetry where two objects could be placed before the finite verb)
- (ii) Word order similarity in the main clause and in the so-called nexus
- (iii) Largely free word order if subject or sentence adverbials are postposed

² This phenomenon is observable even today when Danes, Norwegians and Swedes generally address each other in their own mother tongues, without resorting to a mediating language.

- (iv) Final position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses, although the order of the sentence constituents was not yet fixed

The typological conversion of the Scandinavian languages towards West Germanic structural patterns proved to be the main precondition for the transition to High German, the language of the Reformation. The contact with High German ought not to be considered of a different nature, but rather a gradual shift from one variety of German to another, namely a “prolongation” (Braunmüller, “How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages” 67) of the earlier Low German influence. In contrast, the High German impact did not start with informal communication in trading activities, but with formal writings which contributed to the development of the Swedish national language.

The typological similarities facilitated the borrowing and integration of loanwords which had been introduced through Low German. On the other hand, the High German loans (including derivational affixes and calques) were significantly fewer and, more importantly, were used as “supplements” (Braunmüller, “How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages” 68) for obsolete Low German words or for newly coined terms in Luther’s Bible translation. In other words, “High German’s main role, beside its supplementary function, was to deliver a model for next norms in Swedish and Danish” (Braunmüller, “How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages” 68).

The most salient linguistic outcome appears on the lexical level and word formation processes of affixation (*an-*, *be-*, *för-*, *-het*, *-inna*, *-ska*, among other derivational affixes). A large number of content words were imported into specialized lexical domains. A study conducted by Norde et al. (2010) estimates as many as 39% Low German loans and 14.3% High German loans belonging to various semantic fields, in particular trade, administration and the military. Although the syntactic influence is less noticeable, the transfer of syntactic patterns in word order and the simplification of inflection in the transition from synthetic to analytic morphology can be traced back to the contact with Low German.

3. Biblical translations into Swedish

Throughout the Middle Ages, fairly many of the religious texts were written exclusively in Latin or comprised imitations of the Latin originals. The use of Old Swedish was already underway, starting with the publication of the oldest collections of provincial laws, the *Äldre Västgötalagen*, in Latin script and dated to ca. 1225. The increase in book-learning and literacy, in addition to the invention of printing demanded for a larger production of literature in Swedish such that, by Late Middle Ages, such texts had become even more accessible to the literate Swedish households.

The political and ecclesiastical changes proved to be an important trigger in the development of the standardized Swedish language and its delimitation from the other Scandinavian languages. The Svea dialect spoken around Lake Mälaren,

including Stockholm, established itself as the written standard. It was generally considered that the king and the royal court provided the linguistic norms, given that Stockholm was rapidly flourishing, both economically and culturally, such that it became the most prestigious spoken variety. As Larsson (1270) sums up, “society provided both the means for spreading a set of linguistic norms and a motivation for adhering to these norms [...] for people concerned about culture and building a nation”.

The 16th century Protestant movement paved the way for a linguistic reformation characterized by a return to the use of national languages. The translations of the New Testament (1526) and the so-called Gustav Vasa Bible (1541) provided the necessary means for the spreading of the linguistic norms and rules. The translation of the Bible into the language of the common folk, directly from Luther’s German translation, made it easier for the clerics to teach the doctrine of the Reformation. At the Diet session in Västerås in 1527 it was decided that the Bible should be the “pure Word of God” (Larsson, 1270), and that through the new art of printing it should reach all the parishes. According to Wollin (1207), “the aim was a complete, linguistically as well as politically adequate, Swedish Bible”.

Consequently, Swedish acquired a written national status that could distinguish it from Danish, and “bring power and concentration to the Word of the Bible, now heard from the pulpits in the language of the country” (Ståhle, 520). Liturgical books, religious songs and Mass services were now conducted in Swedish, whereas texts were read aloud. From a linguistic point of view, the Bible translations into Early Modern Swedish were strongly influenced syntactically and stylistically by the lexical contact with Middle Low German, while the heavy Latinate sentence structure was gradually replaced.

3.1. The language of the New Testament (1526)

The first achievement of the Swedish reformers was the translation of *Thet Nyia Testamentit på Swensko*, in 1526. The translation was in line both with the Latin Vulgate edition and Luther’s translation into High German. The *NT* was printed in 2000 copies, and even though no translator is named, it was probably a collaboration of several clergymen led by Olaus Petri and Archbishop Laurentius Andreae.

Sancti Matthei

Så äre alla ledberna i frå Abraham i till David siortan ledber / i frå David till thet Babiloniska fengilset / och siortan ledber / i frå Dabito niska fengilset i till Christum och siortan ledber.

Jesu Christi föddelse gick så til / när som Maria bane modber war troloffwat Joseph / födra än the kommo samman / sandz bon wara baff uandes aff thin belgha anda / Men effter Joseph war en fromer man / och wille icke berytta henne / ränkte han beemlighe osfuergeffua henne / När han thetta tänkte / sy / så oppenbaradhes honom i sompnen herrens engel och sadde / Joseph Davids son / rads icke tagha Mariam thin bustru till tigh / ty atz thet som är afladh i henne / thet är aff thin belgha anda / bon skal födda en son / och tw skal falla hans namn Jesum / ty han skal frelsa sitt folk frå theses synder.

Thetta är alt sket på thet arb fullbordadhs skulle thes aff berandz sagt är genom propheten / som sadde / Sy / en iomfrw skal wardha bassuandes / och födda en son / och the skola falla hans namn Emanuel / thes är så mytit sagt / guds medd off.

När Joseph wafnadhe vp aff sompnen / gjorde han som berandz en gel hadde bondz befalt / och roogh sina bustru till tigh / och * fende benze intir / + till thess bon födde sin son första barn / och kalladhe hans namn Jesum.

Annath Capitel

När Jesus war födder i Bethleem i Judee land / i Konig Herodis tidh / Sy / thå komo * wise men aff österlanden till Hierusalem / och sadde / hwar är Judas konungen som nyfödd Guder är? wij bassuom seet hans sterna i österlanden / och ärom konunge atz tilldöda honom / När Konig Herodes thet dödde / wart han bedödfuat och hela Hierusalems stad medd honom / och lät söjambla alla the offuersta prester och scriffälde jbland folke / och fråghade thin hwar Christus skulle föddas och the sadde bondz / i Bethleem i Judiske landit / ty thet är så scrifwit genom propheten / Och tw Bethleem i Judiske landit / tw äst ingalunda then minsta jbland Judas föster / thet wthaff tigh skal mitch söma then höffwismen som skal regera mit folk Israhel.

Thå kalladhe Herodes lönligha the wisa mennena till tigh / och föds spoodhe gräneligha aff thin buad tidh stiernan syntee / och sende thin så till Bethleem / och sadde / Saren tijt och förpörier gräneligha effter

* fende ic.
Thet är / han höfda
dhe henne intir eller ba
dde ingi fönligh sam
blending medd henne /
medd sådant sätt plä
ghar scriffit wettyrdia
thet ärendit / som i gä
bla testamentis mytit
finnes.
+ till thes ic.)
Ede så föstondandes
at han fende hene se
dhan bon födr hadde /
utan är meningen atz
bon födde een iomfrw
okend och oföskändt
aff Joseph.
* wise ic.)
Thet weno clofe mesta
re i naturligha konster /
sådana som man nu
kallar filosofos.

Luc. j.

Ma. vij.

Mathe. v.
Jo. vij.

Fig. 1. Facsimile from the digital edition

The General Preface explains the reason for the translation from Latin into Swedish (Santesson, 415):

- (1) *fatighe eenfäldughe prester som fögo latina kunna och oförfarne äro j scriffenne och teslikes andra christna menniskior som j book läsa kunna mågha här åt minsto haffua enfalleligha texten såsom han vthaff euangelisterna och apostlana scriffuen är*
'poor simple priests who knew little Latin and are inexperienced in the scriptures and other similar Christian people who can read books may here at least have the plain text as it was written by the Evangelists and Apostles'

In the spirit of the Lutheran model, the translation aimed at a popular and accessible style that could easily be understood by the common folk, yet it remained as close as possible to the original text. As the current vernacular was greatly influenced by Low German, a great number of MLG loans were present in the translation, although not interfering with the aim of building the national Swedish language. However, deliberate attempts were made in order to avoid Danicisms. An important delimitation from Danish was the introduction of the grapheme <å>, which is still in use in contemporary Swedish. In contrast, Danish and Norwegian continued to use the digraph <aa> until the middle of the twentieth century (Hellevik, 51). Another novelty was the introduction of the modern allographs <ä> and <ö>, previously in the form <a> and <o> with a dot placed to the upper right of the letter. The dot was now replaced by a small <e> written above the letter, <ä̇>, <ö̇>. Moreover, Danish spellings of the infinitive

endings in *-e* were replaced by spellings in *-a*. To a large extent, the regulations in orthography were of the greatest significance in the translation of the *NT*.

As far as morphosyntax is concerned, some unnatural constructions in Swedish could be attributed to the influence of the Latin version. This is manifested in the choice of heavy participial constructions and complex sentences, although not necessarily trying to emulate the original text. The word order is natural, even though the finite verb could appear in final position in subordinate relatives, after Low German model. The four-case system of noun declension had not been entirely lost, as opposed to the present bipartite system. The future was still paraphrased using the verb *varda* 'shall' instead of *bli* 'to become' < MLG *blīven* 'to become'.

On the lexical level, the translation preserved its native stock of religious terms and concepts. However, loanwords of MLG origin were also found, due to the strong German presence in the urban settlements. The loans were either directly adopted or were coined calques after MLG model:

- (2) *barmhärtig* 'merciful' < MLG *barmhertich*; *förbarma sig* 'have mercy' < MLG *sik vorbarmen*; *betyga* 'certify' < MLG *betugen*; *lärjunge* 'disciple' < MLG *lerjunge*; *rättfärdighet* < MLG *rechtverdictheit*

3.2. The language of the Gustav Vasa Bible (1541)

The first translation of the whole Bible, *Biblia, Thet är all then Helgha Scriftt på Swensko*, led by the Archbishop Laurentius Petri and several clergymen, was based on Luther's complete Bible (1534), which is referenced in the foreword as the authoritative model. The translation established a national language and served as a linguistic standard for many centuries, until a modern translation appeared in 1917. Charles XII Bible translation issued in 1703 was a revision of *GVB* with minor corrections and modernized spelling. According to Wessen (quoted in Warne, 62), the *GVB* "has exercised greater influence on written Swedish than any other book in our literature".

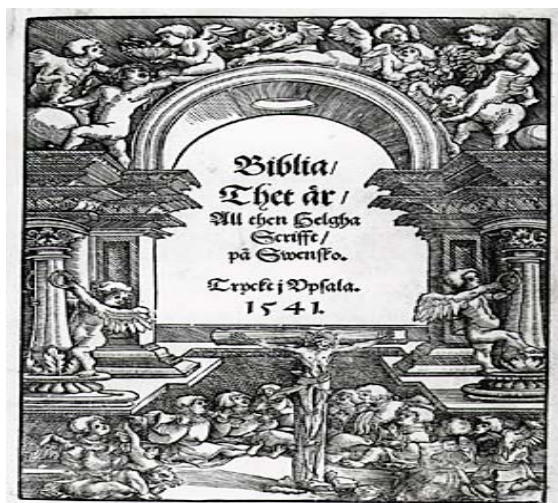


Fig. 2. *The Gustav Vasa Bible* (Commons Wikimedia)

As opposed to the translation of the New Testament, the *GVB* favoured a lofty and solemn style, with archaic forms and inflectional patterns. Sthåle (35) remarks that “it is not spoken language but a language suitable for being spoken, listened to, and remembered”. The Reformers’ “aspiration for unity” (Santesson, 417) is evident from the choice of words, characterized by conservative vocabulary and a rejection of Danish and LG loanwords in order to preserve its Swedish character. However, the elimination of loans should not be considered a case of puristic ideology as in the 19th century.

As in the *NT*, there is clear divergence from Danish through Swedish orthographical norms. Long vowels were represented as double to mark length:

- (3) *book* ‘book’, *hoop* ‘hope’, *saak* ‘thing’

Consonants were written with a single consonant letter in monosyllabic unstressed words, despite the preceding short vowel:

- (4) *at* ‘to’ (infinitive), *skal* ‘shall’, *til* ‘to’

The old adjectival endings *-ogh* and *-ugh*, e.g. are replaced by *-igh*, after the MLG pattern:

- (5) *ewogh* ‘eternal’ becomes *ewigh* ‘eternal’

Postvocalic <dh> and <gh> equivalent to a fricative pronunciation of /g/ and /d/. Spelling starts to stabilize, pronouns acquire one spelling form:

- (6) *migh* ‘me’ instead of *mig*, *mik*, *mic*, *mich*, *mech*

Even though the vocabulary is described as old-fashioned and in spite of the tendency to replace the loanwords in the *NT* with native terms, some slight MLG influence is present on the lexical level. A few cases of MLG loanwords are noticed:

- (7) *macht* ‘power’; *ordning* ‘order’; *stand* ‘social class’

MLG loanwords could replace native words:

- (8) *begynna*, *förgäta*, *ansikte* instead of *börja* ‘begin’, *glömma* ‘forget’, *anlete* ‘face’

Words of MLG origin were preserved:

- (9) *barmhertigh* ‘merciful’; *fremling* ‘stranger’; *nemligha* ‘namely’; *rettferdigh* ‘righteous’; *resenär* ‘traveller’; *stum* ‘dumb’; *saligh* ‘blessed’

MLG prefixes (e.g. *be-*, *för-*) were discarded:

- (10) MLG *beläglichheet* > *läghligheet* ‘circumstance’; MLG *beskicka* > *skicka* ‘send’

The imported MLG verb *moste* ‘must’ is preferred instead of *motte* ‘must’ (past form of *må* ‘may’)

On the morphological and syntactic levels, the archaizing word inflection adds to the dignified style of the *GVB*. As Wollin (1211) points out, “morphologically, the language policy reflected in the 1541 Bible is a complicated, partly contradictory one, being neither simply archaizing nor entirely modern. Suffice it to say that both systems of nominal inflection were used side by side, in a rather elusive pattern”. On the other hand, the sentence structure became less complex than in the *NT*. Heavy Latin participial constructions are avoided or replaced with simple finites:

- (11) *thet baar frucht som vpgick och wexte*
‘it bore fruit that went up and grew’

The word order is naturally Swedish, although the verb could be placed last in subordinate clauses. The simplified sentence structure implies fewer subordinates, which result in an interplay of old and modern linguistic tendencies.

Nominals in *-ande* and sometimes those in *-heet* were shortened via deletion of these suffixes:

(12) *ropande* > *roop* ‘call’; *högheet* > *högd* ‘height’

Danish infinitival and preterit forms in *-e* common in official texts and dialects are avoided:

- (13) a. Dan. *vddriffue* vs Swe. *driffwa vth* ‘cast out’
 b. Dan. *kallede* vs Swe. *kalladhe* ‘called’

Some prepositions and complementizers were shortened:

(14) *vppå* > *på* ‘on’; *vthaff* > *aff* ‘of’; *vthoffuer* > *offuer* ‘besides’

The future is paraphrased with the *skola* ‘shall’ + infinitive construction:

- (15) *Genom mitt namn skola the vthdriffua diefflar*
 ‘In my name shall they cast out devils’

Note also the slight differences between the *NT* (16a) and the *GVB* (16b), in the spelling of loans from MLG:

- (16) a. *Och kalladhe han sina tolf läryungar till sigh och gaff them makt offuer the fwla Andar at the skulle driffwa them vth och bota alla handa siwkdom och allahanda kranckheet*
 b. *Och han kalladhe sina tolf Läriungar til sigh och gaff them macht offuer the orena Andar at the skulle driffua them vth och bota allahanda siwkdom och allahanda kranckheet*
 ‘And when he had called onto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease’

4. Conclusions

The 16th century Protestant movement led by German theologian Martin Luther paved the way not only for a religious reformation, but also for a Scandinavian linguistic reformation characterized by a return to the use of national languages. Consequently, the authorized translation and dissemination of the New Testament and the Gustav Vasa Bible was the first step in the uniformization and standardization of the Swedish national language. Moreover, the revolutionizing printing press regularized spelling variations through the establishment and spread of orthographic norms.

The sociolinguistic profile of the contact situation around the time of the Reformation is one of receptive bilingualism/semicomunication between speakers of Low German and Old Swedish who could understand themselves in their mother tongues without being necessarily bilingual. The lexical system was

enriched by the influx of Middle Low German and later High German borrowings, whereas the structural system was moderately affected by Latinate and Low German patterns in the syntax of subordination.

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