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FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE 2012

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ON ANGLOPHONE STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 5–6, 2012

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Note	9
---------------------	---

Gregory Jason Bell, Katarína Nemčoková, Bartosz Wójcik

LINGUISTICS

Subjects in English and Czech.....	13
------------------------------------	----

Ludmila Veselovská

Primary vs. Secondary Vocabulary	37
--	----

Joseph E. Emonds

The Pragmatics of Politeness: Taking a Critical Stance in Academic Digital Discourse	57
---	----

Gabriela Mišíšková

Expressing Support and Encouragement in Online Discussions	73
--	----

Šárka Ježková

Dis-articulating the Welfare State: Denotation of Welfare and Welfare State in British Conservative Press	83
--	----

Małgorzata Paprota

An Ideological Square of the “First World” Versus the “Third World” in Newspaper Discourse: A Case Study of the 2010 Haiti Earthquake	95
--	----

Dita Trčková

Can We Trust Them? A Discourse Analysis of British Newspaper Headlines	103
--	-----

Barbora Blažková

The Function of Reported Language and Narration in the Headlines of Hard News	113
--	-----

Zuzana Urbanová

Heteroglossic Intertextuality as a Discourse Strategy.....	125
--	-----

Katarína Nemčoková

The Interplay of Text and Image in Comics: A Linguistic Interpretation of Will Eisner's <i>A Contract with God</i>	135
<i>Petr Vinklár</i>	

Complications with English in Military-Oriented Coalitions	145
<i>Ladislav Chaloupský, Christopher McKeating, Lenka Drábková</i>	

LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

The Chosen and the Choice: Race, Religion, and the 2012 U.S. Presidential Campaign	159
<i>Jeff Smith</i>	

The Poet as a Walt Whitman of Contemporary American Culture: On "The Bob Hope Poem" by Campbell McGrath	179
<i>Jiří Flajšar</i>	

Modern Acts of Passing: How Stereotypes and "Othering" Make African American Women Yearn for "Lightness" in the Twenty-first Century	187
<i>Simone Puff</i>	

Socioeconomic Developments in the Tampa Bay Area during Reconstruction	199
<i>Gregory Jason Bell</i>	

The House of the Head Versus the House of the Heart in James Fenimore Cooper's <i>The Pioneers</i>	213
<i>Michal Peprník</i>	

The Performative Autobiography of Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas	221
<i>Michaela Weiss</i>	

James Purdy's <i>The Nephew</i> – A Gay Novel without Gay Characters: A Few Remarks on the Use of Thematic Criticism	229
<i>Roman Trušík</i>	

A Voice from the Past: The Legacy of Family History in Rebecca Goldstein's <i>Mazel</i>	235
<i>Stanislav Kolář</i>	

Killing Kings in Canada: The Role of Community in William Dempsey Valgardson's "Bloodflowers"	245
<i>Vladimíra Fonfárová</i>	
The Moral Failure of the Mentor-Lover in Jane Austen's <i>Northanger Abbey</i> and <i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	253
<i>Emma Jelínková</i>	
"What the Patriots Feel": Virginia Woolf's Rethinking of War	261
<i>Věra Eliášová</i>	
Transnationality in Zadie Smith's <i>White Teeth</i>	269
<i>Hana Waisserová</i>	
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> : The Deconstruction of Romance, or a "Prefab Story"	279
<i>Ivona Mišterová</i>	
The Phenomenon of Silence in the Postdramatic Oeuvre of Forced Entertainment in Theory and Practice	289
<i>Jan Suk, Olga Neprašová</i>	
"Are Not Witches Always Old and Poor?": The Theory and Practice of Witchcraft in Joanna Baillie's <i>Witchcraft</i>	303
<i>Eva Čoupková</i>	
Country, City and in Between: Constructing Space in Twentieth-Century Scottish Fiction	309
<i>Markéta Gregorová</i>	
Jamaica Revisited: Slave Narrative in Andrea Levy's <i>The Long Song</i>	315
<i>Pavčina Flajšarová</i>	
Too Much, Too Often? The Glass Ceiling of Dub Poetry in Benjamin Zephaniah's <i>Too Black, Too Strong</i>	323
<i>Bartosz Wójcik</i>	
Czech Translations of Old and Middle English Poetry	333
<i>Bohuslav Mánek</i>	

EDITORS' NOTE

GREGORY JASON BELL, KATARÍNA NEMČOKOVÁ, BARTOSZ WÓJCIK

The present volume, the fourth in the *Zlín Proceedings in Humanities* book series, contains selected papers from “From Theory to Practice 2012: The Fourth International Conference on Anglophone Studies,” hosted on September 5–6, 2012, by the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic.

Organizational development, our conference being no exception, often mirrors human development. From this perspective, the conference went through an adolescent stage, during which it was developing an identity and trying to find a place for itself within the academic world. Now however, the conference is well established and basking in its maturity, with a settled name and scope, and a specific academic niche to fill. Successfully building on past relationships, both at home and abroad, and continuing to establish new ones, should enable our conference to continue to thrive.

Changes are inevitable, and we have experienced several this year. First and foremost, Roman Trušník has advanced to the position of book series editor, opening the door for Polish scholar Bartosz Wójcik to join our staff as editor of the literature section. Trušník's expert guidance is much needed in his current capacity and helps us to maintain the high standards established in the previous volumes of the series.

While the conference itself hosted scholars from throughout Europe, ultimately only papers by academics affiliated with institutions in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Germany found their way into the proceedings. Yet, a significant number of these academics are actually American or Slovak. The present volume thus provides convincing evidence of another developing trend: Central European scholarship is becoming internationalized and highly competitive.

Not everything has changed. As in the past, we have been pleased to see articles from our previous three volumes cited in other scholarly publications. Also, as previously, this volume is published as a print volume and distributed primarily to libraries, both in the Czech Republic and abroad, while being simultaneously released in PDF format on the Internet (<http://conference.uaa.utb.cz/tp2012>) for easy indexing, searching, and sharing among scholars worldwide. While we stick to the book format and use ISBNs for individual volumes, for the convenience of libraries, we now also have an ISSN for the whole series. Otherwise, the form and format of the proceedings remain faithful to what worked best in the past. The volume is divided into two sections: linguistics in the broadest use of the term, and literature and cultural studies. We also adhered to both formats defined in the current edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*: papers on linguistics are in the author-date format, while papers on literature and cultural studies make use of footnotes. For electronic sources, we continue to give access dates only in cases when we were unable to verify the sources in July 2013.

The conference and subsequent proceedings would not have reached its current level of maturity without the help and guidance of many. We wish to thank all of the participants, organizers, reviewers, and many others whose efforts made our fourth annual conference not only a reality but a great success. Our thanks are also extended to the rector of Tomas Bata University in Zlín, to the dean of the Faculty of Humanities, and to the Zlín Region for their continued support.

LINGUISTICS

SUBJECTS IN ENGLISH AND CZECH

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ABSTRACT: The prototypical traditional concept of Subject embraces a cluster of properties including semantic and pragmatic interpretations, specific format (Case, Concord, etc.), structural and / or linear position, etc. Comparing Subjects cross language, however, shows both similarity and diversity in the above characteristics, which undermines a claim about the universal nature of the phenomena. This paper will demonstrate that the traditional concept of Subject is not a primitive category but a cover term, which collapses several arguably distinct and independent phenomena, all of which should be and have been discussed and analysed separately. The study will argue that terminological clarity allows us to explain some distinctions between Czech and English.

KEYWORDS: English Subject; Czech Subject; semantic roles; theme; Nominative Case; Agreement

1. WHAT IS A SUBJECT?

Although not all native speakers of English are familiar with the term 'Subject', the same is not yet true of Czech students. By age ten, most Czech pupils are familiar with the label and can apply it (i.e., they can find Subjects of most standard sentences) with an accuracy which is in fact rather surprising, given the vagueness and often even inaccuracy of the definition of the term. The pupils' recognition can only be based on their linguistic intuitions, and the easiness of finding a Subject of most clauses suggests that although it is a theoretical construct, it must be related to something really present in a language structure.

In the following paper, I will revise the traditional concept of the prototypical Subject, to show that it covers a cluster of properties including semantic and pragmatic interpretations, specific format (Case, Concord), structural and / or linear position, etc. I will argue that the traditional concept of Subject is not a primitive category but an umbrella label that collapses several distinct phenomena (belonging to distinct linguistic fields), all of which have been properly discussed and analysed separately. It will demonstrate how terminological clarity and dissociation of those characteristics of Subjects to (i) those which are truly independent and (ii) those which are only epiphenomenal correlations, help us to discuss and explain some distinctions between Czech and English.

1.1 CATEGORIES VS. RELATIONS

Let's first consider the label 'Subject' itself with respect to more general characteristics of that kind of term. Consider the examples in (1) with respect to the distinction between the words *woman* / *Czech citizen* on one side and *mother* / *widow* on the other.

- (1) a. *Mary is a **woman**. Mary is a **Czech citizen**.*
 b. *Mary is a **mother**. Mary is a **widow**.*

The respective sentences in (1) are true if

- a. – *Mary* (herself) has a genetic endowment comprising XX (etc.)
 – *Mary* (herself) has a Czech passport (speaks the language, etc.)
 b. – there is a child whose mother is *Mary*
 – there was a spouse who *Mary* had married who died during the marriage

The contrast between (1a) and (1b) demonstrates the distinction between a label denoting specific properties of an independent individual ENTITY, i.e., (1a), and between a RELATIONAL term, a label denoting a relation (function) between several individual entities which are defined with respect to each other, i.e., (1b).

The same distinction can be found in the two main traditional terms used in grammar. Consider the following examples in (2), assuming *Cairo* is a name of a dog.

- (2) a. [_{Noun} *Cairo*] *saw a cat*.
 b. *The cat saw* [_{Noun} *Cairo*]

As the subscript suggests, the lexical entry *Cairo* can be labeled with respect to its category (part of speech) as a NOUN in both (2a) and (2b) above, because its Noun-hood is based on the fact that *Cairo* denotes the same entity (and the sentences use the same kind of lexical entry). On the other hand, as for the syntagmatic label, *Cairo* is a sentence member of SUBJECT in (2a) only, because the Subject-hood of *Cairo* does not derive from the fact that it is a dog, i.e., from the entity itself, but from some other factors – namely from the relation of this constituent to another constituent, here to the verb *saw*. As for the interpretation, only in (2a) can we say that the dog called *Cairo* is the one that *sees* something. In (2b), *Cairo* is the one who is *seen*, and the syntagmatic label would be Object.

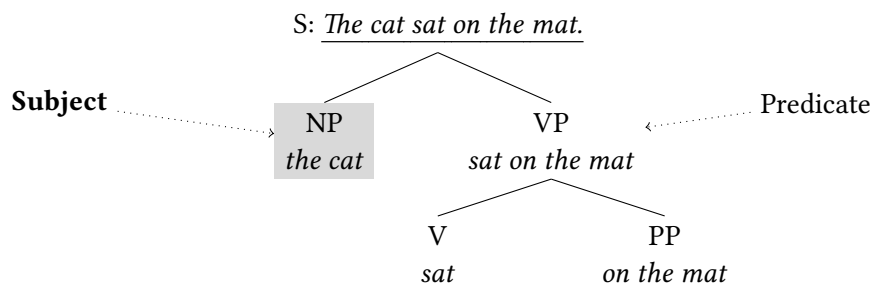
The above example illustrates that PARTS OF SPEECH (e.g., Nouns) are categorial labels – i.e., they classify a lexical expression itself – on the paradigmatic (vertical) scale of a language system. The relevant property of the SENTENCE MEMBER taxonomy (e.g., Subjects) are syntagmatic (horizontal) relations. Sentence members do not exist independently, outside of specific concrete linguistic structure/context, i.e., they are/have grammatical functions, relating a given constituent to some other element present in the sentence. Moreover, the number of such relations is not infinite in a given language. It is in fact very restricted and similar even cross-languages. To know how to label correctly (i.e., meaningfully) the specific relations (and constituents participating on them) requires some analysis of the clausal structure and some knowledge of which language specific signals show individual relations within the structure.

1.2 SUBJECTS IN FORMAL GRAMMATICAL THEORY

The traditional label of the function of Subject can be traced back to Aristotle and has always been associated with the concept of Predicate (i.e., Subject is something related to the Predicate). The term has been analyzed with respect to both its meaning / interpretation and its format.¹

In more modern grammar the term Subject is used above all for the cluster of FORMAL attributes, the list of which depends on authors and their preferences. In structural frameworks, which describe a sentence as a kind of structure represented by a linear or projecting diagram or a tree, the term Subject is used to label an element in a specific POSITION of such a clausal diagram / tree. The following, (3), is a traditional structuralist tree resulting from the immediate constituent analysis used widely since the middle of the twentieth century. Subject (the NP *the cat* on the left) is the element related to Predicate, forming together a simple clause / sentence.

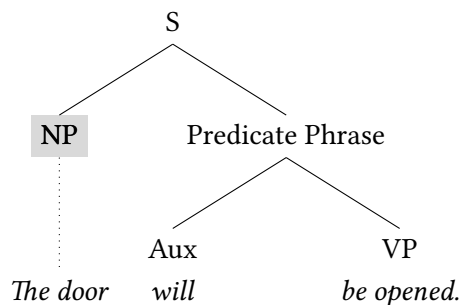
(3) Immediate Constituent Analysis



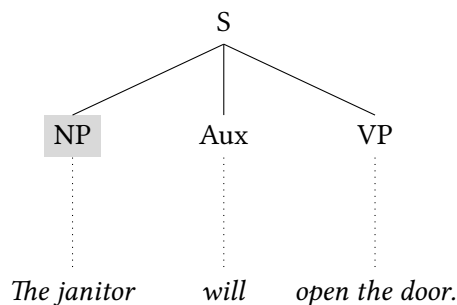
Very similar (as far as Subjects go) were the first trees used in the early generative grammar – (4) is taken from Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957). The author defines Subject as any constituent (prototypically NP) located in a given POSITION. He also states that when some syntactic process targets Subjects, it targets this position.

1. Typological surveys provide generalisations and tendencies considering a large range of languages using a rather representative traditional terminology. E.g., Keenan (1976, Chapter 1.3.2), discusses 36 properties which he attributes to 'Subjects' – though all of them are at best one way implications. Students' manuals are usually more language specific and remain vague. Subject is defined as e.g., 'who or what the sentence / utterance is (primarily) about' (Aarts 2001, 8; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 235; Biber et al. 1999, 127; Quirk et al. 1985, 726, etc.). Also, the Internet provides many definitions which are both vague and easily falsifiable, as e.g., 'the Subject of a sentence typically (i) occurs at the beginning of the sentence (position), (ii) consists of a noun phrase (form), and (iii) indicates the topic of the discussion (meaning)' (Kurland 2000). See also the footnote 11.

(4) a. Chomsky (1957, 108)



b. Chomsky (1957, 86)



The following, (5), are notorious examples from Chomsky (1957, 1965), which were used to explicitly argue that in spite of the fact that the constituents in the position of Subjects (*the janitor*, *the wind*, *the door*) do have their meanings, the position of Subject itself is clearly *not* related to any fixed interpretation.

- (5) a. The janitor / The wind will open the door.
 b. The door will be opened (by the janitor / with this key).
 c. The door will open. (*by the janitor).

Many linguists (including those who subscribed to formal frameworks) felt, however, that the purely structural approach to Subject (as a position) neglects a trivial fact that Subjects' interpretations are standardized and predictable to a level much higher than random. Attempts were therefore made to systemize, correlate and predict the interpretation and form of Subjects. The most representative and influential in the field was the study by Charles Fillmore, "Toward a Modern Theory of Case" (1968).

Fillmore (1968) proposed that in a semantic component of a language each predicate (e.g., Verb) co-occurs with a list of specific participants. He called those participants GENERALISED SEMANTIC ROLES and related them to Cases (using the labels like Agent / Actor, Patient, Goal, etc.). In such a way, Fillmore conceptually separated the interpretation of constituents (Cases) from the sentence member structural taxonomy. The separate terminology is exemplified in (6) together with their labels.²

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| | function | meaning |
| | = position in a tree | = generalised semantic role |
| | | ↓ |
| (6) a. | [_{NP} John] broke a vase. | (John = Subject + Agent) |
| b. | [_{NP} The vase] was broken by John. | (the vase = Subject + Patient) |

2. Fillmore (1968) proposes that the interpretation of the Cases (= for him "semantic roles," e.g., Agent, Patient, Goal) is based on the meaning of (i) individual predicate and (ii) of the prepositions (which are integral parts of all nouns), stressing the latter ("an analysis of syntactic functions in English requires a general account of the role of prepositions," (Fillmore 1968, 364)). The idea of relating prepositions to Cases (i.e., meaning) is still alive, as e.g., the discussion in Asbury (2008) shows.

For Fillmore, the clausal structure (the tree) in (6b) is a primitive root construction, and (6a) results from the process of ‘SUBJECT SELECTION RULE’ demonstrated in (7).

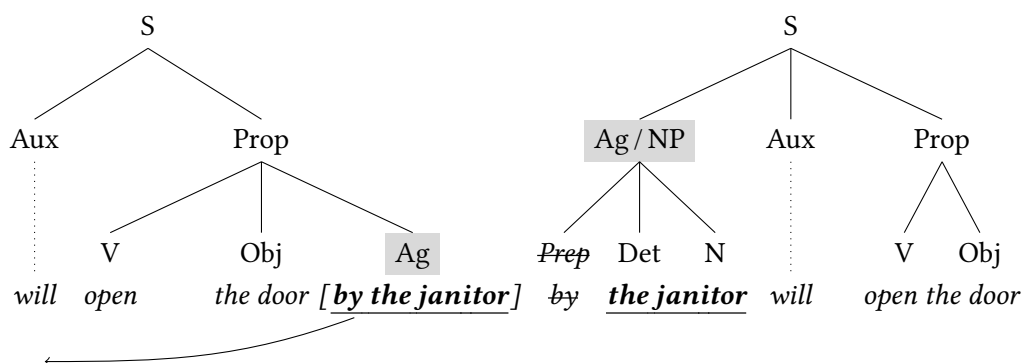
In (7a) on the left, the Predicate is generated together with its Arguments (Participants, Cases, here Ag: Agent) from which only one is selected to become Subject. The tree on the right in (7b) demonstrates the surface structure (after the Subject has been selected and removed) when another transformation ‘PREPOSITION DELETION’ applies.

(7) Fillmore (1968, 368)

(a) Subject Selection Rule

= selecting a constituent to become a Subject

(b) Preposition Deletion



According to Fillmore, formal attributes of Subjects (e.g., morphological case and Concord) are a result of the processes in (7) and of the resulting structure – “Nominative . . . constitutes a case neutralisation that affects noun phrases that have been made the subject of the sentence” (1968, 375).

In a later but equally interesting paper, “The Case for Case Reopened” (1977), Fillmore did not develop further the idea about the role of prepositions, but he concentrated on the standard correlation (but non-identity) between the Agent interpretation and structural Subject-hood. He proposed the existence of three independent hierarchies which are matched by transformational processes. First, Fillmore (1977) considers a discourse-specific aspect of foregrounding, claiming that “meanings are relativized to scenes.” Based on a subjective foregrounding, he proposes the existence of

(8) FILLMORE’S HIERARCHIES

- a. A discourse SALIENCE hierarchy is translated into
- b. a plausibly universal (deep) CASE / semantic hierarchy, and that is assigned to a
- c. grammatical FUNCTIONS hierarchy.³

3. “Any particular verb or other predicating word assumes, in each use, a given perspective. The grammatical functions of the nominals that represent the entities that are put into perspective are determined in part

Although the terminology may change and not all frameworks refer back to Fillmore, the three hierarchies mentioned in (8) are still a succinct way to define the separate phenomena which are involved in a traditional descriptive framework when the characteristics of individual sentence members (esp. Subjects) are discussed and listed.

1.2.1 TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR (PRINCIPLES AND PARAMETERS, MINIMALISM)

In the 1971 study by Stephen Anderson, “On the Role of Deep Structure in Semantic Interpretation,” the author discusses in detail (on the ground of simplicity of the semantic component and citing Chomsky, 1965, Ch. 3) that there are DEEP LEVEL ‘Subjects’ which are elements carrying the semantic interpretation (e.g., Agent, Patient) and SURFACE LEVEL ‘Subjects’ which are related to the position. Anderson uses the label ‘Subject’ for both of them, which did not help the clarification of terminology, but the dissociation of the form (position) and meaning / interpretation of sentence members is made explicit and is expressed in terms of stages of derivation. In other words, the meaning of a “Subject” is related to the base generated (deep) position, while the form depends on the surface position.

Later development of formal syntax in a transformational generative framework went through a strictly modular phase (Government and Binding, e.g., Chomsky (1986) *Barriers*), which discussed the concept of Subject within several separate ‘modules’:

Relevant aspects of interpretation (of the sentence members) were discussed within the THETA THEORY, the module which dealt in detail with the nature (and universal varieties) and distribution of *semantic* arguments. Theta Roles (labeled as Θ and numbered A1, A2, A3) are more or less what Fillmore called generalised semantic participants / roles / Cases. The later principle of ‘Theta Criterion’ required that each Argument bears one and only one Θ Role and each Θ Role is assigned to one and only one Argument.⁴

Another module, the CASE THEORY concentrated on the *format* of Nouns and the processes required for licensing the interpretation of Arguments. It assumed that each Theta Role must be made transparent / interpretable, and the way to do it is to give each Noun an abstract Case (which in some languages becomes morphologically realised). The so called ‘Case Filter’ of Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980) required every lexicalized DP / NP to have a Case.

And finally, a separate module of X-BAR THEORY described the universal phrasal (clausal) format of the *structure* which provided positions for individual sentence members. In this structure the Subjects are located in Specifiers (SPECs) of distinct

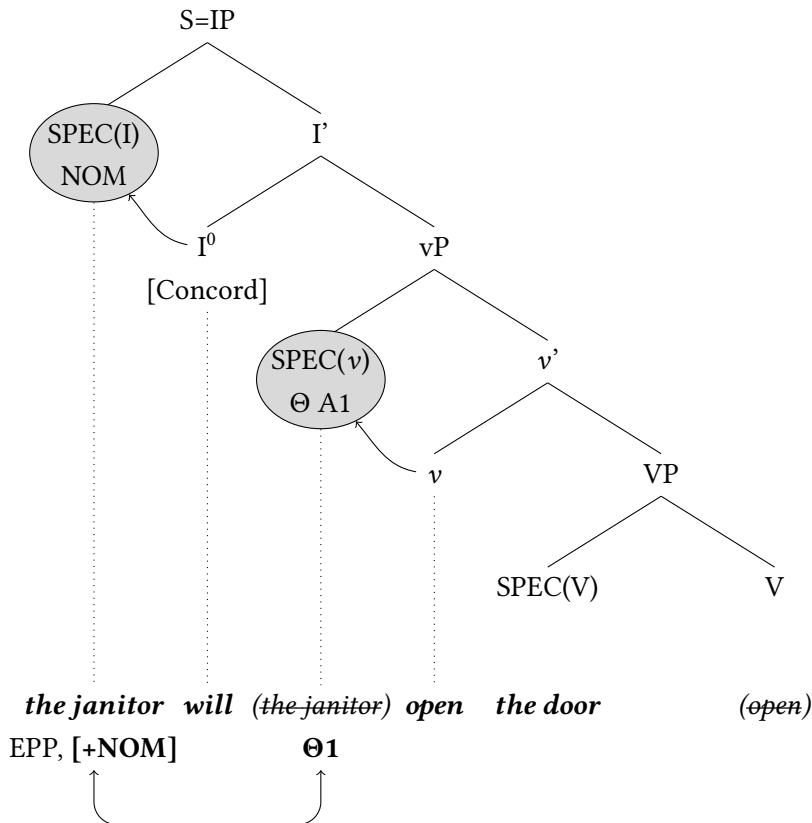
by something like a deep Case hierarchy. Other parts of the associated scene can be introduced with prepositional phrases. . .” (Fillmore 1977, 74).

4. For more discussion of Fillmore’s Cases and semantic / Argument / Theta roles, see Jackendoff (1972) and Chomsky (1972). More up to date theory can be found in above all Baker’s (1988) Universal Theta Role Assigning Hypothesis (UTAH). See also Grimshaw’s (1990) distinction between semantic and thematic roles, and Jackendoff (1990) or Hale and Keyser (2002) for an extensive discussion of the possible variety and nature of thematic roles. For an alternative to the theta role assigning process, see, e.g., Koopman (1994).

heads, and a special ‘Extended Projection principle’ (EPP) required each sentence to have a Subject.⁵

The Minimalistic phase of generative grammar (starting with Chomsky, 1995) accepted an even simpler format of phrasal projections and aimed at more general transformation rules. In Minimalism, transformations are based on specific features of the lexical entries, and they are evaluated with regard to several notions of economy. Though no analysis is yet taken for final, the following represents current standard concepts. The scheme in (9) can be used to explain the correlation of characteristics related to individual Subjects using the terminology covering the last decades’ standards.⁶

(9)



In (9) can be seen a universal verbal/clausal projection with a specific position designated for the interpretation, i.e., the ‘deep level Subject’ = Θ A1 / Agent (the lower,

5. For the X-bar format see Chomsky (1986). With respect to Subjects see Stowell (1981, 1983), Fukui and Speas (1986), or Koopman and Sportiche (1991). For a discussion in the Minimalistic framework see Chomsky (1995) or more lately a rather radical but inspiring concept of the nature of Case introduced in Pesetsky and Torrego (2000, 2004).

6. The tree is a minimal standard variety used in most grammar manuals, see, e.g., Haegeman and Guéron (1999) for English.

right grey circle in the scheme) and the position of the ‘surface level Subject’ – i.e., formal clausal Subject (the higher, left grey circle in the scheme).

The scheme above respects the fact that both the concepts of Subject are relational. Therefore, compared with (4) and (7) above, the domain of semantics (lower) and the surface form (upper) are separated not only with respect to their assumed positions but above all with respect to the heads, which are parts of the relevant (‘Subject’) relation. As for the semantics, the Theta role Θ A1 is defined with respect to a verbal head v/V (lower arrow in (9)). The concept captures the fact that it is an individual lexical entry (verb) that selects its Arguments (assigns the Theta roles). The cannonic, most common interpretation of Subjects, i.e., $\Theta = A1$ (with most verbs it is an Agent) is then a role assigned precisely to the SPEC(v).

On the other hand, the formal properties of formal Subjects (the elements marked with a special format – Case, Concord, etc.) are defined as a relation with respect to a functional (verbal) head I (upper left arrow in (9)). The head I represents a finite clausal projection and SPEC(I) is a landing site of a transformation triggered by the properties of the I head (depending on the Mood characteristics of a clause). There is no a priori reason why the element generated in SPEC(v), i.e., Θ A1 (\approx Agent), had to move to the position in SPEC(I). It happens only because the two positions are CLOSE enough, and economy of derivation considers the distance of a movement as a relevant factor.

Thus, in (9), the surface position of the formal Subject and the Interpretation of the element which occupies it are kept clearly *dissociated*: The INTERPRETATION (semantic / Theta roles, Θ) of Subjects is related to a base generated position with regard to the lexical Verb, and the FORMAL properties of Subjects (Case, Agreement) are related to the surface position(s) defined with regard to the functional head I. The frequent (“unmarked / standard / cannonic”) correlation between Agents and Subjects is explained by accidental locality: SPEC(v) is the position CLOSEST to SPEC(I) in a tree like (9).

Appropriate dissociation of phenomena with regard to the relevant positions allows us to also analyse sentences where more factors must be taken into account. Consider the constituent *Who* in (10) below:

- (10) a. **Who** do you think will help Mary tomorrow?
 b. **Who** do you think will be helped by Mary?

The bracketing and subscripts in (11) below analyse (10) in terms of the previous discussion. Notice that the semantic Θ role position (A) is separate not only from (B), i.e., the Subject position (Case marked in English, with agreement) but also from the very initial (C) surface position required by the interrogative morpheme(s) [+WH]. The bold arrow marks the first step in derivation (from A to B) which in both (11) results in the filling of the formal Subject position, i.e., of SPEC(I), marked with a grey frame in the scheme below.

- (11) a. [_{CP} **Who** do [_{IP} you think [_{IP} *who* will [_{VP} *who* help to Mary tomorrow?

C:[+WH]

B:[+NOM]

A:[Θ1=Agent]

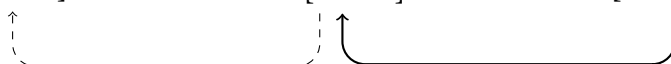


- b. [_{CP} **Who** do [_{IP} you think [_{IP} *who* will [_{VP} – be helped *who* by Mary?

C:[+WH]

B:[+NOM]

A:[Θ2=Patient]



The distinction in interpretation between (11a) and (11b) can be explained because the initial, base, semantic, Theta position of the *Who* is distinct. Notice that in case SPEC(v) is not filled, which is true in passive structures as in (11b), the Θ role position (A) of a structural Object (\approx Patient) becomes the position closest to SPEC(I), and therefore \approx Patient becomes a formal Subject of a passive clause. The two options in (11) support the claim that the position of formal Subject is blind to interpretation but sensitive to the locality restrictions, i.e., economy.

1.2.2 FUNCTIONAL AND VALENCY FRAMEWORKS

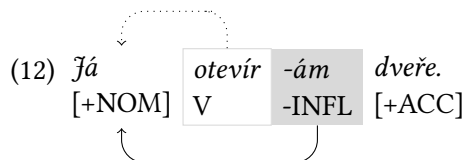
The conceptual dissociation between form and interpretation of sentence members is systematically accepted also in the functional framework applied to Czech since the second half of the twentieth century. The (two-level) VALENCY SYNTAX is an approach based on the studies by Mathesius (e.g., 1947), i.e., the author representing the Prague School FUNCTIONAL framework. Mathesius understands the clause as a realisation of an abstract pattern / structure (a semantic and a grammatical structure). In his framework,⁷ Subject is a part of a clausal structure, a left-side valency position, and the elements located in this position. Subject is a hierarchically top position, which is usually occupied by the most prominent semantic arguments of a given verb.

Apart from its interpretation, which is stated and described for Subjects in detail for various kinds of sentences (though with no attempt to explain the distribution), the left-side valency position is also related to a specific (language specific) form, i.e., morphology – Case and Concord in most Indo-European. Thus, in a traditional valency framework both the interpretation and form of Subjects are related to the same element, namely a Verb (predicate).

However, in a more recent version of the framework (see Karlík 2000), the formal (morphological) properties of a Subject are, instead to the verb itself, related to the FINITENESS of the verb, not to the verbal stem. This concept it demonstrated in (12)

7. See Daneš (1968); Daneš, Grepl and Hlavsa (1987); Bauer and Grepl (1972) or Grepl and Karlík (1998). An interpretation of Subjects in another kind of functional framework can be found in e.g., Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

where it is the finite “INFL(ection)” element / morpheme (bold arrow) which licenses Nominative Case on Subject. The lexical stem V (dotted arrow) is responsible (a) for the interpretation of all verbal arguments, including Agent and Patient and (b) the Accusative Case on Object.



As for the concept of Subjects, the structure suggested for a language specific Czech example in (12) is after all not too far from that in a tree like (9), because both (9) and (12) signal a clear dissociation of the Subject position (the relation responsible for the formal properties of Subjects) from the lexical verbs, which however select the semantics of Subjects. Both (9) and (12) can also explain in some way the distinction between finite verbs and infinitives or active and passive structures. The tree in (9), however, claims a more universal and explanatory potential; it is structurally more developed and explicit and therefore can help us to deal with Case and Agreement in a more precise way.

1.2.3 A NOTE ABOUT TAXONOMY

According to Fillmore, “taxonomy is to be valued if it provides A CONVENIENT AND REVEALING CONCEPTUAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ENTITIES IN ITS REALM . . . in our case something in terms of which grammatical and semantic generalizations can be easily formulated; a notation is to be valued if it allows the formation of such a taxonomy in a simple and straightforward way” (1977, 68, the stress is mine).

As demonstrated, in a present day linguistic framework there is no need to be confused or disturbed by an apparent contradiction between semantics and formal properties of the category of what can be called Subject. There were at least three clearly separate ‘realms’ intersecting in traditional ‘Subject-hood’ in Fillmore already, all of which have been extensively discussed and analysed. Notice, that all of them are functions, i.e., relational terms defined with respect to some other element.

- (13) a. SEMANTIC roles ($\Theta A1 \approx \text{Agent}$) stated with respect to the predicate / event,⁸
 b. PRAGMATIC roles (Topic / Theme vs. Focus / Rheme) stated with respect to discourse factors, i.e., considering the sentence dynamism, esp. as reflected in linear order,⁹
 c. FORMAL (morpho-syntactic) properties signalling a specific position of a given constituent with respect to a relevant domain(s) / head(s).¹⁰

8. See footnote 4.

9. Given the prevalingly Czech audience, I am not going to explain the concept of sentence dynamism here in more detail, referring only to Firbas (1992) and Sgall, Hajičová and Panevová (1986). The

Each of these three ‘realms’ can (and perhaps should) use its own terminology to refer to the concept usually correlated with the umbrella term ‘Subject’: (13a) \approx Agent, (13b) \approx Topic, (13c) \approx SPEC(I). None of them, however, has any a priori right for an exclusive usage of the label ‘Subject’. If the term is used and its characteristics are listed, there is a clear need to define what the label means. If the terms are not explicitly clarified, which unfortunately happens too often, one easily can mix apples and oranges together with no rational outcome.¹¹

It has been demonstrated that when talking of sentence members, it is necessary to distinguish the formal/semantic/pragmatic phenomena and use appropriate terminology in each of them, to avoid misunderstanding, e.g., speaking of interpretation, semantic Arguments related to predicates had better be labeled Agents, Patients, etc., not Subjects, Objects, etc. Similarly, discussing Sentence dynamism (e.g., “what a sentence is about”), the terms Theme / Topic and Rheme / Focus are more appropriate than terms like Subjects and whatever could be a (potentially language specific) correlation of Focus. The terminology of Subject, Object etc. had better be restricted to the morpho-syntactic characteristics attributed to the elements in specific formal positions in a clausal structure (tree, or its equivalent in a given framework). Then also the term Subject becomes a term which “provides a convenient and revealing conceptual organization of the entities in its realm” and in terms of which cross-language and more universal “generalizations can be easily formulated” (see “The Guide to Grammar and Writing” mentioned in footnote 11).

When the dissociation and clarification of separate realms is made explicit (including terminology), the analysis can aim at explaining why some characteristics of the separate realms listed in (13) co-occur cross-language (universally) in some specific way, i.e., why certain structural positions *usually* carry specific semantic roles and moreover are interpreted with a specific level of sentence dynamism.

phenomena has been integrated into a formal linguistic framework already, and given the late development of pragmatics and other the communicative aspects of language in the second half of the twentieth century, it has been widely discussed elsewhere.

10. I have nothing to say about any terminology used in linguistics which does not assume a kind of structure and symbolic characteristics of a language system.
11. As mentioned already in footnote 1, many grammatical manuals provide a list of Subject characteristics / diagnostics which mix standard regular characteristics in all the realms mentioned in (13). They include also most of the examples demonstrated in the next section in (18)–(21), with no attempt to distinguish standard from exceptional. A representative step-by-step diagnostic ‘method’ of identifying a Subject can be found in “The Guide to Grammar and Writing,” <http://grammar.ccc.commnet.edu/GRAMMAR/subjects.htm>. It is a colourful and “funny” (science must be sexy!) mixture of pseudo-theoretical terminology and English specific statements, most of which contradict each other, and many about individual lexical items only. The list gives a lot of slangy and lively examples from corpora (linguistics must be about “real” language, and sexy!), but each and every single rule / example from the list can easily be proved to be either too general or inaccurate. The method may “work,” i.e., it can perhaps help students of English to label with a certain level of accuracy a constituent which their teachers decided to call Subject. However, what this “search for Subjects” is good for, is far from obvious, as it is not systematic at all, lacks any explanatory value and scientific potential for cross-language generalisation and therefore can hardly be attractive to any rational brain.

In the next section I am going to compare Czech and English Subjects. First, I am going to contrast the morpho-syntactic diagnostics of their (formal) Subjects. Then, I will consider some well-known distinctions, proposing that they can be explained not as distinct characteristics of formal Subject, but as distinctions concerning the unmarked correlations among the separate realms listed in (13).

2. COMPARING THE FORMAL PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND CZECH SUBJECTS

Leaving aside semantic and pragmatic interpretation for the moment, I am going to concentrate first on the formal properties of Subjects in both English and Czech (i.e., considering Subject in terms of the ‘realm’, (13c)). The following are the most frequently given and probably most relevant *prima facie* formal (morpho-syntactic) diagnostics for Subject-hood.¹²

- (14) a. Case marking (= ‘Subject carries Nominative / Subject Case’),
 b. Concord (= ‘Subject agrees with Predicate’),
 c. Word / Constituent order (= ‘Subjects are initial’).

In the examples (15)–(17) the relevant properties are demonstrated in both English and Czech. In the examples, the assumed Subjects are underlined and the relevant morphology is bold.

(15) NOM / SUBJ CASE

- a. Cz *Chlap-**ci** viděli muže.*
 boys_{NOM} saw men_{ACC}
 b. Cz *Vlky **napadli** muž-**i***
 woolves_{ACC} attacked men_{NOM}.
 c. Eng *He_{SUBJ} say her_{OBJ}.*
 d. Eng *John saw Mary.*
 e. Eng **Him saw her.*
 *Him saw she.

The Subject Nouns in (15a, b) are visibly marked for Case, and the presence of Case makes the listener select the Subject. Notice that in the contrasted English example (15d, e) the Case does not force the listener to take the postverbal element for Subject, rather the structure is marked as ungrammatical.¹³

12. The list in (14) is selective, i.e., far from complete. Many topics related to Subjects remain outside the time and space limits of this study.

13. For Czech Subject format see Trávníček (1949), Kopečný (1962), and Šmilauer (1969). For English, a representative consensual claim that the Subject should appear in the Nominative (Subject) form of nouns and pronouns and it should agree (third person Sg) with the present tense predicates can be found in e.g., Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 237; Quirk et al. 1985, 726, 758; Biber et al. 1999, 127; etc. Some dialects of English do not respect the standard morphology (take -s for a signal of [+PRES] and do not mark Case at all) and both Concord and Case morphemes are relatively late in child acquisition. I am not going to consider these dialects here.

In the Czech (16a, b), the examples are chosen from those paradigms which have identical morphology for NOM / SUBJ and ACC / OBJ, and it is the Concord morphology that makes the Czech listener assign the function of Subject to the element irrespective of its position. In English, on the other hand, the example in (16d) is ungrammatical – i.e., the agreement is “wrong” because it is not possible to take the postverbal element for Subject.

(16) CONCORD

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Cz | <i>Káčata</i> | <i>viděl-a</i> | <i>ženy.</i> |
| | <i>ducklings</i> _{NEUT} | <i>saw</i> _{NEUT} | <i>women</i> _{FEM} |
| b. Cz | <i>Káčata</i> | <i>honil-y</i> | <i>husy.</i> |
| | <i>duckling</i> _{NEUT} | <i>hound</i> _{FEM} | <i>gees</i> _{FEM} |
| c. Eng | <i>John and Mary</i> | <i>understand</i> _{non-SG} | <i>Bill.</i> |
| d. Eng | <i>*John and Mary</i> | <i>understands</i> | <i>Bill.</i> |

As for linearity, Czech retreats to constituent order only in the ambiguous and unmarked contexts with *no other* (stress and intonation included) signal. Notice that in (17) the examples are formed from the words which do not differentiate morphologically N / A (=NOM / ACC), and the Concord on the verb can be related to any of the two Arguments.

(17) LINEARITY

- | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Cz | i. | <i>Ženy</i> | <i>viděly</i> | <i>husy.</i> |
| | | <i>women</i> _{N/A} | <i>saw</i> _{PL} | <i>gees</i> _{N/A} |
| | ii. | <i>IBM</i> | <i>porazil</i> | <i>Apple.</i> |
| | | <i>IBM</i> _{N/A} | <i>defeated</i> _{SG} | <i>Apple</i> _{N/A} |
| | iii. | <i>Děti</i> | <i>nosí</i> | <i>hřibata.</i> |
| | | <i>children</i> _{N/A} | <i>carry</i> _{SG/PL} | <i>colts</i> _{N/A} |
| b. Eng | | <i>Mary saw Bill.</i> | | |

The examples (15)-(17) above show that morphological signals of Subjecthood, i.e., Case and Concord, are relevant diagnostics in both the languages, although in English the morphological signals seem to be secondary, i.e., hierarchically lower compared with the surface clausal constituent order.

The similarity between the two languages goes even further. In both, none of the above diagnostics is either necessary or sufficient to identify a Subject. The following (18)-(21) show some typical examples of violations of the properties listed in (14).

Though the NOM / SUBJ Case is a typical Case of Subjects in both Czech and English, the same Case can be found on elements which cannot be analysed as Subjects as in (18) with copulas and some Czech prepositions. On the other hand, some Subjects do not show the NOM / SUBJ Case although they are Subjects, as in (19).

The exceptions / violations of morphology are theoretically interesting (although they are perhaps relatively infrequent) because they appear in both English and Czech – and in both they are productive and to some extent predictable in a specific (and similar) contexts. For time and space reasons, I am not going to try to explain the structures here (for some discussion, see Veselovská 2001, 2002). What is significant, however, is that they are not distinct in the two languages.

The last formal property related to Subject-hood concerns the constituent order which requires Subjects to appear in a kind of initial (preverbal, pre-Mod / Aux) position (in a declarative sentence). In the standard lists of the characteristics of Subjects, linearity seems to be considered especially for English. As for Czech, as illustrated already in (20) and also in (22a), Subjects can be standardly postverbal. In (17) and (22b) I still give examples showing that Czech considers the constituent order, though only in ambiguous and otherwise unmarked contexts.

(22) MARKED VS. UNMARKED LINEARITY (Czech)

- a. *Jarmila / Hynka viděla Hynka / Jarmila.*
Jarmila_{NOM} / Hynek_{ACC} saw Hynek_{ACC} / Jarmila_{NOM}.
 ‘Jarmila saw Hynek.’ (‘*Hynek saw Jarmila.’)
- b. i. *Káčata honila housata.*
Ducklings_{N/A} chased_{PL} goslings_{N/A}
- ii. *Lidové noviny koupily Národní listy.*
Lidové noviny_{N/A} bought_{PL} Národní listy_{N/A}

On the other hand, (23) shows that the ‘initial’ characteristic of Subjects is a very over-simplified generalisation for English. It provides a number of standard contexts with Subjects *not* in the clause initial (preverbal) position.

(23) NON-INITIAL SUBJECTS (English)

- a. *Never was Bill more ready to help her.* (inversion)
- b. *Mary John did not see for sure.* (contrastive stress fronting / topicalisation)
- c. *Who do you think will help Mary?* (long distance WH question)
- d. *Don’t anyone / you be late.* (negative imperative)
- e. *Into the garden went Mary.* (locative inversion)
Here comes the bus.
Standing by the door were some uninvited guests.
- f. *There is / *are a book on the table.* (existential constructions)
- g. *It is true that he did not help him with his homework.*
?That he did not help him with his homework is true.

The frequency and systematic acceptability of all the variants in (23) is confirmed by the fact that traditional grammar has a well-established special term for each of these ‘special cases’ with non-initial Subject. Still, the unmarked linearity generalisation for

English was demonstrated in (15c) / (16c) and (15d) / (16d), and it suggests a distinction between Czech and English which cannot be ignored.

To conclude this section – we saw that considering the morpho-syntactic properties of Subjects, there is no principal distinction between Czech and English. The existing contrasts can be formulated in terms of distinct hierarchies attributed to individual characteristics. Given the abundance of morphological signals, Czech is usually able to uniquely identify Subjects based on Case and Concord, and those features are perceived as the most “important.” As for linearity, Czech Subjects are standardly both pre- and postverbal, and the unmarked initial position can be deduced only based on the morphologically and otherwise ambiguous contexts.

In English, the order of importance of the signals seems opposite: linearity (though not initial) is the main diagnostic, and morphology remains a secondary signal only of a formal grammaticality.

2.1 THE SURFACE POSITION OF SUBJECTS IN ENGLISH AND CZECH

Recall that in the formal framework accepted in section 1.2, all the formal properties of Subjects mentioned above (i.e., Case (NOM / SUBJ), Concord and surface ordering) are functions of some position in a structure. In this section I am going to describe this position in both English and Czech more precisely to be able to propose some interactions between the Subject form and meaning, in terms of the three realms mentioned in (13).

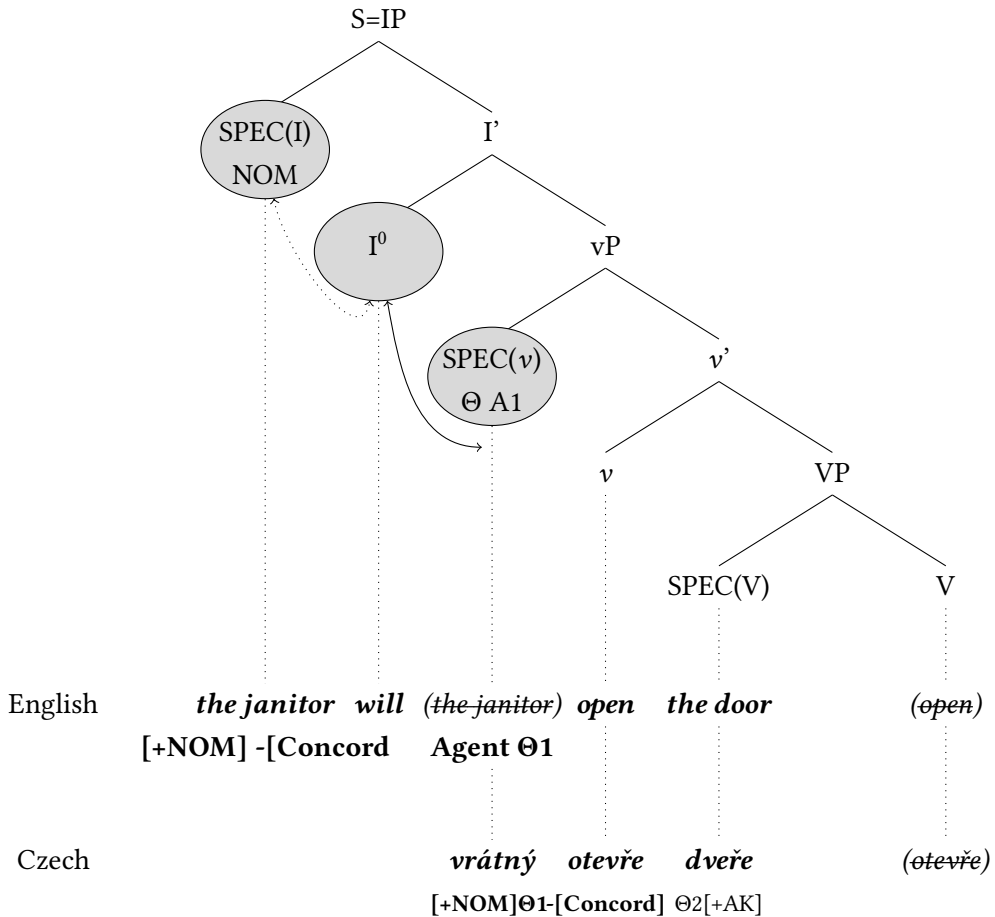
To analyse the correlation between the formal properties of Subjects and the semantic and pragmatic concepts of Agent and Topic, let's start with the more precise analysis of (13c), i.e., of the position of the formal Subjects in a clausal structure as in (9). Recall that in a tree like (9), the formal properties of Subjects are analysed as signals or reflections of one or more Agree relations established with the (finite) head I as long as only finite predicates agree and co-occur with Nominatives.

Consider, however, a more complex variant of (9) in (24), where the finite I is in a dark circle. The question to ask is, which constituents (NP / DP / XP / potential Subjects) are possible candidates (i.e., are close enough) to enter an Agree relation with such I? The position of SPEC(I) in (9) or (24) below is for sure within the closest domain of the head I. Given the unmarked position of Subjects in English (pre-Mod / Aux), this position is the most plausible candidate for the element entering the SPEC-head Agree relation illustrated by a left dotted arrow in (24). Moreover, the surface position of English Subjects (and all linguistic tradition) assumes that the Subject-hood in English correlates with the movement (e.g., of Agent) to the position of SPEC(I).

However, in minimalistic terms, the Agree required by a functional head I does not require the movement. It is a vaguely defined [EPP] feature which triggers the overt movement of the constituent (e.g., the one in SPEC(*v*)) to the closest checking domain, i.e., to the position of SPEC(I) in our discussion.¹⁴

14. The transformation triggered by the [EPP] is similar to the ‘Subject Selection Rule’ proposed in Fillmore’s (7) and a Case checking Subject movement demonstrated with an arrow in a most standard P&P framework in (9).

(24)



Though it is the only mechanism available at the moment, the term [EPP] feature does not have much more meaning apart from "a feature which apparently triggers an overt movement." To correlate the [EPP] with Case / Concord is not easy even in English. As for the Concord, the following standard analyses of the structure in (25a) demonstrate that it is possible on the Verb with Subject in SPEC(I) as well as on I with Subject not in SPEC(I) in (25b).

- (25) a. *Mary* [_{IP} . . . *never* [_{VP} *read-s* *Polish books*.
 b. *There* [_{IP} *i-s* *never* *only one boy* *in the classroom*.

As for the Case, the data are less conclusive in English. In (26) the ungrammaticality of the Case marked pronouns in a plausibly non-SPEC(I) position (e.g., in existential structures and locative inversion) seems more violent than it would be expected if only violation of some pragmatic (Focus) requirements were in play. This may suggest that the lower Subject position is in fact not assigned any Case in English.

- (26) a. *Into the jaws of Death, / Into the mouth of Hell /
rode the six hundred / *them / *they.*¹⁵
*Down the hill run the carriages / *them / *they.*
- b. *There are always the shops / *them / *they on the corner.*
*There is always Prince Charles / *him / *he for ecology.*

The previous data did not help us much with the analysis of the nature of the [EPP] feature. They demonstrated, however, that the Agree relation required by the functional head I can clearly be established also with elements / positions distinct from SPEC(I).

For example even the position of Agents in SPEC(*v*) is close enough to I in (24) – because it is the top specifier of the c-commanded phrase. The Agree of I with SPEC(*v*) is illustrated by a bold right arrow in (24), and it is in fact a very economical Agree, because it does not require any overt movement. Given the Czech constituent order, I propose here that in Czech, the movement to SPEC(I) is not obligatory for Subjects to be able to establish the Agree relation with the head I which results in the morphological signals of Subject-hood (Case / Concord).¹⁶ In other words, contrary to English, Czech finite I does not have an [EPP] feature.

Apart from the standard linearity of the main clausal constituents in the two languages, already exemplified, there are also some more specific properties of English and Czech Subjects which argue in favour of the distinct positions of their surface Subjects in a tree. Some of them I am going to provide in the next section.

2.2 MORE SIGNALS OF THE DISTINCT POSITION OF CZECH AND ENGLISH SUBJECTS

The importance of the overt filling of the SPEC(I) position in English (which is distinct from the SPEC(*v*) position of ΘA) is required by an [EPP] feature of I which requires overt lexical entry. This theoretical claim is supported by several English structures which do not have Czech counterparts. For example by the English existential structures with the expletive *there* in (27), which gives overtly both positions of “Subject” – SPEC(*v*) and SPEC(I). The structure does not have a Czech word-order equivalent suggesting the need of filling any position distinct from the lower (postverbal) Agent / Subject in SPEC(*v*).

- (27) a. *There is(n't) a book / *books on the table, is(n't) there.*
*There are(n't) books / *a book on the table, are(n't) there.*
- b. *Na stole je / jsou kniha / knihy.*
on table is / are book_{S,OM} / books_{P,NOM}

15. The correct form is from Alfred Lord Tennyson's “Charge of the Light Brigade” (1855).

16. In Veselovská (2001, 2002) I provide a detailed (analytic) description of the Concord in Czech in a compatible framework. In this study I show several clear cases where the Agree relation is arguably established with the verbal element located inside VP.

The same distinction is signalled considering the examples of weather verbs as in (28). In both languages, these verbs lack a semantic role of Agent. In English even with Agent-less verbs the Subject position (i.e., SPEC(I)) must be occupied by an expletive as in (28a).¹⁷ The contrasting Czech example in (28b) shows that Czech Agent-less weather verbs in fact do not tolerate any overt pronoun in the position of Subject and (all optional (and recursive) expletives are interpreted as emphatic markers).

- (28) a. **Rains. / It rains.*
 b. *(To nám to ale) prší.*
 it us it but rain-3SN
 ‘It rains, well, surprisingly, rather a lot . . .’

The example suggests that if the verb assigns neither an Agent role nor its equivalent, the Theta position (SPEC(*v*)) remains empty. The position in SPEC(I) is however a separate position – and the [EPP] feature requires its overt realisation in English. In Czech, on the other hand, the position is not filled by any free morpheme, and the Agree with finite I is realised as a bound Concord morpheme (3SN) only.

The distinction between the overt vs. “empty” PF characteristics of SPEC(I) is signalled again in (29) using the impersonal predicate *seem*. In English, an overt English expletive *it* must occupy SPEC(I), while a bound-morpheme Concord is sufficient in Czech (an optional pronoun is a topic marker only).

- (29) a. Eng * / *It seems to you that Julia arrived.*
 b. Cz *(To) se ti zd-á, že Julie přišla.*
 (it) REFL you_{DAT} seem_{3SN} that Julia came
 ‘It seems to you, that Julia arrived.’
 c. Eng * / *It is impossible to help you.*
 d. Cz *(?To) je nemožné ti pomoci.*
 (?it) is_{3SN} impossible you_{DAT} help_{INF}

The following, (30), shows that in raising contexts the English matrix functional head I can attract the Agent of a lower verb *come* (allowing the verb to be realised as a more economical infinitive). The Czech parallel example in (30d) shows that this kind of transformation is not possible, as predicted, if the Czech Agent-less SPEC(I) were not standardly realised by an overt element. Czech overt Subjects are interpreted with respect to the position in SPEC(*v*), i.e., Agents, and therefore the number of Czech equivalents to the English raising structures is minimal, if any at all.

17. Expletives in (27), (28) and (25) are labelled ‘dummy subjects’ in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 238) or ‘prop it’ in Quirk et al. (1985, 748), ‘anticipatory it’ or ‘grammatical subjects’, e.g., there as in Quirk et al. (1985, 1403) and ‘non-referential it’ in Biber et al. 1999, 125). In a more formal framework a theory of expletive Subjects can be found in e.g., Moro (1997) and Hale and Keyser (2002).

- (30) a. Eng *It is sure that Henry will come.*
 b. Cz (ono) *Je jisté, že Jindřich přijde.*
 c. Eng *Henry is sure to come.*
 d. Cz **Jindřich je jistý přijít.*

The claim that the English expletives occupy exclusively the SPEC(I) position (and not the Agent position in SPEC(v)) is supported also by following data. Notice that in infinitival contexts English tolerates nominal or even pronominal ‘Subjects’ (correlated with Agents) in non-Nominative, expletives, however, cannot appear there. In (31), the context is marked (?) for an emphatic surprise.

- (31) *Is it possible?!* a. *John/Him seem to be honest! – It is amazing!*
 b. **It seem that John is honest! – It is amazing!*
 c. *Him be in time! – It is amazing!*
 d. **there/He be in time! – It is amazing!*

Consider also (32) where the English mediopassive has a kind of counterpart in Czech reflexive passive. In both languages the transitive verb takes an active morphology although the formal Subject carries the Theta role of Patient. The Czech variety, however, contains a REFL morpheme *se* (the form is labelled ‘reflexive passive’ in traditional grammar).

- (32) a. Eng *This book reads well.*
 b. Cz *Tahle kniha **se** čte dobře.*
 This book REFL reads well.

Assuming the analysis in Volencová-Hudousková (2010), the Czech reflexive particle in (32) occupies the Agentive position SPEC(v), which clearly is not identical with the higher position in SPEC(I) hosting the non-Agent constituent. This example again suggests that the correlation between the interpretation of Agent is substantially stronger in Czech than in English. In English, the Subject, i.e., SPEC(I) position is related to the Agent position in SPEC(v) more loosely than in Czech, where the two are in fact identical.

2.3 CORRELATION BETWEEN THE SUBJECTS AND AGENT AND TOPIC

All the contrasted Czech examples in the previous sections suggested that the position of Czech Subjects is not necessarily in SPEC(I). The Agree relation with Czech *I* can clearly be formed with an element in a position lower than SPEC(I). The data suggest that the position of formal Czech Subject is in SPEC(v) in (9) or (24).¹⁸

18. Not much would change if there were more verbal functional heads between *v/V* and *I*. In that case, the Czech position of formal Subject would be defined as substantially ‘closer’ to SPEC(v) than the position of English formal Subjects.

The distinct position of formal Subjects in the two languages allow us to explain one of the more or less disputable characteristics of formal Subjects as they are listed in comparative studies – namely its interpretation as Agent / Doer of the verbal event. This characteristic has been discussed abundantly in section 1.2, to state that according to modern linguistic frameworks the interpretation of Arguments has been dissociated from the surface formal position of sentence members. Although they are both relational terms, each of them represents a separate relation.

As for Agents, in a tree like (9) or (29) above, their interpretation is attributed to the selection of the lexical transitive Verb *v* / *V* and is assigned to the position in SPEC(*v*). Assuming that the Czech formal Subjects are located in SPEC(*v*) predicts that those Subjects will show a high tendency to correlate with Agents – their positions are, in the unmarked context, in fact identical. Therefore, overt Czech Subjects will show a strong tendency to be interpreted as Agents of the relevant predicate. The preceding section showed several examples showing that such a prediction is born out.

On the other hand, English Subjects in SPEC(*I*) are in the position distinct from the position which is assigned a semantic role of Agent. Therefore, the correlation of English Subjects with Agents is more loose and one-way only – although all Agents (with the exception of the *by* phrases) end up as Subjects, not all Subjects are Agents. According to the analysis proposed here, the correlation of Subject-hood and Agent-hood in English is only an indirect result of the CLOSENESS of the Agent position in SPEC(*v*) to the functional head *I*, which requires an Agree relation with some NP / DP in its most close domain. As predicted, the examples in (5), as well as the examples in the preceding sections have demonstrated that the Agree relation in English is less sensitive to semantic roles and can be established with any element, including an expletive, if it satisfies the categorial and locality requirements.

Claiming that in English the Agree of *I* with Subject takes place in the position of SPEC(*I*), while in Czech in the position SPEC(*v*), makes also direct predictions with respect to pragmatic interpretation of Subjects. Recall that apart from a possible role in grammar (licensing a sentence function), the linear position in a surface is always interpreted also in terms of Sentence dynamism (Functional sentence perspective). The surface position of formal Subjects in (24) is therefore considered also with respect to pragmatic factors.

In English, in the declarative standard clause, Subjects appear in SPEC(*I*) and the head *I* is rather initial in a sentence tree. Therefore the traditional definition of Subject in English will probably put both the initial position and the Topic interpretation of Subjects very high in the list of Subject characteristics (i.e., the so-called ‘Aboutness characteristics’ = “Subject is what the sentence is about”), and many cross-language comparative studies show that the correlation between Subjects and Topic / Theme interpretation is widespread.

On the other hand, standard postverbal Subjects in Czech together with all the discussion in the preceding section, strongly suggest that the functional head *I* in Czech does not have the same kind of [EPP] feature as English, which triggers overt

movement of the constituent to SPEC(I). Czech Subjects therefore can remain in their lower position. They do not show an a priori tendency to be initial, and therefore they can be interpreted as both Theme / Topic and Rheme / Focus. Not surprisingly, and contrary to the kind of overall discourse, no Czech traditional framework puts the initial position or Topic-hood as significant characteristics of Czech Subjects, relying on the formal properties (morphology) instead.

Providing a simple analysis for the relevant phenomena, I claim that the attested distinctions between the traditional lists of properties of Subjects in e.g., English and Czech, are not a result of any deep distinction in the concept of Subject-hood in the two languages, and/or the proof that the theoretical construct of Subject does not exist at all. The distinction is also unlikely to be a consequence of some deeply distinct social, cultural, psychological or cognitive capacity of Czech and English speakers and/or communities. I propose the distinctions are a predictable consequence of several independent phenomena widely known, discussed and accepted in modern linguistics: e.g., the attested variety in interpretations of Subjects as Agents and/or Topics is in fact not an independent property of Subjects – it is only an indirect, epiphenomenal result of the possible combination and correlation (in a given language) of independent factors: the position of formal Subjects which must be able to enter the Agree relation with the head I on one side, and the universal Theta assigning theory and/or the Functional sentence perspective principles on the other. Moreover, in a generative framework, the distinction in the surface position of formal Subjects can be limited to a language specific property of a single lexical entry, namely to the presence vs. absence of one single feature characteristic of the functional verbal head like I.

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PRIMARY VS. SECONDARY VOCABULARY

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ABSTRACT: English vocabulary is divided: a Germanic core inherited from Germanic sources and a second vocabulary borrowed from the Romance family and Classical Greek. Several synchronic criteria divide the two vocabularies. The primary vocabulary still conforms to the general Proto-Germanic rule; stress can only fall on a morpheme's first syllable. In contrast, its secondary vocabulary stress patterns follow Chomsky and Halle's (1968) "Main stress rule," often referred to as the "Romance stress rule." There are several correlations between this stress-based division and morpho-syntactic properties; secondary vocabulary always exhibits regular productive inflection and an analytic grading of adjectives. This study focuses especially on syntactic differences: only primary vocabulary verbs freely combine with post-verbal particles of direction and allow double objects with no preposition. These general properties seem hard to express in lexical terms. Nonetheless, a device proposed here seems to capture both these English-particular characteristics: Secondary vocabulary verbs do not lexically select complements whose lexical heads have the feature +DIRECTION. Though at first glance this condition seems too strong, the essay argues that this restriction can stand when indirect objects are structurally properly analyzed.

KEYWORDS: Borer Conjecture; grammatical lexicon; indirect objects; irregular inflection; particular grammars; post-verbal particles; primary vocabulary; secondary vocabulary

1. LANGUAGE-PARTICULAR GRAMMARS IN FORMAL LINGUISTICS

1.1 FACTORING OUT UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

In the three decades preceding the iconic year 1984, a new approach to language analysis, called generative grammar, proposed to analyze natural languages as formal systems. The second chapter of Noam Chomsky's first book (1957) began with a clarion call:

- (1) **GENERATIVE GRAMMARS.** "The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language is to separate the *grammatical* sequences which are the sentences of L from the *ungrammatical* sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences. The grammar of L will thus be a device which generates all the grammatical sequences of L and none of the ungrammatical ones."

Almost from the beginning, what also became apparent was "the necessity for supplementing a 'particular grammar' by a universal grammar ('ÜG') if it is to achieve descriptive adequacy" (Chomsky 1965, 6). Thus,

- (2) **UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR.** Grammar of L = $UG + G_i$ (= Particular Grammar of L_i)

These grammars G_i , supplemented by UG, were to generate all and only grammatical sequences of each L . So generative grammar was to investigate two questions: what was UG, perhaps the hardest part, and what were the (formalized, explicit) Particular Grammars, a supposedly easier and “less deep” question, since speakers’ knowledge of language is always filtered through the prism of an observable particular L_i .

Nonetheless, the second question seemed intriguing and puzzling, since, beyond some generalities, particular grammars of even two intensively studied and typologically similar languages, e.g., English and French, apparently have little in common. Richard Kayne’s (1975) landmark *French Syntax* (on pronominal clitics, reflexives and reciprocals, and causatives), didn’t seem to be a book about English grammar. Similarly, my own *Transformational Approach to English Syntax* (1976), while organized around the Structure Preserving Hypothesis for UG, contains section after section detailing grammar paradigms of English largely different from what is found in Romance languages (e.g., auxiliary inversion, progressives, NP gerunds, overt subjects of infinitives, stranded prepositions, indirect objects without prepositions). As in Kayne’s volume, all such language-particular aspects were formally expressed as transformations, in particular, as “local transformations” formulated without essential use of string variables.

Almost at the same time, Chomsky (1976; 1977) embarked on a research program to eliminate transformations as a language-particular device. It culminated in his claim that transformations were neither construction-particular nor language-particular, but rather reducible to a UG principle “Move α ”, where α is a general categorical symbol. Since most practitioners of formal grammar, including Kayne and Emonds, became convinced that his program was essentially correct, it became obvious that all the French-specific and English-specific rules of their books had to be expressed in the particular grammars of French (G_F) and English (G_E) in a different way.

Thus in addition to UG, a broad new question which required an answer was,

(3) What exactly is the form of particular grammars G_i that UG “supplements”?

A contentful answer would have to be at least preliminary *formally explicit particular grammars* G_i of some language(s), e.g., perhaps English, French, as a start. These grammars would be integrated with UG (how was of course also part of the question), and would furnish working hypotheses which research would further formalize, simplify and refine.

Thus, in the late seventies, the stage was set for studies in which UG was integrated with at least fragments of formalized particular grammars G_i . But what happened instead was that almost no research focused on this implication of equation (1). When aspects of particular grammars were formulated, they were ad hoc and used mainly to abstract away from data patterns which seemed to conflict with hypotheses about UG.¹

1. In English for example, exceptional case marking and the doubly-filled COMP filter. The works where they were proposed and used did not try to assimilate them to any more general properties of language-particular grammatical devices.

Though a few studies proposed language-particular parameters that were integrated with syntactic theory, this approach died out, and most research proceeded as if any grammatical pattern in some L_i could always be decomposed into an interesting UG component plus some downgraded remnant that was ‘low level’, ‘a late rule’, ‘only morphology’, or ‘purely lexical’. These unformalized and ad hoc remnants have been regularly set aside ever since.²

1.2 THEORETICAL PROPOSALS FOR LANGUAGE-PARTICULAR GRAMMARS

As hypotheses for the design of UG progressed in the 1970s, both the formal and substantive nature of particular grammars became more enigmatic. In particular, since both construction-specific transformations and category-specific phrase structure rules had proved by 1980 to be inadequate for capturing linguistically significant generalizations, there remained no clear candidates for what a language-particular grammatical statement might be.

In this momentary vacuum, four different proposals for devices of particular grammars were advanced. Interestingly, all involved very “local” relations of lexical items and categories in trees; the categories specified in these rules used no “string variables” of the type needed to state the principles and constraints of UG.

(4) PROPOSALS FOR SPECIFYING PARTICULAR GRAMMARS (1976–1984)

- a. Highly constrained *local transformations*, lacking string variables and specifying at most one phrasal category (Emonds 1976; 1977).
- b. *Filters/output constraints* on transformational operations, either “positive” (Perlmutter 1971) or “negative” (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977). These also lacked string variables and they specified individual morphemes, mentioning few phrases.
- c. Simple “Yes-No” or dichotomous *parameters*, with multiple consequences throughout a grammar (Stowell 1981; Rizzi 1982).
- d. *Lexical entries* for grammatical morphemes in “functional categories” and for bound affixes, specified with locally defined insertion contexts (Borer 1984).

The devices in (a)–(c) did not seem to give rise to revealing research in areas encompassing material beyond the phenomena which had originally motivated each. For example, Perlmutter’s positive output constraints were not widely employed beyond accounts of pronominal clitic sequences, and Chomsky and Lasnik’s filters mainly focused on restrictions on the form of infinitival clauses. Those filters that seemed to have wider applicability were incorporated into proposals for UG, and the others were superseded by analyses involving case and binding theories. None

2. In *Lexicon and Grammar: The English Syntacticon* (Emonds 2000), I have tried to develop a model where language-particular syntax and syntactic theory are elaborated and integrated in terms of each other, but these theoretical modifications have had little impact. Much work under the rubric of Distributed Morphology also focuses on language-particular points of grammar, but is not mentioned much in research that bills itself as “syntactic.”

of (4a)–(4c) seemed to have the excess content required in the “progressive research paradigms” of Lakatos (1978).

As a result, Borer’s proposal or Conjecture, as it is now called, has come to be widely accepted, especially because it has shed light on constructions other than those which first motivated it. A striking example of this is Ouhalla’s (1991) enlightening analysis of Berber and Arabic Tense and Agreement paradigms, which centrally uses Borer’s idea that it is the syntactically specified lexical insertion contexts of these functional categories that explain differences between the particular grammars of Berber and Arabic.

Simply put, the core of Borer’s Conjecture is that a language’s particular grammar is nothing more nor less than *the collected lexical entries for that language’s functional categories*, in more traditional terms its closed class lexical items. If such a lexicon were ever assembled, that language’s grammar G_i would then be fully specified.

2. EMERGENCE OF THE GRAMMATICAL LEXICON

Of the four proposals for formally expressing language-particular patterns that surfaced between 1976 and 1984, the last to emerge, namely Borer’s Conjecture, has thus come to be considered as the best candidate for supplementing Universal Grammar. That is, language-particular rules of each language are identified with the lexical entries in what Ouhalla calls its “Grammatical Lexicon.” Since such Grammatical Lexicons comprise for example the synchronic affixes of a language as well as many dozens of free morphemes outside the lexical categories, this conception of particular grammars explains why even related languages vary as much as they do.

What then is the form of such lexical entries? Although progress in answering this question is a *sine qua non* for truly generative grammars as defined in Chomsky (1957), very little research since 1984 has been devoted to it. In fact, the only full-length studies in a Chomskyan framework are Ouhalla (1991) and Emonds (2000; 2007).

I believe the reason for this lack stems from when Chomsky (1986) dismissed the possibility of formally characterizing “E(xternal) Language.” Whatever he then thought about particular grammars, i.e., their role in his “I(nternal) Language,” a typical interpretation of his I-Language vs. E-language distinction is provided by an exegete Norbert Hornstein, with my emphases:

Thus, at best, an E-language is that object which the I-language specifies. However, even this might be giving too much reality to E-languages, for there is *nothing in the notion I-language* that requires that what they specify *corresponds to languages as commonly construed, that is, things like French, English and so on*. It is consistent with Chomsky’s viewpoint that *I-language never specifies any object that we might pre-theoretically call a language* (Hornstein 1998).

Whether or not Chomsky was suggesting to abandon formalizing particular grammars (more recently he almost never speaks of them), generative research since then almost exclusively focuses on determining the innate mechanisms of I-Language, which are often hypothesized to be the same for all languages, i.e., *I-language as commonly understood does not include formal specifications of particular grammars*. In other words, formal syntax for some 30 years has been de facto synonymous with the elaboration

of Universal Grammar. While language-particular patterns may have contributed to proposals for UG, their formalized expression has not been part of the generative enterprise. And even though Borer's Conjecture has been repeatedly endorsed, beyond occasional focus on isolated morphemes (Borer's original work on Hebrew *šel* 'of'; Kayne's studies of French *se* 'self' and *qui/que* 'who/that'), specifying entries of Grammatical Lexicons is simply off the generative radar screen.

This absence of formalized particular grammars has a serious consequence. Exclusive focus on characterizing a universal I-language cuts syntactic research off from possible empirical disconfirmation; i.e., most current proposals for UG are now unfalsifiable.³ This results from the fact that generative syntax has for decades largely ignored Question (3); there exist no preliminary explicit examples of Grammatical Lexicons G_i .⁴

In order to avoid the charge of unfalsifiability (which I both make and would like to see refuted), generative grammar needs to return to its original goals, which includes serious elaboration of *all aspects* of the formula (2). Though Question (3) is currently both unanswered and unaddressed, this question remains quite meaningful and in no way ill-conceived or premature. The fact is, no serious obstacles even make (3) a hard question (real progress in constructing UG is harder). It is unaddressed only because of lack of interest, the threat of falsification, and an unspoken irrational hope that work on UG will somehow eventually make answers too (3) trivial.⁵

Why aren't the answers to it trivial? Staying with the example of French and English, syntacticians widely take them to be "similar." In terms of language variety and typology, they are. Nonetheless, their Grammatical Lexicons G_e and G_f (each perhaps containing some 400 ± 100 items including affixes and grammatical Ns, Vs, and As) don't share even a handful of items with the same grammar.⁶ No grammatical preposition, no complementizer, no verbal affix, no negative word, no quantifier, no reflexive morpheme, no grammatical verb, no pronoun, no prefix, no article has the same grammar in the two languages. And because these many differences are not even tentatively represented in generative models, the field of syntax knows very little more today than in 1975, at least in formal terms, about exactly how French and English are different.

The path to non-trivial answers to question (3) is then simply that more researchers work on it, after its being sidetracked and hidden from view for some three decades. For this reason, my own research has included working out some implications of

3. Grammatical patterns of particular languages are then, whenever necessary, attributed to E-language properties that fall outside the innate language faculty. Consequently, most research on Universal Grammar, as generally practiced since 1985, has in practice avoided the possibility of Popperian falsification (Lakatos 1978).

4. Except perhaps in the framework of Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). However, such grammars seem unreservedly stipulative and factor out no UG "supplement."

5. In fact, Question (3) is more than meaningful. Without formalized G_i , generative syntax is not fulfilling the fundamental aim of linguistic analysis, to produce formal grammars of L_i .

6. Anecdotally, the only candidate I think is possibly identical is *very* ~ *très*. Another suggested candidate, *a (whole) lot* is unlike the French *beaucoup*, which excludes any modifier.

Borer's Conjecture. For instance, exact lexical entries for non-finite verbal suffixes, when integrated with UG, can explain all the complex grammatical patterns of English participles and gerunds *V-ing* and *V-en* (Emonds 2007, chaps. 3 and 8). Borer's Conjecture can thus lead to many results, provided that UG is not taken as a purely deductive system, fixed in theoretical texts before investigation of a particular language begins. Both UG and entries of Grammatical Lexicons need to develop in tandem in terms of their mutual compatibility and overall descriptive adequacy.

Other examples of syntactic generalizations of Particular Grammars G_i are to be found in terms of differences in what I will call here their "Primary" and "Secondary" Vocabularies. Studies of UG have not considered such a distinction, and hence have been unable to shed light on some long known particularities of English syntax which depend on these contrasting lexical sub-components.

Once this lexical division is established below, I will argue that Borer's Conjecture cannot be the whole story on language-particular grammars. No matter how sophisticated the form and interaction of UG with lexical entries, these entries do not in themselves suffice to express certain generalizations in particular grammars.

What is needed in addition are something like "Global Conditions on Lexicons," a term once coined by Chomsky (in a 1988 lecture at the University of Washington) as a way of rethinking the so-called "head-initial / head-final parameter" (Stowell 1981) in terms of Borer's Conjecture. This parameter is certainly language-particular and yet independent of individual lexical entries. The fact is, this parameter is not only language-particular, it is category-particular. For instance, German and Dutch VPs are head-final, while their NPs are head-initial. Conversely, Chinese NPs are resoundingly head-final, while its PPs and (smallest) VPs are head-initial (Huang 1984).⁷

It is premature to presume to characterize the extent or form of such Global Conditions on Lexicons (particular grammars cannot be deduced from Chomsky's programmatic statements). The best way forward is rather empirical study to see what kind of phenomena such conditions should account for. Such is the purpose of Sections 4–6 of this paper.

3. DIVIDING ENGLISH VOCABULARY INTO PRIMARY AND SECONDARY

The open class vocabulary of English can be divided into two sub-classes that roughly but by no means exactly correspond to their historical sources:

- a *primary Germanic core* including those inherited from Old English and Old Norse;
- a second vocabulary borrowed from French / Latin and Classical Greek, dating from the adoption of English by the ruling Norman aristocracy (fourteenth century) and the Renaissance.

7. The basic word order parameter is arguably neither "head-initial" vs. "head-final," nor variations on an unmarked head-initial order. Rather, the universal default order in both words and phrases is head-final, but stress patterns of a language can cause particular lexical categories X^0 , or all of them, to precede their sisters, in phrases and sometimes inside words (Emonds 2013).

We will see that this division has an important synchronic role in expressing appropriate descriptive generalizations in all components of English grammar. The preliminary criteria for synchronically dividing the two vocabularies in the English Dictionary are listed in (5):

(5)

	CORE OR PRIMARY VOCABULARY	SECONDARY VOCABULARY
a.	More general and mundane meanings: <i>eat, drink, swallow, smell</i>	Very specific meanings: <i>devour, imbibe, consume, aroma</i>
b.	Restrictive phonology, e.g., in English, no secondary or non-initial morpheme stress	Less restrictive phonology, such as possible non-initial or secondary stress in English
c.	Possible irregular inflection, e.g., past tenses other than <i>-ed</i> , irregular plurals.	Only productive inflections (<i>-ed</i> past on V, <i>-s</i> plurals on N, etc.)
d.	Inflected adjectival comparison (<i>-er, -est</i>): <i>saner, stupidest, tighter, sourest</i>	Free morphemes must compare A: <i>*insaner, *morbidest, *tauter, *dourest</i>

It is commonplace in studies of sources of (early) Modern English vocabulary that words borrowed from Romance and Greek are often near synonyms of words inherited from Germanic, but that the former have more specific or more technical meanings, and very often are felt to have more positive connotations. Broadly speaking, the Germanic counterparts in these pairings are also more frequent.

An English language learner, child or adult, can usually determine quite easily by (5b) that a huge number of words are not in the Primary Vocabulary. Any multi-syllabic morphemes with some *non-initial* or *secondary stress*, as underlined in (6), must be in the Secondary Vocabulary. Such words are most frequently inherited from Romance or Greek. Notice that all these words have quite specific and not general meanings (5a).

- (6) *absolve, baptize, catastrophe, correspond, donate, econom-y, forens-ic, giraffe, holocaust, imagine, Jerusalem, kinet-ic, migraine, necessary, opinion, quinine, recommend, suggest, trespass, turpentine, util-ity, vicar-ious, Wisconsin, Yosemite*

There is thus a one-way implication regarding stress. If a morpheme is in the primary vocabulary, it must have initial stress. This stress comes down to Modern English from its earliest pre-historic roots:

- (7) Morphemes in the English *primary* vocabulary still conform to the general *Proto-Germanic initial stress*.

Compound words and words containing one of a fixed set of about 10 unstressed “inseparable” prefixes (*a-gain, a-rise, al-ready, be-tween, be-grudge, for-bid, for-get re-fuse, re-main, to-gether, up-set, with-stand*), are not exceptions to (7) because these prefixes are separate morphemes. They have had this status since Proto-Germanic times. Initial Germanic stress thus remains exceptionless:

- (8) PROTO-GERMANIC STRESS. Stress must fall on a morpheme’s first syllable.

However, as seen in (6), rules (7)–(8) hold in Modern English only for the *primary* vocabulary. English *secondary* vocabulary stress patterns follow Chomsky and Halle's (1968) "Main stress rule", which is sometimes referred to as the "Romance stress rule" because it applies mainly to the huge vocabulary borrowed from Romance sources.

Let us next consider the criterion of inflection (5c), which disallows inflectional irregularity in the secondary vocabulary. For example, no forms in (6) have any irregular inflections. Consider also the productive English inflection most often replaced by irregular forms, namely the past tense/participle morpheme *-ed*. English verbs with irregular pasts, such as the 211 listed on the site <http://www.usingenglish.com/reference/irregular-verbs>, are all monosyllabic, including a few combined with the prefixes mentioned above (*a-rise*, *be-come*, *be-hold*, *for-bid*, *for-get*, *up-set*, *with-draw*, *with-hold*). Hence, by the criterion of stress (5b), they are all candidates for the primary vocabulary, and hence permissibly irregular.⁸

Finally, something like the correlation (5d) is generally felt to hold for bi-syllabic adjectives (*stupidest*, *handsomer* vs. **rapidest*, **gruesomer*). But it is rarely noted that even some gradable monosyllabic adjectives of highly specific meanings and often "genteel" connotations do not accept inflections:

(9) *beige, chic, dank, deft, dour, gauche, lithe, loathe, prim, suave, swell, taut, vast, wan*

It appears that these short adjectives, as well as multi-syllabic adjectives with non-initial stress, are restricted to analytic grading with *more* and *most* because *they are in the secondary vocabulary*. No other explanation, other than purely ad hoc grammatical diacritics (unlikely with words of such low frequency), would seem available.⁹

For the native speaker, the aspects of grammatical and phonological behavior in Table (5), rather than historical provenance, determine which part of the vocabulary a morpheme belongs to. Morphemes can thus end up in a lexical component that differs from what one expects from their diachronic source. For example the Romance-derived adjectives *long* and *large* and verbs *move*, *offer*, *promise* and *turn* are in the primary vocabulary. In the other direction, verbs such as *gainsay* and *vouchsafe*, though descended from Old English, show signs of being in the secondary vocabulary (their stresses and, e.g., **gainsaid*).¹⁰

8. Nothing prevents an irregular verb stem in the primary vocabulary from serving as head of a compound verb: *broadcast*, *foretell*, *foresee*, *input*, *misspeak*, *mislead*, *outswim*, *overdraw*, etc.

9. To claim that words like *dour*, *gauche* and *loathe* are "irregular" (= marked with diacritics) would grossly violate the usual pattern whereby morphological irregularity is limited to more frequent, not less frequent, words.

10. Similar vocabulary divisions, with characteristic less restrictive phonology, appear widespread among languages. I conjecture that "Sino-Japanese" vocabulary is secondary in Japanese, as is the large Turkish vocabulary that does not exhibit vowel harmony. It seems plausible that primary vocabularies expand only at a relatively steady rate, so that during periods of intensive cultural borrowing (from Chinese Buddhism in early Japan, the Renaissance in Turkey, and after the Norman Conquest in England), a language creates massive new open class vocabulary by accepting new phonological patterns that disallow inflectional or other syntactic irregularity.

Although we have now tentatively established a division in open class vocabulary between primary and secondary, we have not answered two pertinent questions:

- (10) (i) Is division between primary and secondary vocabulary a property of language particular grammars?
- (ii) Does such a division have effects in the productive syntax of these grammars?

The first question is easily dealt with, using the properties in Table (5). Logically, either all languages distinguish primary and secondary vocabularies, or they do not. *If not*, then the very fact that English has a separate secondary vocabulary is part of its particular grammar G_E . On the other hand, if UG determines that all languages divide vocabulary into primary and secondary, then it is transparent that at least some properties of this division in English, e.g., as (5b), (5d), are *not part of UG*. As a simple example, if UG determines that French also has two such vocabularies, they differ neither in stress (all French words have final stress) nor in the grading of adjectives (all French adjectives are graded analytically). So the properties (5b) and (5d) distinguishing the two English vocabularies are particular to its grammar G_E and are not due to UG. So the answer to (10i) is yes.

In the next section, we turn to question (10ii) above, and show that status as a primary or secondary vocabulary item plays a role in *the productive and language-particular syntax* G_E of English.

4. FRASER'S RESTRICTION ON "PHRASAL VERBS"

4.1 WHICH VERBS ACCEPT POST-VERBAL PARTICLES AND DIRECTIONAL COMPLEMENTS?

Hundreds of English verbs select complements which are preposition-like particles: *break off*, *cut down*, *hold up*, *move out*, *rub in*, *slip back*, *turn on*, etc. Depending on the verb, the particles express locational direction of the action and/or combine idiomatically with the verb.¹¹ Fraser (1976) exemplifies the patterns and generalizations, while Emonds (1972) shows that the grammatical category and behavior of these particles is that of P. For example, when these particles have a literal sense, they alternate with full directional PPs:¹²

- (11) *She broke the handle right off / right into pieces.*
They cut the extra branches down / off the trunk.
A soldier held the flag up / over the edge.
They pulled the bicycle out / onto the country road.

11. Stative verbs cannot combine with particles: **hate off*, **lack on*, **like away*, **owe in*, **need out*, **want up*, etc. Collocations like *have NP in* are activity verbs: *He was having us in for lunch*.

12. By any syntactic tests, these particles, even when adjacent to the verb, *do not form any sort of lexical or phrasal constituent* with them. Hence the almost universally accepted term for them, "phrasal verbs," is misleading and without justification. No grammatical patterns support treating even idiomatic V-P combinations (*break up*, *put off*, *take in*) as any kind of structural unit.

The rock slipped two meters back / two meters down the slope.

Fraser's study shows that these particles, whether literal or idiomatic, do not freely combine with verbs with either secondary or non-initial stress, such as *destroy*, *demonstrate*, *discover*, *select*. The contrast can be seen in examples like (12a)–(12d).

(12) Objects with Directional Ps:

- a. *The child broke / *destroyed her new toys up / in.*
- b. *I picked / *selected out / up some new shirts.*
- c. *You will find / *discover out that this car uses less fuel.*
- d. *A manager showed / *demonstrated the new procedure off / up.*

We thus seem to have found another property that distinguishes English primary and secondary vocabulary: *primary vocabulary verbs combine freely with post-verbal particles*, whether literal or idiomatic, while it is very rare if a secondary vocabulary verb does so.

In light of the contrasts like (13), I think we can extend this generalization to directional PPs more generally: Verbs in the English secondary vocabulary seem resistant not only to directional particles (intransitive Ps), but also to *full directional PPs*.¹³ Both these constituents are PPs with a feature +DIR.

(13) *Let's put / *locate this vase onto the top shelf.*

Cf. Let's locate this vase on the top shelf.

*The sergeant sent / *assigned his platoon into the tunnel.*

*She broke / *destroyed her new toy into pieces.*

*They cut / *eliminated the extra branches off the trunk.*

*They pulled / *retrieved the bicycle onto the country road.*

*A soldier lifted / *elevated the flag over the edge.*

(14) SELECTION CONDITION ON VERBS IN G_E. Primary *but not secondary* vocabulary English verbs can have the subcategorization (selection) feature +___DIR.

This is to say, only primary vocabulary verbs can select sisters whose heads have the feature +DIR (an obligatory or optional feature of many Ps such as *into*, *onto*, *toward*, *near*, *above*, *beside*, *beyond*, etc.)

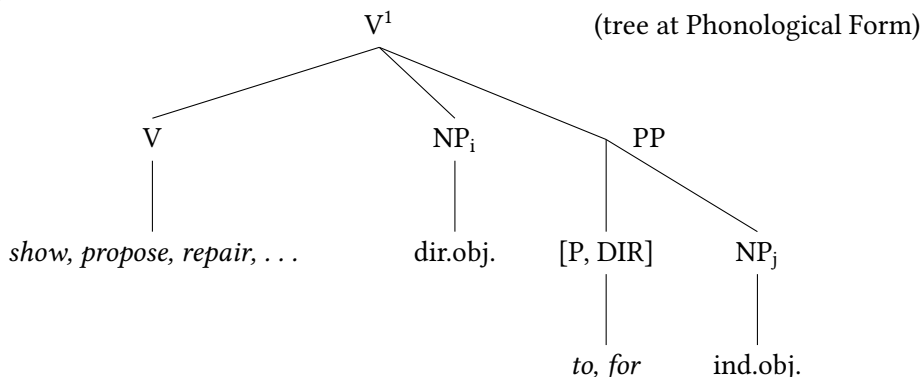
This productive syntactic property (14) of English grammar G_E cannot be attributed to UG, if the syntax of some languages does not distinguish primary and secondary verbs in this way. Moreover, (14) is not a property of individual English verbs, even though there may be a few exceptional items. The simple repeated presence in many lexical items of a feature +___DIR fails to express or capture Fraser's Generalization.

13. Of course it can be said that their "meanings," for which we have no formal representations, are inconsistent with directional PPs, but equally well we can say that no secondary vocabulary verbs with such meaning develop, because they will not be able to combine with appropriate PPs.

(15) *Let's divvy up the cake now.* **Let's divvy the cake now.*
 Now you guys divvy it up fair and square. **Now you guys divvy it fair and square.*

15. For a review of various generative analyses of double object constructions, see Emonds and Ostler (2006). That work argues that many attempts to treat double objects with binary branching have led to inconsistencies and unexpressed generalizations.

(17)

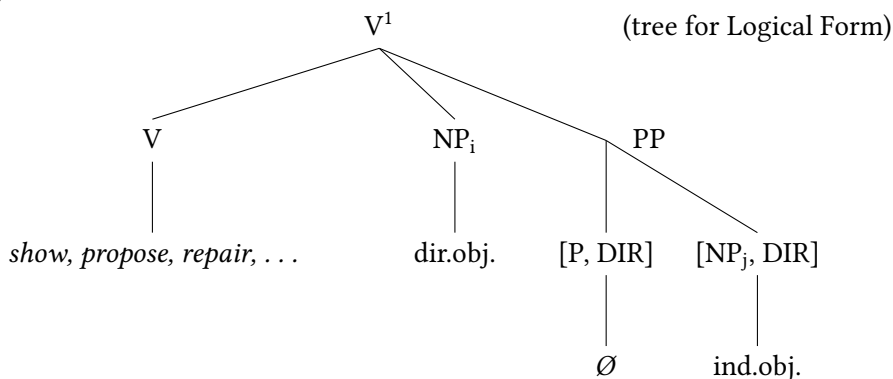


Since it is widely assumed that phrases are lexically selected by virtue of features on their heads, the combination in (17) of secondary V with PP seems to conflict with Condition (14). The resolution of this conflict lies in understanding the source and role of *to/for* and their feature +DIR in (17), along lines justified in more detail in Emonds and Ostler (2006).

In particular, a generally accepted syntactic principle, widely termed the Case Filter (Chomsky 1986), requires that all NP arguments of a lexical head *must be assigned a case*. The direct object NP typically receives case from the V that selects it, and is thereby interpreted with whatever semantic role a particular verb class assigns to direct objects. A second NP selected by a V can then receive case only from a “minimal PP” generated to satisfy the Case Filter. Such a PP then occurs as a sister of V, *not by virtue of selection*, but only so that its head P can assign case to its V-selected NP object. By itself, this minimal P, whose unmarked feature value as a sister to V is +DIR, is *semantically inert*.

However, the “case feature” assigned by P to the indirect object NP is actually the unmarked value of P itself, here +DIR. As a case feature on NP, +DIR contributes to interpretation. In the framework of Emonds (2000), this means that, although the node [P, DIR] is phonologically spelled out, it is “empty” in (= doesn’t contribute to) Logical Form. Rather, the Logical Form representation of (17) is (18).

(18)



The tree (18) with an empty P gives a more accurate picture than (17) of how indirect object NPs, *as opposed to interpreted PPs of Path/Direction*, are lexically selected. (Numerous primary vocabulary verbs such as *hand* and *push* select either.) Subcategorization features specify only *interpreted* constituents, so that di-transitive verbs in English (and probably cross-linguistically) are selected by the syntactic frame +___NP'NP, with *no reference to* the feature Direction / Path on the case-assigning P.

This conclusion, that this P plays no role in indirect object selection, is confirmed by the fact that full PPs of Direction, as opposed to those of static location, are *incompatible with di-transitive verbs in the secondary vocabulary*:

- (19) *We distributed the gifts on / *onto the playground.*
*The agent introduced the new book in / *into the internet market.*
*Some soldiers displayed the new flag from / *off of the balcony.*

Thus, the feature for selecting indirect objects +___NP'NP does not conflict at all with the stricture (14) on secondary vocabulary verbs, and so many of the latter freely accept indirect objects introduced with the least marked case-assigning Ps *to* or *for*.

5. WHICH DI-TRANSITIVE VERBS ACCEPT INDIRECT OBJECTS WITHOUT PREPOSITIONS?

As seen in (16) above, both primary and secondary vocabulary English verbs can take indirect objects expressed in PPs with *to* or *for*. Almost all such verbs in the primary vocabulary, except the grammatical verbs *do* and *say*, can also position their indirect objects (without a P) before the direct object. In contrast, secondary vocabulary verbs cannot appear with indirect objects in this way.

- (20) Indirect objects without Ps:
- A manager showed / *demonstrated the staff the new procedure.*
 - The manager makes / *produces each customer a receipt.*
 - Please hand / *distribute the guests some cake.*
 - That company offered / *proposed the part timers better pay.*
 - I got / *selected my brother some new shirts.*
 - Margaret told / took / *said / *did her brother something strange.*

Hundreds of English verbs with non-initial or secondary stress (the secondary vocabulary) do not permit preposition-less indirect objects, as exemplified in (20). And as predicted by (5c), none of them are irregularly inflected.

- (21) *acquire, announce, attribute, compose, contribute, construct, design, donate, explain, fabricate, guarantee, improve, introduce, install, locate, obtain, present, procure, provide, recall, recommend, repair, reveal, review, revise, suggest, supply, transport*

Linguists who highlight (and indeed exaggerate) irregularity inflate collections of secondary vocabulary verbs with P-less indirect objects, e.g., Herriman (1995, 61, 104) finds 30 such verbs which usually occur with *to*-phrases. However, her list is misleading;

14 of her verbs contain the prefixes mentioned earlier with regard to Proto-Germanic Initial stress (8), e.g., in *assign*, *bequeath*, *forbid*; it is thus plausible that these monomorphemic stems are in the primary vocabulary. Moreover, in my own speech, 14 others of her verbs are unacceptable with P-less indirect objects:

- (22) **They will deliver Betty a package.*
**The boss plans to extend the part-timers some new privileges.*
**Several teachers recommend the students Shakespeare.*
**Can you reimburse John his ticket?*

All told, only 2 of her 30 examples, *advance* and *deny*, seem to be secondary vocabulary verbs acceptable with P-less double objects.¹⁶

I thus conclude that essentially the same verbs that are incompatible with post-verbal particles also reject double objects with no P. Consequently, the differences between primary and secondary vocabulary can be extended as in Table (23). Lines e and f are *syntactic properties* of the particular grammar G_E of English which cannot be attributed to either UG or to single items in the English Grammatical Lexicon.

(23)

	CORE OR PRIMARY VOCABULARY	SECONDARY VOCABULARY
a.	More general and mundane meanings: <i>eat, drink, swallow, smell</i>	Very specific meanings: <i>devour, imbibe, consume, aroma</i>
b.	Restrictive phonology, e.g., in English, no secondary or non-initial morpheme stress	Less restrictive phonology, such as possible non-initial or secondary stress in English
c.	Possible irregular inflection, e.g., past tenses other than <i>-ed</i> , irregular plurals	Only productive inflections (<i>-ed</i> past on V, <i>-s</i> plurals on N, etc.)
d.	Inflected adjectival comparison (<i>-er, -est</i>): <i>saner, stupidest, tighter, sourest</i>	Free morphemes must compare A: <i>*insaner, *morbidest, *tauter, *dourest</i>
e.	Verbs can select +DIR Ps (directional post-verbal particles and directional PPs).	Verbs with post-verbal particles or directional PP complements are rare.
f.	Verbs can have P-less indirect objects.	Indirect objects require the Ps <i>to/for</i> .

Section 4 expressed line e in this table somewhat more formally, as the Selection Condition (14), a sort of Global Condition in the Lexicon on syntactic subcategorization. Line f in the table can now be expressed in a similar way.

In early generative grammar, Fillmore (1965) and Emonds (1972) argued that English indirect object movement (to a position between V and a direct object) is transformational in nature. Subsequently, based on Oehrle (1976), “lexicalist” analyses prevailed for some 15 years, according to which an English-speaking child must learn separately for each di-transitive verb whether it can appear without *to* or *for*. Transformational analyses returned to the fore after Larson (1988), though strong

16. There are “less educated” styles of current English which lack the contrast in (20), e.g., *Why don’t he explain us what he means? He went and recommended my kids one of them bad movies.* Excluded in Standard English: **Explain us what you mean; *They recommended my kids a bad movie.*

disagreements have persisted as to what constitutes the best analysis. Many of these debated points are summarized and critiqued in Emonds and Ostler (2006).

Here I will now suggest a way out of this impasse, which hopefully simplifies the description of English indirect objects.

- (24) a. *All* the indirect objects in (16) and (20) result from the *same selection features*; all these verbs select an unmarked object NP and a second minimally case-marked NP.
 b. Second NPs receive abstract inherent case in a minimally marked PP.

Formally, the lexical entries of all di-transitive verbs of both primary and secondary vocabulary can be specified with the following minimal subcategorization frames.¹⁷

- (25) UNMARKED DI-TRANSITIVITY FEATURES (languages without case-inflected nouns)
 Bantu, Chinese, Indonesian, Germanic (e.g., English): V, +___NP, [NP (+DIR)]
 Japanese, Romance: V, +___NP, NP

The syntactic subcategorization frames in (25), including the optional feature of Direction or Path, +DIR, can be taken as the very definition of the most common type of di-transitivity, specifying verbs of physical or metaphorical transfer of the object NP to a “Goal” or “Benefactive” NP. Let us see now how this feature works for:

- (26) (i) English secondary vocabulary V (equally well for Japanese and Romance),
 (ii) English primary vocabulary V with indirect objects introduced by an overt P, and
 (iii) English primary vocabulary V with indirect object between V and direct object.¹⁸

(i) For verbs in the secondary vocabulary, Condition (14) rules out selecting +DIR, so the complement structure in the tree (18) is built by selecting two NPs without any DIR feature. Some P is nonetheless required for assigning case to the second NP, one not adjacent to V. It seems plausible that UG specifies a minimal (unmarked) P in the complement structure of an activity verb as +DIR (= GOAL). A P with this feature is spelled out in English as *to* or *for* in Phonological Form, as in (17).

(ii) Unlike secondary vocabulary, verbs in the primary vocabulary have an option in the entry (25): they can select the feature +DIR on the second NP or not. If they *don't select +DIR*, the resulting VP has *the same* structure (18) as *with secondary vocabulary verbs*. The derivation of the clause, including the need for a case-assigning P to or for, then proceeds in the same way for both types.

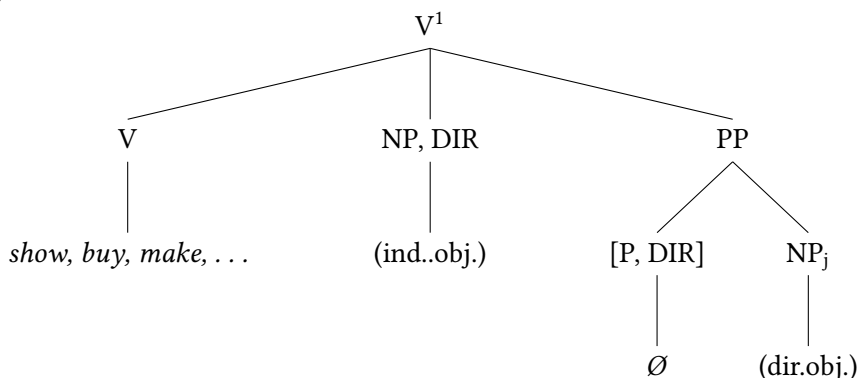
17. Indirect objects in languages for which these frames are relevant are discussed in more detail in Emonds and Ostler (2006).

18. The other languages mentioned with English realize indirect objects in the same two ways as does English primary vocabulary, though I do not know if they have a similar limitation.

(iii) If a verb in the primary vocabulary *does* select +DIR, there are *two possible* results. For some decades it has been recognized that subcategorization / selection features of individual lexical items are responsible *only for co-occurrence*, and *not for the left-right ordering* among complements (Stowell 1981). So from (25) the NP unspecified for DIR can precede [NP, DIR], or the opposite order can obtain.

- If [NP, DIR] follows NP, once again the tree (17) results, and an indirect object with *to/for* is spelled out, still as in (ii) just above.
- Crucially, if [NP, DIR] precedes the second NP, a different tree results. Recall that as long as [P, DIR] is not selected by a verb, i.e., it is *uninterpreted in LF*.

(27)



In this tree, the feature DIR *on the first NP* serves as an “inherent case feature,” which both furnishes Logical Form with the information necessary to assign a Goal / Benefactive interpretation, i.e., it is the indirect object. As a result, V is free to assign case to the closest NP which still requires it, here the second NP. And, as holds generally, when a V assigns case in an unmarked way to an NP complement, this NP gets the semantic role (interpretation) of a direct object.

The Selection Condition (14) excludes tree (27) with secondary vocabulary verbs because the feature DIR appears on a *selected* argument. As discussed in Section 4, this feature does not appear on NP when a verb selects an indirect object *inside a PP*. Such indirect objects are marked as +DIR only in LF in (18) by virtue of case assignment.

A final point concerns the status of the empty P in (27). Cross-linguistically, including in English, there are syntactic arguments that the direct object NP in (27) is indeed in a PP. They are far from obvious, but nonetheless telling, and the reader is referred to Emonds and Ostler (2006) for a closer analysis. The mechanism that licenses this empty P is not entirely clear, but it almost certainly depends on the presence of P’s only feature DIR on the adjacent NP that precedes it.

6. CONCLUSION AND SOME SPECULATION

However we account for the word order between the indirect and direct objects, Sections 4 and 5 have amply demonstrated the general incompatibility of English secondary vocabulary verbs with the selection feature +___DIR. I thus propose it as a candidate for the “Global Conditions on Lexicons” that are part of particular grammars mentioned at the end of Section 2.

- (14) SELECTION CONDITION ON VERBS IN G_E . Primary but not secondary vocabulary English verbs can have the subcategorization (selection) feature +___DIR.

Importantly, this general condition *cannot be expressed by means of some single lexical entry* in the English grammatical lexicon. As a result, Borer’s Conjecture for particular grammars is too strong a hypothesis. A descriptively adequate G_E requires some formal device that is *neither UG nor a property of single lexical entries*. As suggested in Section 2, these global lexical conditions, when their extent and formalization come to be better understood, may also encompass the language-particular word and phrase order parameters for which Chomsky first suggested the idea.¹⁹ Some examples of conditions on word order are taken from Emonds (2009):²⁰

- (28) HEAD ORDERING. Lexical category heads X^0 or phrasal heads X^1 can precede their sisters Y^0 or Y^1 in domains X^j , where $j = 0$ or 1 .
 English: All heads X^j precede phrases Y^1 in all phrases X^1 .
 French: All heads X^j precede non-heads Y^i in all X^j .
 Chinese: The heads $X = V^0$ and P^0 precede non-heads Y^j in all X^j .

Like (14), parametric statements as in (28) seem to be about N, A, V, P and their word and phrasal projections. Tentatively:

- (29) GLOBAL CONDITIONS ON LEXICONS. Language-particular “Global Lexical Conditions” are limited to statements about the ordering and selectional properties of the lexical categories N, V, A and P.

At least for the moment there is no reason to think that language variation in syntax extends beyond Grammatical Lexicons (Borer’s Conjecture), provided that we allow some general combinatorial conditions on the four lexical categories as in (29).

19. Chomsky made this suggestion in 1988, not long after he introduced the I-Language/E-Language distinction. So he must have felt that I-Language should specify properties of particular grammars.

20. In the cited essay, heads within words that are *lexically specified as bound suffixes* are exempt from a general requirement of left headedness.

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THE PRAGMATICS OF POLITENESS: TAKING A CRITICAL STANCE IN ACADEMIC DIGITAL DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT: The paper explores the discourse strategies used in academic discourse in the informal setting of academic personal websites. A digital variation of academic discourse typically provides spontaneous responses using direct ways of expressing ideas. Unlike scholarly discussions at conferences, academic etiquette and diplomatic language are not always maintained, and personal attacks and emotive statements occur. Expressing criticism and disagreement, the participants may use politeness strategies to mitigate face-threatening responses. Mapping the variety of these strategies, I work with those parts of academic web pages that are devoted to vivid discussions of the subject matter. Usually, the web page introduces a research paper that invites responses from web page visitors. My aim is to classify politeness strategies used in the responses that show disagreement and animosity. The research draws from a corpus of articles and related responses randomly chosen from personal and institutional academic web pages.

KEYWORDS: academic digital discourse; interpersonal rhetoric; expressing and taking criticism; disagreement; online discussions; politeness strategy

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I view the academic discourse used in academic personal websites as digital discourse in the sense of being presented via computer. The academic digital discourse used in web pages is to a certain extent less restricted by the norms and standards of academic writing commonly required in research articles. Complex research on popular and professional science (see Hyland 2010) has revealed a variety of important aspects in academic discourse and the need for consistency with the norms of the given scientific community. My assumption is that certain aspects, such as proximity and interpersonal, will slightly differ in the informal setting of academic digital discourse. However, the recognition of scientific value and desire for certain academic prestige also play a role. Online discussion provides alternative voices, and the participants themselves often support their professional stance via referencing or directly inviting experts to contribute. The analysis shows that the most characteristic feature of academic digital discourse is interpersonality. Here, the conception of interpersonal rhetoric (Leech 1983), which examines the interplay of the main pragmatic principles and their maxims, can be efficiently applied. The analysis of responses to academic papers developing into lively discussions of the subject matter also reminds us that science should remain a communicative activity where ideas are to be discussed rather than presented as finalized pieces of information (see Hyland 2010). As for the technical aspects of digital academic discourse, its world-wide and

easy accessibility is the most appreciated advancement. Modern digital communicative strategies have been examined, and their pros and cons have been pointed out (see Lencho 2011, 38). I view academic digital discourse as a hybrid text-type combining features of both written and spoken academic discourse. The distinctive features of spoken academic discourse, namely the use and distribution of a set of discourse markers as related to particular discourse strategies used to express politeness in spoken academic discourse, have been studied in detail by Povolná (2009, 158). Similarly to spoken interaction, critical views are expressed with vigour and strength and as such create face-threatening acts. However, feelings of collegiality often prevail and the professional reliance and impact of the scholars make them reformulate their responses, soften criticism and use various mitigating devices. The findings show that comments and conciliatory statements are among the most efficient politeness strategies.

2. PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL WEB PAGES

The aim here is to analyse readers' responses to a piece of academic work displayed on the web pages of scholars and institutions. For the purpose of this article, I use the term *personal web pages* to name the web pages from which I retrieved responses. These are all created by an individual representing him or herself, his or her home institution or a professional society, with the aim of displaying content of a more or less personal but academic nature. Interaction via personal web pages provides less formal ground than conferences or academic journals: due to various levels of anonymity, the respondents take almost no risk in presenting their opinions, regardless of how unfavourable and critical they are. As a matter of fact, it remains unknown how much electronic threat scholars can actually take: they often get publicly attacked and humiliated by (anonymous but traceable) expert respondents. Setting aside the importance of the human voice and the complexity of non-verbal communication in spoken interaction, the speed of exchange and directness of response is comparable to face-to-face communication. Considering the immense popularity and easy accessibility of the Internet at present, scholars might also be thrilled by the potential chance to get a unique unexpected response from a distinguished personality in the field (or just a startling inspiration from an unknown contributor).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

In my analysis, I take the approach of interpersonal rhetoric as elaborated upon by Leech (1983). I utilize a hierarchy of pragmatic principles, mainly the Cooperative (CP) and Politeness principles (PP), consisting of particular maxims (Grice 1975, 43; Leech 1983, 16). My aim is to examine, based on the given context of academic digital discourse, the reasons that make the participants either abide by particular conversational and politeness maxims or force them to fail to fulfil the maxims and thus create (conversational) implicatures (Grundy 2000, 70). In the context of academic digital discourse, mainly two aspects are assumedly shared by all participants in the debates: the identifiable social setting of the academic community and any relevant

background knowledge from the field of science. These aspects are crucial for working out conversational implicatures (Watts 2003, 25), which are convention-based and as such must be capable of being worked out on the basis that all interlocutors can recognize the conventional meaning of the words used. The vast majority of interlocutors also understand that the CP and its maxims are to be respected, and they share the same context and other items of background knowledge. These aspects are assumed by both parties – the initiator of the discussion (the author of the article displayed) and the respondents (blog discussion participants). In my analysis, I view the failures to fulfil the maxims (i.e., violating, flouting, opting out, clashing, etc.) as providing conversational cues informing participants that irrational and illogical statements are better understood within a conventional framework. Analysing responses aimed at expressing disagreement, I focus on a set of implicatures created by participants, where their aim is to decide between being cooperative (direct and frank) and polite (indirect and diplomatic). As the analysis points out, the PP is a necessary complement of the CP, however, the impulse of collaboration in academic digital discourse often suppresses the tact maxim. Irony can appear as overly polite for the occasion, which means that the PP actually overrules the CP. Thus in a hierarchy of pragmatic principles, the Irony principle takes its place alongside the CP and the PP.

4. DATA DESCRIPTION

The corpus comprises a total of 35 articles and 899 related responses retrieved from the 5 randomly chosen personal and institutional academic web pages. The surveyed web pages are: 1) Paulitics, a web page run by Paul, an MA graduate in media studies, political theory and international politics from the University of Ottawa. The blogs and related responses (7 blogs with 138 comments) come from the period between 2006 and 2009. The samples taken from this corpus are marked as [PWP]; 2) The Science Blog, a blog web page cross-referencing the blog from the previously-stated web page of Evolution News and Views (1 blog with 76 comments). The samples taken from this corpus are marked as [TSB]; 3) *The Guardian Online* (UK), specifically its higher education network blog section. All blogs and related responses were published between January and June 2012 (8 blogs with 62 comments, and 1 article without a response). The samples taken from this corpus are marked as [TGO]; 4) *The Telegraph Online* (UK) blog section on Politics with a blog article by Ed West with 409 comments (August 2012). The samples taken from this corpus are marked as [TTO]; and 5), David Crystal blog archive (18 articles with 214 comments). The full name of the site (as specified in the bibliography) is DCBlog, and the samples taken from this corpus are marked as [DCB].

The length of the language material retrieved is almost 70,000 words. In my analysis, I focus primarily on the responses to the articles, not the articles themselves. For the sake of statistics (which would enable comparison of particular communicative strategies), the original corpus has been adapted and only the first 50 comments (out of all comments related to a particular blog article) from each web page have been

calculated into statistics. In this way each web page contributed the same portion of comments. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the proportional adjustments:

TABLE 1: ORIGINAL SIZE OF THE CORPUS: AUTHENTIC NUMBER OF RESPONSES STIMULATED BY THE BLOG ARTICLES

	NAME OF WEB PAGE	ABBREV.	NUMBER OF BLOGS	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	COMMENTS IN %
1.	Paulitics	PWP	7	138	15.35
2.	The Science Blog	TSB	1	76	8.45
3.	The Guardian online	TGO	8	62	6.90
4.	The Telegraph online	TTO	1	409	45.50
5.	David Crystal blog archive	DCB	18	214	23.80
	TOTAL:		35	899	100%

TABLE 2: ADAPTED SIZE OF THE CORPUS: NUMBER OF RESPONSES MADE EVEN FOR THE SAKE OF STATISTIC COMPARISON

	NAME OF WEB PAGE	ABBREV.	NUMBER OF BLOGS	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	COMMENTS IN %
1.	Paulitics	PWP	7	50 / 138	20%
2.	The Science Blog	TSB	1	50 / 76	20%
3.	The Guardian online	TGO	8	50 / 62	20%
4.	The Telegraph online	TTO	1	50 / 409	20%
5.	David Crystal blog archive	DCB	18	50 / 214	20%
	TOTAL:		35	250	100%

5. ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

In the presented analysis, I focus on the study of the *pragmatic force* of an utterance (see Leech 1983, 17) which combines both the *illocutionary force* (i.e., illocutionary and social goals) and the *rhetoric force* (i.e., the adherence to rhetorical principles). More specifically, the analysis will point out which rhetorical principles the respondents prefer to use (i.e., to what extent they choose being truthful, polite, ironic, etc., in their comments). The aim is to classify a variety of politeness strategies used by the respondents, paying attention mainly to mitigating devices used to soften face-threatening acts or critical comments. In academic digital discourse, politeness strategies (such as showing professional appreciation, formulating criticism via asking questions, providing suggestions, giving references, etc.) enhance the natural flow and dynamism of turn-taking in online debates.

Taking an explanatory approach to discourse analysis from the researcher’s point of view, my analysis comprises descriptive and interpretative aspects. The findings illustrate certain differences in the use of politeness strategies in academic discourse: in comparison to the more formal setting of scientific conferences, where no direct

accusations occur, open attacks and animosities are part and parcel of academic discussions developed on web pages or blog sites. However, the concept of politeness is palpable and present all through the exchange of ideas; all observed strategies seem to develop from the pragmatic notion of face as introduced by Brown and Levinson (1987). The analysis of the responses shows diverse levels of formality and awareness of academic writing conventions, often comparable to politeness strategies employed in academic critical and evaluative texts such as book reviews (see Valor 2001). In the following section, discourse strategies used by the respondents to express critical comments and disagreement are classified into several subgroups.

6. TAKING A CRITICAL STANCE

Maintaining harmonious and smooth social relations in the face of the necessity to convey critique and disagreement is the main purpose of politeness. Expressing critical comments in an acceptable way requires using specific negative politeness strategies. As pointed out by Brown and Levinson (1987, 129), “negative politeness is the heart of respect behavior.” Assumedly, academic discourse will maintain an adequate amount of tact and civility even in the informal setting of academic web pages. In the following section, negative politeness discourse strategies are reviewed, emphasizing the need for respectful behavior in academic digital discourse.

6.1 PREPARING THE GROUND FOR CRITICISM

Respondents may provide a broader introduction to their comments, and before expressing criticism they give statements about the broader context of the research, tell a story, name similar examples, etc. Such elaborate opening frames reduce the number of direct accusing acts in critical comments but at the same time are perceivable as violations of the relevance maxim because other participants can view them as too distracting or off the point. The PP overrules the CP here: extensive opening frames (below in bold) enable the respondent to state opinions that are in direct contrast and at the same time avoid direct accusations against the author of the main article. The following example illustrates this strategy:

- (1) **Miller, who declined to be interviewed or have her real name published, was so flustered that she didn't show the DVD for the rest of the day because she felt responsible for putting the student in that emotional state . . .** (Opening frame) **It wasn't** (Disagreement – direct accusing act 1) the teacher that was responsible for . . . ; **it is squarely** (Disagreement – direct accusing act 2) the responsibility of the . . . [RDE]

Similarly:

- (2) **I have some sympathy for those children condemned to ignorance by their parents, but really, in those circumstances . . .** (Opening frame), **I don't see** (Disagreement – direct accusing act 1) that the entire onus can be

placed on . . . Pupils, parents and the wider community **need to** (Disagreement – direct accusing act 2) . . . [RDE] 4)

6.2 DISAGREEMENT BY ASKING QUESTIONS

To disagree with or contradict the speaker is not considered polite, and therefore asking questions can be seen as a face-saving act. The face of the opponent is not directly confronted as the questions seem polite on the surface and do not represent direct accusations. Moreover, the strategy of asking questions is rooted in the positive politeness strategy of showing interest and empathy and saves the opponent's wants efficiently:

- (3) Is there a difference? [RDE]
- (4) What is the purpose of education? [RDE]
- (5) You are suggesting Gary Lunn's support will collapse down to 27% from last time (42 %?) largely because Elizabeth May runs in SGI? Have you looked at her positions? [PWP]

In the informal setting, lexical items (hedges and intensifiers marked in bold) are used, which accentuate the issue and in this way create face-threatening acts (FTAs). The following examples show that the illocutionary force of the discourse is strong:

- (6) Why do you always insist on those **silly** titles? (FTA) Did you **actually** turn this paper in as part of your graduate work with that title or did you change the title for your blog? [PWP]
- (7) What **the hell** did she think a university was for, if not to encourage her to think in new and unfamiliar ways, going beyond what she was exposed to when living with her ridiculous family? [RDE]

6.3 INDIRECT ATTACKS

Generally speaking, potential attacks in academia are rather indirect. In ADD, indirect attacks are expressed by a purposeful choice of lexis (i.e., the intensifiers and hedges as highlighted in (8) and (9) in bold italics) and specific sentence structuring present potential FTAs. The respondents clearly disagree but seem to respect negative politeness strategies and reduce the intimidating effects on the speaker by belittling their own capacities and making their responses indirect. Rhetorical devices used, such as sentence parallelism and pseudo-cleft sentences (highlighted in bold), are typical of the spoken interaction.

- (8) ***I don't even know*** what that means, ***but I do know*** that you ***just*** mugged, beat and brutalized the English language there. [PWP]
- (9) ***I do not*** find it ***particularly*** baffling ***or at all*** surprising. ***What is*** surprising to me ***is that apparently*** lying in ***such a*** bold and deliberate fashion has no consequences. [TSB]

6.4 CRITICISM BY MAKING REFERENCES

A strategy typically used to present (at least seemingly) a well-structured piece of criticism. The respondent addresses particular points ((10), in bold) made in the article providing indirect critical statements (politeness structures marked in italics). This strategy can be viewed as acting in accordance with the PP maxim of tact.

- (10) **In your other** post **you say that** this academic research project / essay is not properly formatted and is still in its draft stage. *I hope so* because it is in serious need of a grammar / spell check. [PWP]

6.5 CRITICISM BY MAKING SUGGESTIONS

One of the most common politeness strategies used in academic discourse in general is to show empathy and reflexivity. Making suggestions enables one to indirectly criticize or correct the speaker (politeness structures marked in italics). In ADD, the use of emotionally marked lexis and intensifiers (marked in bold cursive) creates potential FTAs.

- (11) *Paul*. This is *a bit* off-topic, but *you might like* the . . . [PWP]
 (12) *There is* always another option here that hasn't been looked at . . . [TSB]
 (13) *If you could* point to the . . . , *it would be much appreciated*. Having searched for . . . , *it seems* that you were . . . [TSB]
 (14) ***Instead of*** informing me about Brown ***entertain me*** with something I don't ***already*** know about Chomsky. [PWP]

6.6 EXPRESSING CRITICISM BY MAKING INQUIRIES

This strategy is typically used to represent indirect and thus polite ways (the CP maxims, hedges and politeness discourse markers in (5)–(7) are in italics) of correcting the speaker. The positive politeness strategies of claiming common ground and showing interest enhance the smooth interaction and fulfil social goals of communication:

- (15) Are you saying that this *somehow* shouldn't count? [PWP]
 (16) The *only* responsible way of calculating the matter is to do . . . Furthermore, in taking the raw vote totals as you are doing, you risk discounting that . . . *In my opinion*, this makes such raw calculations *not entirely* useful. [PWP]
 (17) *Please* review the links above and explain how . . . *Also* explain how . . . *Please* explain how . . . *Please* explain how . . . and explain all the . . . *Please* explain how your use of the term . . . *I hope* I have shown *to your satisfaction* that the . . . *is not always* . . . [TSB]

6.7 ASKING (RHETORICAL) QUESTIONS

This can be seen as an acceptable way of expressing disagreement by applying a negative politeness strategy aimed at communicating and redressing the wants of the

speaker. To a certain extent, the positive politeness strategy of showing reluctance is in play here.

- (18) *Rather than* using Chomsky as an excuse to go after Brown **wouldn't it be** more constructive to **simply** talk about something good that Chomsky has done?
[PWP]
- (19) Do you **really** think they'd accept . . . as a legitimate requirement for . . . ? [PWP]
- (20) Would it be more consequential if . . . ? Does the fact that he lies so egregiously in an "academic debate" not shed some taint on the veracity of his other statements, such as in his research or teaching? Why does he still have a job? [TSB]

6.8 INVITING COMMENTS WHICH SHOW STRONG / WEAK POINTS

This is another polite and acceptable way of presenting criticism in academic discourse. If being polite means to be a considerate conversational partner, is it important to follow basic rules of the CP as a part of the PP:

- (21) *Would* you say that . . . ? [PWP]
- (22) *Although* it's *far less* scientific than what you presented, *I think* we can add in a pity factor that sees . . . to give the growing number of . . . *I think* I'd do that if the . . . and . . . were . . . [PWP]

6.9 SOFTENING CRITICISM

Similarly, both the CP and the PP and their maxims are applied to soften critical comments. The structures of linguistic politeness (in cursive) are efficiently used:

- (23) *With all due respect*, Paul, but there are . . . [PWP]
- (24) *Paul: actually*, I read your analysis *quite* carefully, but *I think* you aren't *quite* understanding *a few* of my points, or *perhaps* I didn't explain them well enough. *Let me* address your latest comments. [PWP]

Once the criticism has been presented, the author of the discussed article has to cope with the critique in some way. He can use various strategies to save or communicate his face wants. Disagreements can either get resolved or remain unresolved. The corpus shows that in academic digital discourse, open conflicts seldom get resolved. In the following section, I will briefly discuss the most common cases of unresolved disagreement. The following Table 3 illustrates the portions of particular politeness strategies used when taking a critical stance:

As shown in Table 3, the strategy of preparing the ground for criticism as well as criticising by making references and suggestions are the most efficient politeness strategies in academic blogging. These strategies evoke frequent repetitions of the statements given by the previous blogger so that interlocutors can respond directly to a particular part of a preceding post. In the form of a comment, some bloggers publish long (parts of) texts, similar (in their overall structure, logical reasoning and style) to

TABLE 3: TAKING A CRITICAL STANCE – NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES

	COMMUNICATIVE / POLITENESS STRATEGY	PWP	TSB	TGO	TTO	DCB	TOTAL:
1.	Preparing the ground for criticism	16	10	12	–	3	41
2.	Disagreement by asking questions	3	12	3	10	–	28
3.	Indirect attacks	2	13	22	–	–	37
4.	Criticism by making references	6	17	13	2	1	39
5.	Criticism by making suggestions	14	9	4	–	2	29
6.	Expressing criticism by making inquiries	7	10	3	12	2	34
7.	Asking (rhetorical) questions	5	–	5	6	–	16
8)	Inviting comments which show strong / weak points	5	10	3	8	5	31
9.	Softening criticism / seeking reconciliation	7	2	6	12	2	29
10.	Others (detailed analysis of wrong-thinking of an opponent)	–	6	–	–	–	6
	TOTAL	65	89	71	50	15	290

academic papers: these texts are typically well-developed; they respect the norms of academic writing and use diplomatic language. Further attempts at reconciliation are often implied by more or less objective yet detailed step-by-step analyses of strong and weak points. Such analyses are often signalled by the use of hedging devices, such as *I think, I believe, this might be over the topic*, etc. Not responding may imply animosity; however, the pragmatic force of silence is to be correctly communicated (either as ignorance or considerateness) based on the contexts and background knowledge. Also observable is that certain categories of communicative politeness strategies work together and thus enhance the force of each-other. For instance, asking questions to initiate further clarification often implies irony.

7. UNRESOLVED DISAGREEMENT

Unlike scholarly debates in formal settings, such as scientific conferences, in academic digital discourse conflicts can remain unresolved. Direct criticism and accusations typically occur, especially when no valid academic reason for the criticism is perceived. The (social, psychological and physical) setting in academic digital discourse constrains the scope of politeness, and all participants simply have to respect this reality. In the following comments, the conflicts are not resolved because the respondents willingly disrespect all strategies aimed at avoiding FTAs. The PP is overruled by the CP where the urge to tell the truth is stronger than the desire to claim collegiality and save the opponent's face. Examples of unresolved conflicts in academic digital discourse are plentiful. As highlighted in italics in the following examples, direct attacks make use of stylistically-marked, emotionally-coloured and vulgar words.

- (25) *This annoys me.* It's no part of a . . . to address . . . nor to make . . . Ignorance should be challenged where it's genuine. Where it's faked . . . it deserves no more response than: "*Get out of my classroom!*" [RDE]
- (26) *This is so boring* that I'm going to let it go after I reiterate *my original constructive* feedback for you. [PWP]
- (27) *What a hell* and *what a dysfunctional* nation-state. [RDE]
- (28) *Wtf is this shit?!* [TSB]
- (29) What I find *most alarming* about you is how you *rant* about Brown and then so *casually corrupt* yourself. [PWP]

Typically, conflicts and disagreements are indicated by straightforward violations of particular maxims of both universal pragmatic principles. The speaker puts his face wants first, and, by suppressing the use of discursive cooperative and politeness strategies, aims at boosting the pragmatic force of an utterance through a range of rhetorical strategies (being repetitive, ironic, sarcastic, exaggerating, etc.) that violate or flout both universal pragmatic principles. In this final section, I will briefly discuss some common types of flouting the maxims, as they create conversational implicatures vital in academic digital discourse. My point is to emphasize that these responses are non-informative at the level of what is stated but highly informative at the level of what is implied.

7.1 IRONY, SARCASM, METAPHORS, HYPERBOLES, REPETITION AND PARALLELISM

In the responses (30)–(32), the speakers provided ironic remarks in a sense that what they write is obviously too polite for the occasion. Particular conversational implicatures can be inferred, such as competitiveness and animosity between the scholars (capitals used as in the original text, emphasis by *italics* mine):

- (30) *Oops, what am I saying, I forgot* who I'm talking to. *OF COURSE* you're not going to do some research on your own. [PWP]
- (31) *I like* the part where he says: "They're just people's opinions and some of them are obviously used by political parties or people with political points of view to push." *I wonder how many times CBC has had people such as this bloke here on. He should talk!* [PWP]
- (32) The same *desperate tactics* can be observed *It would be quite interesting to investigate the neurophysiology of the ideologue mind.* [TSB]

Some responses are made even more sharply and wittily, representing a variety of irony known as sarcasm. The examples show that their point is to highlight annoyance with a situation. Flouting namely the CP maxims of manner and quantity as well as the PP maxims of tact and approbation, sarcasm implies the refusal of particular academic methods and the dislike of one's attitudes:

- (33) *Maybe* Dr. . . . isn't dishonest. Maybe he's just *functionally illiterate*. Reading his blog, I get the feeling *he has a lot of trouble understanding his opponents' arguments.* [TSB]

- (34) *Wow. Population genetics is simply the mathematical formulation of evolutionary theory. So apparently understanding of evolution is not even used when attempting to understand evolution.* [TSB]
- (35) *What is wrong with you people? You just don't get it!! Lying in the interest of spreading god's greater truth is ADMIRABLE! . . . are two of the most ADMIRABLE humans on the planet!* [TSB]
- (36) *Would an educational experience of 40 days and nights in the desert cure their reliance on their imagination?* [RDE]

Similarly, metaphors or colloquial idiomatic and figurative language (including vulgarities) are used to imply unresolved conflicts and antipathy:

- (37) *And the Lib candidate has even better . . . A case of one who can't see the forest for the excel spread sheet.* [PWP]
- (38) Viktor – *Your posts have now descended to petty name calling and character assassination, becoming childish and sickening. . . . You really are full of yourself. I'm glad you realize it is time you buggered off. Good bye* [PWP]

Related to metaphors, hyperboles or exaggerations are used by the respondents, implying their strong repulsion and increasing the absurdity of the occasion:

- (39) *Then of course it is possible to argue in a broadly political context that it is only a matter of opinion whether or not nuclear weapons are horrifically destructive.* [TSB]
- (40) *As superior as my writing and logic are to yours, not to mention my god-like ability to keep a cool head you have become irrational, even I have to admit that my feedback is neither true nor false. It's just a gut reaction I have when I read you minnow. Now your god has to go. I have other worlds to crush.* [PWP]

Some other rhetorical devices can be pointed out, such as a variety of cases of repetitions and sentence parallelism which violate the CP maxim of quantity and manner alongside the PP maxims of tact and modesty. Implicatures are to be inferred about the attitudes of the speaker towards the opponent:

- (41) *I disagree agree with you on much and that is the very reason I read you. I read you because I want to understand you. I want to understand you to destroy you . . .* [PWP]

Finally, the cases of flouting various maxims can be exemplified. These are mainly responses that seem to confuse or distract the reader by their ambiguity, obscurity and failure to be brief or succinct (see Grice 1975, 58). At the same time, participants capable of inferring specific implicatures find them witty and informative. Specific background knowledge as well as particular aspects of social (professional) background is necessary to infer correctly the implied messages. Only those participants who share this common ground and contexts can understand the following messages (italicized emphasis mine) adequately and appreciate the informativeness at the level of what is implied.

7.2 AMBIGUITY, OBSCURITY AND FAILURE TO BE BRIEF OR SUCCINCT

- (42) *I'm a zombie and, now I'm in the sky with my god, sexy tony!* [TSB]
 (43) For someone like . . . *who is no more than a glorified plumber, the source of the pipes he finds beneath the sink may be irrelevant. But for those who care about the origin and configuration of those pipes, prevalence is important data.* [TSB]

The following Table 4 illustrates the portions of particular cases of unresolved disagreement:

TABLE 4: UNRESOLVED DISAGREEMENTS – NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES

	COMMUNICATIVE / POLITENESS STRATEGY	PWP	TSB	TGO	TTO	DCB	TOTAL:
1.	Irony	6	14	12	8	–	40
2.	Sarcasm	3	10	–	11	–	24
3.	Metaphor	4	8	2	6	–	20
4.	Hyperbole	2	3	–	–	–	5
5.	Repetitions and sentence parallelism	3	10	5	10	–	28
6.	Ambiguity	2	3	–	–	–	5
7.	Obscurity and failure to be brief or succinct	4	–	–	–	–	4
8.	Others (direct attacks, vulgarities)	17	12	6	12	–	47
	TOTAL:	41	60	25	47	0	173

As noted in Table 4, there are no cases of unresolved disagreement in the David Crystal Blog (DCB). Typically, the post expresses admiration, collegiality (e.g., tutor–student relationship) and comradeship (senior vs. younger colleague relationship). The post typically illustrates friendly and less formal yet academic language (e.g., mitigating devices used at the slightest implicatures of FTAs, no implicatures of unresolved disagreement, rare and politely put attempts at a critical stance). Polite forms of address and thanking formulae are typical. The blogging on this site often resembles the norms of traditional letter writing as in the next example:

(44) Dear David,

To begin with, I really liked this post. I am a big fan of your work, and it's a shame that all of your books cannot be found in my country. This is a great opportunity for us to read these books and I just wanted to let you know that you have done a great thing! Thanks again for everything you have written and thus enabled students in Serbia to understand linguistics and the English language in a completely new and wonderful way!

Kind Regards,

Sanja

Expressions of respect and admiration often create exaggerations and hyperboles such as in example (45). Their pragmatic force can be seen as opposite to the examples (39) and (40) as expressions of disagreement.

- (45) Oh my! What a wonderful site, and overflowing with linguistic goodness. I doubt unless I quit my job and never leave my bedroom I'll get to all you have there, but – as Rebecca commented – thank you for making your all of this available for your fans and fellow lovers of language.

Comradeship and the same social status between the bloggers at DCB are demonstrated by a series of good-humoured responses and a variety of (colloquial forms of) interjections providing for an informal friendly setting. Example (46) is a typical representative:

- (46) Haha, I love how you likened the development and launch of a website to pregnancy. I think a lot of people do tend to underestimate just how long it takes to put up a good website with exceptional content and aesthetic allure. It definitely takes a lot of time, patience and effort. A good website doesn't take only a day to go up. I hope the new website has seen lots of visitors already!

The analysed categories of unresolved disagreements often overlap or/and work hand in hand to create particular illocutionary force. For instance, in the heat of an argument, irony often develops into sarcasm. However, specific contexts and background knowledge are crucial for the participants to identify and correctly decipher it.

8. CONCLUSION

In digital academic discourse, a range of discourse strategies are used to maintain smooth interaction and collaboration. The data show that in presenting critical comments the maxims of the CP and the PP are respected and particular positive politeness strategies are used to resolve conflicts and disagreements. Even in the informal setting of web pages, in academic digital discourse the typical participant of a scholarly debate chooses expressions that minimally belittle the status of their opponent and explores strategies aimed at avoiding FTAs. In the heat of an argument, the participants may create potential face threats by disagreeing, making critical comments or even attacking their opponent. A few strategies are used to mitigate face-threatening responses, such as expressing critique by asking questions (9.6 percent), making suggestions and inquiries (10 percent), providing references to similar projects (13.5 percent), etc. Unlike formal academic discourse, in academic digital discourse unsolved conflicts and disagreements, such as direct attacks, occur (there have been identified 173 occurrences of unresolved criticism and disagreement in 250 comments). At the same time, additional positive or negative attitudes were communicated via implicatures; under the influence of emotions speakers made ironic (23 percent) or sarcastic statements (14 percent) and used figurative language (11.6 percent) and exaggerations (2.9 percent). Together with obscurity and ambiguity, these rhetorical strategies bluntly violate or flout the CP and the PP maxims.

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EXPRESSING SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT IN ONLINE DISCUSSIONS

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ABSTRACT: Online communication represents a type of discourse with features typical of both written and spoken discourse. Interaction as the primary function of spoken discourse, contrasted to information as the primary function of written discourse, influences the structure of exchanges in online discussions no matter if they are synchronous or asynchronous. This paper presents an analysis of the language of online asynchronous discussions, the purpose of which was to promote collaboration among students during their work on an independent task. The research is focused on identifying the ways of expressing support and encouragement in the non-native speakers' corpus, on sorting them according to their structure, interrelating individual structural types with particular meanings and searching for general tendencies of their distribution depending on various factors, including cooperation and politeness principles.

KEYWORDS: computer mediated communication; face-to-face communication; asynchronous forum; expressing politeness; indirectness; communicative types of sentences; negation

1. COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Traditionally, computer mediated communication (CMC) is perceived as a blend of features typical of spoken language and written language. Crystal (2001, 42) applies seven criteria in order to depict the character of Internet language (i.e., time bound vs. space bound; spontaneous vs. contrived; face-to-face vs. visually decontextualized; loosely structured vs. elaborately structured; socially interactive vs. factually communicative; immediately revisable vs. repeatedly revisable; prosodically rich vs. graphically rich) and infers that in some areas online communication is more similar to speech, in others to writing. However, after a discussion of individual features, he concludes that it is not possible to consider CMC to be a mixture of speech and writing, but rather a “genuine third medium” (Crystal 2001, 48). Many researchers have paid attention to the consequences of the clash between speech and writing, and most of them admit that CMC is a specific type of communication where the traditional approaches are not fully applicable, and they argue that CMC reshapes forms and functions of language and brings new ways of building a discourse (Herring 1996, 2001, 2004; McCarthy and Carter 1994; Firbas 1992; Widdowson 2007).

CMC as a new medium is often described as technically written and functionally spoken; it is viewed as a special type of discourse resulting from a special environment of computers. Many studies also showed that the particular function of a discourse often influences its structure more significantly than the mode of the communication itself, i.e., speech or writing (e.g., Biber 1988; Schiffrin 1994). Thus, I argue that most types of

CMC are in many aspects more similar to speech than writing, which is also reflected in the terminology used for such communication (*interactive* writing or *talking* text), where the descriptive adjectives stress that it is a talk and its function is interaction.

2. CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURES

In studies on specific features of CMC, scholars very often name interaction among the primary functions of CMC, and thus the characteristic features of conversation (as traditionally most interactive type of discourse) should be investigated in relation to this function of CMC. Studies in conversation analysis assume that interaction in a dialogue is structurally organized although structure cannot be dealt with apart from the event of the dialogue and its participants (Schiffrin 1994, 234).

Based on Grice's pragmatic theory, conversational implicatures, which aim at separating what is said and what is implicated, use the following naturally interrelated criteria (Cruse 2004, 365). They include: context-dependence (i.e., one proposition can bring different conversational implicatures depending on different contexts), defeasibility / cancellability (i.e., implicatures are cancellable by additional propositions without causing any contradiction), non-detachability (i.e., the same proposition in the same context brings the same conversational implicature no matter how it is expressed), and calculability (conversational implicature must be calculable according to general principles).

One important principle in this area is the cooperative principle, stating that a conversation has "a general purpose or direction and the contributions of the participants are intelligibly related to one another and to the overall aim of the conversation" (Cruse 2004, 367). Participants should make their contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk. What it means to cooperate in an appropriate way is clarified by a set of maxims. The maxim of quality determines that participants should not say what they believe to be false, the maxim of quantity determines that participants should not make the contribution more or less informative than is required, the maxim of relation determines that a contribution should be relevant to a speech situation and the maxim of manner determines that a contribution should not be obscure, ambiguous and wordy (Cruse 2004, 363–70).

Interrelated to the cooperative principle is another independent pragmatic principle helping the natural flow of conversation – the politeness principle, which requires the minimization of the expression of impolite beliefs and the choice of expressions which minimally belittle the hearer's status. It operates as a system of mutually connected maxims. The tact maxim requires minimizing cost and maximizing benefit to the hearer; the generosity maxim requires minimizing benefit and maximizing cost to self – parallel to the previous; the praise maxim requires minimizing dispraise and maximizing praise of the hearer; the modesty maxim requires minimizing praise and maximizing dispraise of self – parallel to the previous; the agreement maxim requires minimizing disagreement and maximizing agreement with the hearer; the sympathy maxim requires maximizing sympathy and minimizing antipathy towards the hearer;

and the consideration maxim requires minimizing the discomfort and maximizing the comfort of the hearer (Cruse 2004, 376–83).

Both the cooperation and politeness principles are crucial conditions for a successful dialogue. Since, similarly to conversation, the primary purpose of CMC is interaction, I believe that they must be applied to synchronous and asynchronous chats. As mentioned, although structures cannot be interpreted without a context of a conversation, the studies of utterances in conversation provide evidence for recurrent patterns and tendencies in the distribution of certain forms in the organization of speech (Schiffrin 1994, 340). Thus, the core of this study is aimed at the analysis of the structures that are believed to be typically spoken (expressing encouragement and support). However, within the framework of recent sociolinguistic and pragmatic research (e.g., Wardhaugh 1986; Thomas 1995; Schiffrin 1996; Válková 2004; Ward and Birner 2001), politeness as a concept that overlaps other scientific disciplines will be also discussed.

3. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF CMC

The principal question to be answered by the analysis of the CMC corpus is how the impact of cooperation and politeness principles is reflected in the use of certain structures. My selection of linguistic structures is based on the article by Kwang-Kyu (1996). His comparative study analyses the language of synchronous discussions of university students and compares the results of the analysis with two different corpora, spoken and written. He chooses 28 lexico-grammatical features arranged on a scale from interaction to informativity, which were originally used by Biber (1988) in his factor analysis, focused on textual dimensions and textual relations in speech and writing.

Kwang-Kyu's findings are briefly summarised below. He grouped the analysed structures according to their relevance in spoken and written discourse. Pattern 1 includes features whose occurrence in CMC is higher than in written and lower in spoken communication (which could be considered a blend of speech and writing): (a) first person pronouns, (b) the pronoun *it*, (c) demonstrative pronouns, (d) *do* as a pro-verb, (e) word length, (f) amplifiers, (g) emphatics, (h) possibility modals, (i) private verbs, (j) contractions, (k) *that* deletion, (l) stranded prepositions, (m) present tense, (n) non-phrasal coordination, and (o) adverbial subordinate clause. Pattern 2 includes features the occurrence of which in CMC is higher than in both written and spoken communication (i.e., CMC is more *speech-like* than speech itself): (a) *wh*-questions, (b) indefinite pronouns, (c) *be* as lexical verb, (d) *wh*-clauses, (e) discourse particles, (f) analytic negation, and (g) second person pronouns. Pattern 3 includes features the occurrence of which in CMC is lower than in both written and spoken communication: (a) type / token ratio, (b) nouns, (c) prepositions, (d) attributive adjectives, (e) hedges, and (f) sentence relatives.

For the purpose of this study only those structures were chosen which are related to interactivity and cooperation, most of them belonging to pattern 2 (i.e., forms which are typical of spoken language and they are used in CMC even more frequently than in

speech). They include *wh*-questions and other *wh*-clauses, second person pronouns and analytic negation. In the course of the study, the need appeared to include also other communicative types of sentences (imperatives, statements and indirect questions) and the first and third persons.

4. DESCRIPTION OF CORPUS AND TASKS FOR ANALYSIS

The analysed language represents the discourse of CMC, specifically an asynchronous forum in an academic environment as part of students' regular course work. The corpus includes 160 messages from 12 participants sent during 15 weeks; the size is 10,262 words in 833 sentences. The participants in this asynchronous chat are non-native speakers (Czech native speakers) so the study is focused on learners' language analysis. The purpose of the discussion forum was primarily peer support during the students' work on a project, because at that time they were on their long-term teaching internship and could not meet face-to-face. As can be seen from the instructions and guidelines stated by the tutor (e.g., "help each other with technical and creative problems . . . share the experience with . . . explain to your colleagues . . . enable your colleagues to learn from your own learning by trial and error . . . provide feedback, suggestions, and advice . . . respond to the questions"), participants were expected to cooperate extensively, so it is supposed that the cooperation principle and politeness principle were applied, and evidence of that can be found in the language used.

As Biber et al. (1999, 1047) state, "conversation is expressive of politeness, emotion, and attitude," and thus the research question is how far it is applicable to the CMC, the aim of which is primarily cooperation among all members, i.e., similar to a dialogue. The discourse forms in focus are articulating an inquiry (problem / question / request) and responding to such inquiries (their types and formal realizations), and linguistic realizations of both types of entry. The chosen linguistic structures are partly based on Kwang-Kyu's study and include the distribution of pronouns *I* and *you* (as typical features of interactive discourse), deontic modality (especially in types of response), intentional modality (both in inquiries and responses), and negation (especially in types of inquiries).

5. ENTRIES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS

5.1 INQUIRIES

The entries where participant expressed a request, asked a question or articulated a problem are classified as inquiries. The distribution of the inspected grammatical structures is considered in mutual relations. Table 1 summarizes the results of the use of individual structural forms in various discourse functions (questions, commands, statements) in combination with the use of pronouns in different persons and with negation. Expectedly, the majority of inquiries are realized by questions (42% of direct questions and 17% of indirect questions), but quite surprisingly about one-third of all inquiries have the form of a statement; in these cases the statement commonly

introduces a problem – and moreover, one-third of these statements uses negation, i.e., students usually get into trouble with a certain task of the project, and they ask for help indirectly by means of the description of the situation.

TABLE 1: INQUIRIES (ARTICULATING PROBLEMS / QUESTIONS / REQUESTS)

SENTENCE TYPE	PRONOUNS (+ OTHER ELEMENTS)	OCCURRENCE	%
direct question	<i>I</i>	4	4%
	<i>you</i>	17	19%
	3rd person (<i>anyone, any of you</i>) = mostly hidden 2nd person	17	19%
indirect question	any combination in main and subordinate clause (<i>I, you, 3rd, we</i>)	15	17%
imperative	sometimes (+ <i>please</i>)	8	9%
statement (problem)	<i>I + did / do / have . . .</i>	18	20%
	<i>I + not</i>	11	12%

In direct questions, participants most frequently use either the second person directly or the third person, which can be interpreted as an alternative of the second person, either explicitly expressed in postmodifying prepositional phrase, in examples (1) and (2), or hidden in the meaning of *anybody/anyone*, in (3) and (4).

- (1) Has anybody here similar problems? [7.G1]
- (2) Has anybody successfully uploaded a JMatch exercise with pictures? [127.G19]
- (3) But has anybody of you any ideas about seeing a doctor? [21.I4]
- (4) Has anyone of you tried to modify somehow your hot pot after being cooked and saved? [96.F17]

Quite often also indirect questions are used to introduce an inquiry, as in (5) and (6); while sentences (7) and (8) illustrate the use of imperative.

- (5) I have been wondering whether the problem is in the format of the pics . . . [131.F24]
- (6) I want to ask whether we should complete the evaluation form or we are supposed to bring it for the meeting and complete it there? [154.B21]
- (7) Please help me, if you can! [7.G1]
- (8) So please, don't be annoyed with my frequent questions! [8.H1]

As mentioned above, about one-third of statements have a negative form. Examples (9) and (10) represent typical situations where students run into problems because something does not work. They ask for help by describing the problem, and that is why they always use the first person pronoun.

- (9) I have not managed to download this programme. [13.F2]
- (10) Although I inserted the pictures in .jpg, they won't appear in the exercise :-([37.G5]

5.2 RESPONSES

Entries labelled as responses express some kind of feedback to an inquiry worded in the discussion before. Table 2 classifies types of responses according to their intention. The distribution of the individual subcategories seems to be quite balanced; in four groups can be found occurrences of (a) advice – 28%, (b) opinion – 27%, (c) feelings – 21% and (d) sharing and agreement 24%. Combinations of discourse functions, personal pronouns, modals and negation are of interest.

TABLE 2: RESPONSES

FUNCTION	FORMAL REALIZATION	OCCURRENCE	%
informative (real advice)	imperative	6	5%
	<i>you + modal</i>	9	8%
	<i>I + did / do . . .</i>	17	14%
	question	1	1%
opinion / view	<i>think</i>	33	27%
feelings / support		25	21%
sharing	<i>also, similar, as well</i>	19	16%
agreement	<i>agree</i>	9	8%

The informative types of response, i.e., giving real advice, use the imperative only marginally (11) and if so, not always in the function of command, but rather as the expression of support (12). Similarly in a statement with the second person and a modal, exceptionally it is a direct order with deontic modality (13) and (14), but more likely it is a description of possible solutions with epistemic modality (15) and (16). Commands and the second person pronouns combined with imperative, which is considered quite a direct address, form only a half of all the utterances expressing advice. The other half is represented by far more indirect forms of expression: a statement with the first person and past time reference, as in (17), where the advisor describes a positive personal experience, or a statement with the first person and future time reference, as in (18), where the advisor announces what he / she is going to do, or even in the form of a question, as in (19) which also increases the degree of indirectness.

- (11) Consult your uploading problems with somebody who really knows how a computer works. [134.G20]
- (12) Keep trying. [128.E4]
- (13) You should be careful when naming the pictures, which you then insert into JMatch. [63.G12]
- (14) You must click on it. [58.G11]
- (15) But you can also jumble the letters in the words . . . [41.G6]
- (16) You can take a base and modify it so that it suits your pupils' level. [62.D9]
- (17) I used my name and surname as the user name and the key is kind of code which is sent to you to your e-mail. [10.B2]

(18) I will use forum, it is more personal. [143.B20]

(19) Did you try to do this exercise on another computer? [78.B11]

In the discussion, participants commonly combine more formal realizations to express the same response. Example (20) illustrates messages with all three forms in one entry: statement *I + did*, imperative, and *you + modal*.

(20) I tried the same thing on a different computer and I was successful:-).

But have a look at the top of the page, sometimes there is a yellow warning bar at the top of the browser window which does not enable you to use the page actively.

You must click on it and then it should work all right. [58.G11]

In all the other semantic categories of response expressing other kinds of feedback (opinion, feelings, sharing experience and agreement), predominantly the first person pronoun is used (21)–(24). As Brown and Gilman prove, especially the use of first and second person pronouns is highly conditioned by the relations among discourse participants and their personal goals in expressing power and / or solidarity (2003, 161). This may be the reason for the predominant use of *I*, as will be discussed.

(21) I think it could have been easier if we had the choice to choose the exercises ourselves . . . [55.F8]

(22) I am very happy that some discussion about promoting description and uploading has started. [112.I16]

(23) I also haven't been successful with uploading. [126.C11]

(24) I agree it's more focused on grammar. [47.F6]

5.3 MULTIPLE FUNCTIONS OF THE IMPERATIVE

An analysis of functions covered by the imperative yielded remarkable results. Only 35% of utterances represent a real command (responding to an inquiry, giving advice), as in (25). The other type (18%) found in responses expresses some kind of support (26). 47% of imperatives are noticed in inquiries, and their function is to ask for help (27). The first two groups represent utterances with the benefit for the recipient, while the third group serves a different function; the participant attracts attention to himself / herself.

(25) Make sure that your pictures are not in .jEpg. [134.G20]

(26) Don't get stressed. [41.G6]

(27) Be prepared for my questions!! [49.H4]

6. DISTRIBUTION OF NEGATION

The combinations of negation with various persons (see table 3) reveal that the vast majority of negative sentences are in the first person, very frequently with the aim to express support by sharing a negative experience, as in (29). On the contrary, only 6 utterances with the second person and 3 utterances with the imperative are negative,

which forms only 6% of all the negative structures both in inquiries and responses. And even in such sentences, it mostly is not a direct command or strict advice but rather the expression of support, as in (30) and (31). Thus both strategies raise the degree of indirectness and make the messages more polite.

TABLE 3: NEGATION

PHRASE	OCCURRENCE	%
<i>I</i> (+ <i>we</i>)	96	69%
<i>you</i> (+ 3 cases of imperative)	9	6%
3rd person(s)	35	25%

- (29) I also haven't been successful with uploading. [126.C11]
(30) Do not be afraid that you are behind with work. [42.B6]
(31) You don't have to worry that you are the only one who will be struggling with the programme. [8.H1]

7. CONCLUSION

This analysis has shown that CMC, with the primary aim of interaction, is in many respects similar to spoken dialogue. As Urbanová (2003, 30) argues, the majority of speech acts in conversation are indirect with a variety of reasons for indirectness, which influences the speaker's choice from the repertoire of structures. Her statement is also supported by the results of the analysis of this language corpus.

The findings concerning the distribution of personal pronouns *I* and *you* show a larger inequality than Kwang-Kyu's results. The ratio in his CMC corpus is about 2:1, while the ratio in this study is 5:1. One of the possible explanations may be the multiple functions of the pronoun *I*, including (a) expressing inquiry or request, (b) providing advice or other types of feedback and (c) neutral description of a situation, while the first two imply a higher degree of indirectness. The use of negation, especially in combination with personal pronouns, is influenced by the overall aim of the forum (i.e., cooperation, support and interaction).

The analysis of the distribution of structures expressing intentional modality also conduces to a higher degree of indirectness. Table 4 summarizes the overall figures and reveals that statements prevail in both types of entries. The high frequency is definitely affected by the fact that statements replace questions in inquiries, where they signal a need for help, and they replace imperatives in responses, where they express advice. The findings are in accordance with the conclusions made by Urbanová (2003, 41) when discussing the factors of indirectness.

TABLE 4: INTENTIONAL MODALITY

IN INQUIRIES			IN RESPONSES		
statement	question	command	statement	question	command
42	38	8	112	1	6

It has been proven that both the principles of cooperation and politeness are applied, the most influential maxims being the manner maxim, tact and generosity maxims, praise and modesty maxims, agreement, sympathy and consideration maxims; thus, the CMC tends to show similarities to face-to-face dialogue. Because this study is aimed at learners' language, there is a need for further research in two areas. One direction may be aimed at comparing the CMC among native speakers and among non-native speakers, attempting to identify which strategies of expressing politeness are universal and which are language and culture dependent, as stated by Válková (2004, 45). The other direction may be targeted at the processes in second language acquisition, having politeness in focus (Meunier 2002; Válková 2004), which can improve sociolinguistic aspects of learning / teaching English as a foreign language.

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DIS-ARTICULATING THE WELFARE STATE: DENOTATION OF WELFARE AND WELFARE STATE IN BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PRESS

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ABSTRACT: Seventy years after its founding document, the Beveridge Report, was published, welfare state remains a contested notion in the United Kingdom, all the more so in times of crisis and austerity. With print media being both the site and the protagonist of the ideological contest over the meaning of welfare state, this paper analyses a corpus of articles from selected British newspapers (2008–2012) in an attempt to establish the denotation of welfare and welfare state, an important aspect of the discursive construction of welfare state in Conservative British press. Using methodological insights of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Stylistics, the paper shows that denotation to be overwhelmingly restricted to benefits and outlines some ideological motivations and effects of this framing.

KEYWORDS: welfare; welfare state; *The Daily Mail*; *The Daily Telegraph*; Critical Stylistics; logic of equivalence

There is not much about the British welfare state that remains uncontested, even seventy years after the publication of what is considered to be its founding document, the Beveridge Report. Much of the debate concerns the evaluation of the welfare state and its impact on society. The current divisions usually run along the lines of political affiliation: Conservative politicians and media remain highly critical of the welfare state in keeping with New Right beliefs, while Labour politicians and Left-wing media present a more complicated picture, with criticism of the welfare state increasingly present since the 1990s alongside support for it (Coxall, Robins and Leach 2003, 59–66). A more basic issue, however, is the actual definition of the notion “welfare state” and even “welfare.” The word “welfare” accrued the denotation of state support around the turn of the twentieth century, and that remains central to its meaning. But the way the terms “welfare,” “welfare state” or even “benefits” are applied in the public discourse, not merely across the British media, but also among British think tanks, NGOs, politicians and government departments, is hardly a benchmark for consistency. The term “benefits” usually excludes, but can sometimes include, “benefits in kind” – some public services like health or education (Cocco 2012). State pensions, the component accounting for the bulk of welfare spending in the UK, are routinely glossed over: Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg’s claim that spending on welfare has grown seven times over the last half-century is only true when state pensions are included, yet he did not make this explicit (Spottiswoode 2012). The term “welfare state” is just as contentious: most general history or political science textbooks concerning the UK

are content to assume it comprises an interventionist government, a comprehensive system of social insurance, and a number of social services (see Marr 2008, 44; Coxall, Robins and Leach 2003, 37), but more specialised works, whether on welfare state (Jones and Lowe, 2002; Timmins, 2001) or discourse (Torfing, 1999), openly acknowledge the vagueness of the notion, even so far as to state that “[a]s an entity [the welfare state] does not exist – it is a collection of services and policies and ideas and taxes, including tax reliefs, whose boundaries expand and contract over time” (Timmins 2001, 7).

The contention over what welfare or welfare state means could only be expected to intensify during a time of financial crisis and austerity. The crisis is widely accepted to have been precipitated by irresponsible banking (Aldrick, 2011); the Left sees it as having been caused by the excesses of capitalism and hoped it would lead to a greater role of the state and possibly an increased support for the welfare state. The austerity, on the other hand, has meant severe cuts in public spending, with some on the Right viewing it as an opportunity to rein back the role of the state and / or the welfare state. With print media being both the site and the protagonist of the ideological contest over the meaning of welfare state, this paper analyses a corpus of articles from selected British newspapers (2008–2012) in an attempt to establish the denotation (rather than evaluation or connotation, which are analysed elsewhere) of the terms “welfare” and “welfare state,” an important aspect of the discursive construction of welfare state in Conservative British press. The time bracket was chosen to overlap with (at least the first phase of) the ongoing financial crisis. The corpus of 215 newspaper articles was compiled by means of a keyword search in the LexisNexis database; the keywords were “welfare” and “welfare state.” The newspapers analysed are *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* along with their Sunday sister papers. They were chosen because both have consistently high readership figures and a self-professed affinity for the Conservative party and a conservative worldview: readership figures and opinion polls would indicate that these newspapers are exponents of hegemonic discourse on welfare in the UK. This paper finds that the denotation of the terms “welfare” and “welfare state” is substantially restricted, with both notions being largely synonymous to benefits, and outlines some ideological motivations and effects of this framing.

The methodology applied draws on insights from Critical Discourse Analysis as set out by Norman Fairclough (1989; 2003; 2010) and Critical Stylistics, elaborated by Leslie Jeffries (2010). Because the focus of the paper is on establishing definitions of welfare and welfare state in the corpus, particularly useful will be those components of the two frameworks that concern classification, and more specifically relations of identity or approximation between concepts or ideas. In his early work pre-dating the CDA label, Fairclough wrote of relations of synonymy “set up in the text between words which are not synonymous in any discourse type” (1989, 115), also mentioning antonymy and hyponymy in the same context. To express a not dissimilar set of relations, he later (2010) borrows Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985, 188) “two different ‘logics’, a logic of ‘difference’ which creates differences and divisions, and a logic of ‘equivalence’ which subverts existing differences and divisions.” Similarly, Jeffries reiterates the idea

that lexical items not usually held to be synonymous (or antonymous) can become so in a specific text; she then discusses a range of syntactic structures which give rise to what she terms “equating and contrasting” (2010, 51–61). Elsewhere, Fairclough (2003) discusses elaboration as an important relation between sentences, where, owing to in-text coherence, a relation of equivalence can be discerned. Fairclough (2010) also references Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) notions of disarticulation and articulation, or de-coupling and recombining of elements of discourse, whereby some meanings, discourses or social practices are re-composed, with some potentially becoming less visible. On a more basic level, another useful concept, profiling, comes from Cognitive Linguistics: it describes attention being directed towards something (an action chain, an element of an event frame) that is thereby made salient, and away from something else, which is then backgrounded (Evans and Green 2006, 537–41).

The denotation of welfare (as well as welfare state) is hardly ever explicitly delineated in the corpus: a search for “welfare is” or “welfare state is” yields almost exclusively expressions of evaluation (e.g., “welfare state is a curse” or “welfare is a toxic subject”). Therefore, the denotation in question is best established through a qualitative analysis of the corpus, with particular attention to collocations and clause structure as well as the equivalence and opposition relations (textual synonyms and antonyms) and presuppositions present in the context. In the corpus, the most salient discursive construction of welfare is its textual equivalence to benefits. This holds true for the whole time period and for virtually all genres, whether news- or comment-based (marked N or C respectively in examples), in both newspapers. Though the concept of welfare might reasonably be expected to merely include (and so be hyponymous to) benefits, it is frequently used as virtually tantamount to benefits, as evinced in the following examples:

- (1) DM050108, Waghorne, C
Why do one in four get a weekly welfare cheque?
(. . .) One hopes that most people would see full employment and raging growth as a good opportunity to ease people off welfare rolls and into the real world, not simply to save the taxpayer unjustifiable expense, but to break the culture of dependency.
(. . .) Henceforth, if he is true to his word, thousands of single parents will be encouraged off the welfare rolls and into a job.
- (2) DT111109, C
(. . .) Once in power, it [Labour] went for the soft and lazy option of continuing to sign welfare cheques to its clientele – which has cost a total of £473 billion over 12 years. (. . .) The number of people dependent on welfare at the end of the boom decade was almost identical to the number at the start – about 5.4 million (almost half of them on incapacity benefit, an unhappy legacy of the last Conservative government).
- (3) DM040311, Doyle, N
EASTERN EUROPE MIGRANTS TO GET FULL ACCESS TO THE WELFARE STATE

HUNDREDS of thousands of migrants will gain full access to Britain's generous benefits system within weeks.

When eight former Eastern Bloc countries joined the EU in 2004, rules were put in place to restrict access to welfare.

But these rules lapse on May 1 and cannot be renewed, raising fears of mass benefits tourism.

After just three months 'residency' in the country, eastern European migrants will be able to claim hundreds of pounds a week in jobseeker's allowance, council tax and housing benefits.

Previously they had to work for a full year before being able to claim welfare.

(4) DT290108, Prince, N

(. . .) At the same event, the new Work and Pensions Secretary, James Purnell, delivered his first speech since taking over from Peter Hain last week, and indicated he wanted to accelerate the Government's welfare reforms. Setting an ambitious target of moving a million people off incapacity benefit and into work, while also finding jobs for 300,000 single parents, he added: "To get there, we will need major reforms of inactive benefits."

The use of the word "cheque" in (1) and (2) with "welfare" as a premodifier clearly indicates that welfare is cast as a kind of payment made by governments (who sign the cheque) to individuals. In fact, in all four excerpts the word "welfare" could just as well be replaced by "benefit(s)." In (2), the parenthetical reference to the claimants of incapacity benefit refers back to (and specifies) the phrase "people dependent on welfare," thus construing incapacity benefit as at least a major component of welfare. The equivalence is perhaps clearest in (3), where the lexeme follows the verb "claim," which typically collocates with "benefit(s)" – "claim benefit(s)" and "benefit(s) claimant(s)" occur frequently both in (58 occurrences) and outside of the corpus. Further, the relation between the first and the second sentence in (3) is that of elaboration, where the second sentence gives a background to the first, with an equivalence relation between the entities in the sentences; the benefits system from the first sentence appears a stylistic variant of the welfare of the second. Similarly, the last two sentences of the passage are in an elaboration relation with the first sentence, filling it out with greater details; here, the word welfare is textually equivalent to the benefits listed. In (4), there again is an elaboration relation between the first and the second sentence, which specifies the welfare reforms as mainly reducing the number of incapacity benefit claimants and partly reducing the number of income support claimants, reiterating the equivalence between welfare and benefits.

Notably, most benefits in the examples are – or are profiled as, by means of foregrounding some information and backgrounding other – out-of-work, working-age benefits. This holds true for the whole corpus, where out-of-work benefits are the most frequently mentioned (173 explicit references, most of which concern incapacity benefit), with child benefit and housing benefit referenced less frequently (90 and 63 mentions respectively); some 100 occurrences of benefit are unspecified but can

be contextually implied to be out-of-work benefits. Incapacity benefit is explicitly referenced in (2) as accounting for a half of the alleged cases of “welfare dependency.” In (3), the “welfare” laid open to incoming Eastern Europeans explicitly includes jobseeker’s allowance as a key component. Excerpt (4) makes incapacity benefit salient by putting it in the first clause of the sentence and by explicitly denominating it the target of government policy. The main clause subsumes the two actions from the subordinate clauses as activity concerning inactive benefits, while glossing over the fact that the means-tested benefit for single parents is income support, which can be claimed both in and out of employment, and thus is not necessarily an inactive benefit. In (1), the mutually exclusive relation of work and welfare as / and benefits is the clearest: the move off the welfare rolls, and so off benefits, is not only tantamount to a transfer into paid employment – it is also equivalent to moving into the real world. A not-so-transparent presumption here is that, in the transition from welfare / benefits into employment, both ends of the transaction work: one is either in a job or on the welfare rolls; outcomes when one has access to neither or to both (these two cases lie perfectly within the realms of possibility) are not articulated at all, with work and welfare conceptualised as opposites. This discursive construction is hardly unique to Conservative press: the phrase “welfare-to-work” is widely and uncritically used in British and international media and by the British government; Boycott Workfare might well be the only organisation which puts the phrase in scare quotes. In his 2010 analysis of New Labour’s discourse of welfare reform, Fairclough (186–87) takes issue with this discursive construction, which in his view involves an extensive recontextualisation of the practice of work, “overwhelmingly constructed in the document [New Labour’s Green Paper on welfare reform] as ‘jobs’ in the traditional sense – relatively stable and regular work providing enough to live on,” leaving unpaid, underpaid or unstable employment or care work completely out of the spotlight. But Fairclough omits to note perhaps a more basic aspect of the phrase “welfare-to-work”: it is essentially a transitional opposition, reinforcing the construal of work and welfare / benefits as opposites existing in complementary distribution – a strongly ideological discursive construction which is so much in evidence in the corpus.

As noted, state pensions are habitually omitted – or disarticulated – from discussions of welfare, and when mentioned together, the most frequent construction is exclusive (i.e., “pension and welfare payments”). There are only a few instances in the corpus when this is not the case, most of them in the context of the high cost of social security. One (DM221009, Prince, N) is presumably in a text box accompanying an article (the formatting in the text-only version makes it difficult to establish this with full certainty) where payments made by the state to two hypothetically typical middle-class families are enumerated; a working four-person family making £55,000 a year is listed as receiving as many as seven different benefits, while a retired couple (employee pension, amount unstated) is listed as being in receipt of four, of which state pension is the highest.

The headline, “Welfare Payments, Scrap Middle-Class Benefits, Think Tank Says,” refers to a think tank calling for eliminating some payments made to the better-off. The longish list reiterates the message of the headline: it appears comprehensive and designed to create an impression of a multitude of payments, which the reader is invited to construe as superfluous given the families’ financial status. The pensioner benefits, the abolition of which is being proposed for the wealthy, do not include state pension (indeed, it is the only pensioner payment to be retained), but without it the impression of multitude would be less successful. Similarly, the focus in (5) is on the high cost of the apparently redundant payments received by the better-off:

(5) DM160610, Chapman, N

(. . .) In total, 32 per cent of all benefits paid last year – £53.5billion – went to people who are wealthier than average. They include billions paid in incapacity benefit, tax credits and disability allowances.

Even when the universal state pension is excluded, 28 per cent of welfare payments go to the better-off half of the population, a total of £30billion a year.

(. . .)

It shows the degree to which the welfare state has strayed from its founding aim of providing a safety net for the worst off.

There is a presumption here that universal state pension is included in the welfare payments, since its exclusion is explicitly stated. But this is done in a concessive clause opening with “Even when,” underscoring the unexpected contrast between it and the situation described in the main clause: the effect of the construction is to again foreground the high cost of welfare. Notably, the preceding sentence names two out-of-work benefits, which is consistent with the most salient framing of welfare in the corpus.

This discursive construction of welfare has a bearing on the only slightly broader scope of welfare state. If welfare is largely construed as tantamount to benefits, the welfare state is normally conceptualised in the corpus as a system of distribution of benefits, although the specific kind of benefits is not as strongly profiled as with welfare and is left unspecified more often. This can be observed in (3), (6), (7) and (8):

(6) DT230410, Reece, C

Welfare state could be the real loser from Britain’s debt crisis

(. . .)

Each year we’re in deficit, albeit a declining one, total debt outstanding goes up and that poses a huge threat in future to the welfare state and the benefits it provides, especially given the gargantuan size of the total debt pile that we’re creating.

As fund manager Oliver Russ pointed out in a note yesterday, the default we face is not on our debt payments but on our welfare payments. The maths look bad enough but, when you add in our worsening population trends, then current expectations of what the welfare state will pay out are fanciful.

(7) DT121110, Telegraph View, C

A bold and principled approach to benefits

The essential element of Iain Duncan Smith's plans to reconstruct the welfare state have been known for a while, but yesterday's publication of the White Paper Universal Credit: Welfare That Works is nevertheless a seminal moment for the Coalition. It marks the first serious attempt by any government to reform a corrupt and wasteful benefit system that has no place in a modern liberal democracy.

(8) DM131210, Phillips, C

(. . .) For this is swindling the British taxpayer, who understands that this money is to be used to support the needy at home.

That indeed is what a 'welfare state' means. It is a compact between Britain's government and those who reside in the country. The idea that it is to be used instead as a kind of global poor relief fund is utterly bizarre.

In (3) and (7), "welfare state" occurs in the introductory sentence; in (3) this is then elaborated and specified by the second sentence so that "welfare state" is a direct equivalent of "Britain's generous benefits system." Importantly, there seems to be no reason to view the first phrase as merely a hyponym of the latter: no other potential components of the first are mentioned, and it does indeed appear that benefits are all of which welfare state is composed. Similarly, the second sentence elaborates on the first (7), and "welfare state" is echoed and amplified by "a corrupt and wasteful benefit system." While the benefits in (6) might at first glance be interpreted broadly as advantages, the ambiguity is quickly removed by references to finances: the "pile of debt" is more likely to be incurred by payments than by abstract feelgood factors; this is then explicitly confirmed by the metaphor setting up the welfare state as a cashier in control of funds to be dispensed. The reference to population trends which are likely to result in higher welfare costs would seem to indicate that pension is subsumed under welfare payments, though this assumption would mean that a longer life expectancy is a worsening population trend and so is not necessarily sound; even so, the reference to pensions in this particular case would be quite oblique and much less salient than that to benefits, bearing out the observation that the type of benefits is likely to be left unspecified. Finally, although excerpt (8) appears a straightforward definition – the only such instance in the corpus – of the welfare state, it turns out more complicated on analysis. The context is that of foreign nationals using benefits to support families at home; what is therefore being defined here is who is party to the "compact" mentioned rather than what kind of support that compact involves.

While benefits are the most salient component of welfare state, there are references to its other constituents. One such case is in excerpt (9):

(9) DT210708, Daley, C

Today we get the Government's radical new programme for reforming welfare. Except that it isn't very radical. (. . .) And it isn't new because it's basically the re-warmed Tory policy announced six months ago.

In fact, today's announcement isn't about the welfare state: it is not an attempt to examine the entire tax and benefits system which locks whole swathes of the population into deprivation and defeatism.

The rhetorical pattern, where three elements of the complement of the first sentence are refuted in subsequent sentences, again sets up welfare and welfare state as equivalents. The last sentence specifies welfare state as subsuming tax, which, if not usual, is consistent with the Right's self-professed wariness of both: as any redistributive measure, welfare state is ultimately tax-funded. A wider scope of welfare state is also evident in the following excerpts:

- (10) MoS210711, Mail on Sunday Comment, C

(. . .) Our desires are limited by our incomes. And our incomes are greatly reduced by the amazingly high taxes that we have to pay to sustain this country's immense welfare state. In fact, welfare and pension payments of one kind or another swallow up every penny paid in income tax in this country.

- (11) DM190512, Doughty, N

STRONG FAMILIES MAKE SUCCESSFUL CHILDREN . . . NOT THE NANNY STATE

THE WELFARE state has little or no bearing on how children turn out, an international research project has found. (. . .)

The study singled out the British welfare state as an example of the failure of state support to make a difference to the lives and success of children. (. . .)

The study carried out by researchers at two American universities examined evidence from both Britain and the US – one with a large welfare state, one without – on how the lives of children progress between the ages of five and 13.

- (12) DT280208, C

(. . .) This [resentment among Labour supporters] has been fuelled in particular by large-scale, uncontrolled immigration and the perception that newcomers enjoy fast-track access to some welfare services, notably housing.

Pensions, though explicitly constructed as distinct from welfare payments, are both enumerated in (10) as components of welfare state and the spending it incurs; this apparently paradoxical discursive construction where pensions are part of welfare state but are not designated as welfare is not unusual in the corpus. There is, again, no reason not to view this choice as ideological: if the cost of welfare state is being underscored, a broader meaning of the notion will add credibility to the calculation. The state support, the text synonym to welfare state in (11), can be construed as not necessarily restricted to benefits: it could plausibly include the contribution of social workers or possibly even education, one of the widest framings of welfare state in the corpus. The only other example in the corpus where a social service is explicitly stated to be part of welfare state (or, more accurately, welfare services) is (12). Much more common is a mutually exclusive construal of welfare state and various social services, as in "reforming the welfare state and services such as education and health" (DT280708, Daley, C), or in

“Chancellor pumped money into the public services and welfare state, but refused to reform either” (DM020910, *Daily Mail* Comment, C), or in (13) below:

(13) DT051110, Osborne, C

He oversaw the creation of the National Health Service and the welfare state, and created a social and political settlement that continues to shape the world we live in. But by 1950, Attlee was drained; by 1951, he was out of Downing Street, never to return.

To many (see Timmins, 2001; Marr, 2008), the creation of the NHS is inextricably connected with the foundation of the welfare state; indeed, it is often viewed as one of the keystone moments marking its beginning. The *Telegraph* columnist (though the construction is not unique to the *Telegraph*) construes the NHS and the welfare state as exclusive, disarticulating them from each other; further, though he refers to “a social and political settlement” in the coordinating clause (which could be construed as expressing a timeframe or a result, despite being coordinate), and though the welfare state, as well as the disarticulated NHS, presumably figures in that settlement in some way, he does not use the term “welfare state” to describe it. Similarly, when *The Daily Mail* quotes David Cameron on the question of certain benefits remaining universal or becoming means-tested, the phrase “welfare state” is not used:

(14) DM041010, Chapman, N

(. . .) ‘What we need is a system that has universal and fair elements that are part of a decent and civilised society, like a good strong pension provision, and then in terms of the work-related benefits you need a system that means you are always better off in work and working hard.’

In contrast, a Labour minister interviewed by *The Daily Telegraph* in a similar context does use the phrase to denote just such a system, though the quotation appears at the end of the news report, a place traditionally reserved for less important information:

(15) DT221009, Prince, N

“It is vital that we fight to protect a welfare state in which everyone has a stake, and why it is still right to keep a universal benefit like child benefit so that everyone who has a child receives support – regardless of income.”

The difference is not only in the specific benefits that are deemed worthy of remaining universal: a more important issue is the presence or absence of the phrase “welfare state” in connection with a fair and universal system.

Interestingly, excerpts (10) and (11) both show the welfare state as a possession or attribute of a country: instead of setting up an equivalence relation, as in the hypothetical “Britain is a welfare state” (the equivalence does appear in extract 11, albeit in a quotation from an American scientist), they frame welfare state as something a country has, thereby introducing a “logic of difference.” It is possible that this construction, along with the discursive decoupling of social services, in particular the

NHS, from the welfare state, is making it less likely to conceive of the welfare state (as the Left would have it) as a totality of relations between the individuals and the state who cooperate to make the lives of all individuals more liveable. Instead, the denotation of the terms “welfare” and “welfare state” is much more restricted. Though the evaluation of welfare or welfare state has not been the focus of analysis here, it will have been clear from the examples cited that this evaluation in the analysed sample of discourse is overwhelmingly negative, and it appears that the narrow denotation of welfare is a key factor facilitating this.

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AN IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE OF THE “FIRST WORLD” VERSUS THE “THIRD WORLD” IN NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2010 HAITI EARTHQUAKE

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ABSTRACT: The paper investigates discursive devices employed in newspaper articles on the 2010 Haiti earthquake to represent the First World, mainly the USA, and the Third World – Haiti, with regard to ascription of blame for the catastrophe. It reveals that van Dijk’s ideological square of US versus THEM is applied in the discourse as the First World’s positive characteristics, such as help, are emphasized, while negative characteristics, such as contribution to and partial responsibility for poor socio-economic conditions in Haiti, are de-emphasized. Conversely, negative characteristics of Haitians, such as helplessness and dependence, are foregrounded. Such a portrayal implicitly establishes power asymmetry between the two groups of social actors. As its methodology, the paper employs critical discourse analysis, incorporating multimodal analysis as well. The corpus is comprised of 45 articles on the 2010 Haiti earthquake gathered from *The New York Times*, *The Globe and Mail* and *The Guardian*.

KEYWORDS: newspaper discourse; earthquake; critical discourse analysis; ideological square; power asymmetry

INTRODUCTION

Large-scale natural catastrophes represent highly newsworthy events as they fulfill a number of news values distinguished by Galtung and Ruge (1965, 65–71). Among the criteria of newsworthiness that they meet are the *frequency* factor, which states that single events are preferred to long-term trends in newspapers, the *threshold* factor, which claims that the greater the intensity of an event, the higher its news value, and the *reference to something negative* factor. Since the consequences of natural disasters unfold over a period of time, the criterion of *continuity* is fulfilled as well. It allows newspapers to report on the event for some time, which makes readers interpret the news articles more easily because they are already familiar with the topic. In the case of some natural disasters, such as earthquakes, the newsworthy criterion of *unexpectedness* is satisfied as well.

Despite being labelled *natural* catastrophes, these events can be considered natural only in the respect of being triggered by natural phenomena; they become disasters as a result of a combination of a number of factors including human behaviour. The vulnerabilities of a society, determined by human contact with the environment, social organization, infrastructure and economy, play a significant role in natural catastrophes (Pielke and Pielke 1997; Birkmann 2006; Gunewardena 2008; Schuller 2008).

The present paper focuses on the representation of the human factor in a recent large-scale natural disaster – the 2010 Haiti earthquake – in newspapers published in Western English-speaking countries. The research paper is concerned with the portrayal of two groups of social actors which are referred to in the newspaper discourse most often: the Third World, represented by Haiti, and the First World, represented mainly by the USA. It examines what characteristics and actions are ascribed to each group of social actors, and aims to reveal what social relationship between the Third World and the First World is constructed in the newspaper discourse.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

An earthquake struck Haiti on January 12, 2010. It measured 7.0 on the Richter scale with an epicenter about 17 km southwest of Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. Approximately 230,000 people were killed, more than 300,000 injured and more than 1.3 million rendered homeless. More than 250,000 homes and 35,000 commercial, industrial, and administrative buildings were destroyed (Arbon 2010, 4; Dupuy 2010, 195).

Man-made factors heightened the impact of the disaster. These include poor infrastructure, inferior building constructions and an abandonment of citizens by the city and national governments, which for years had not provided any meaningful services, such as schools, health care, electricity, potable water and sanitation. Only about 30 percent of Haitians had access to health care, the same percentage to sanitation and 54 percent to potable water. The low socio-economic conditions in Haiti and a massive institutional failure to a large extent contributed to the catastrophe (Dupuy 2010, 195; Gros 2011, 133).

Not only was the state itself responsible for the unfortunate living conditions in Haiti, but also foreign governments and economic actors. The policies of international financial institutions of advanced countries, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, led to the transformation of Haiti into "a supplier of the cheapest labor in this hemisphere for foreign and domestic investors in the export assembly industry and one of the largest importers of U.S. food in the hemisphere" (Dupuy 2010, 196). The location of the assembly lines, mainly in Port-au-Prince, and trade liberalization, one of the main policies that Haitians were made to implement, resulted in the destruction of local industries and a neglect of agriculture, further propelling rural-to-urban migration (Dupuy 2010, 196–97; Gros 2011, 139, 143–45).

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The methodology employed in the paper is critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 1993; Wodak 2002; Weiss and Wodak 2003; Reisigl and Wodak 2009). As one of the main aims of CDA is to study the link between language and social structures and relationships, emphasizing that the link is dialectical, it suits the goal of the present study to investigate the portrayal of social relations between the USA and Haiti in newspaper discourse on the 2010 Haiti earthquake. Furthermore, CDA focuses on the examination of interconnectedness between language, ideology and power. It analyzes

micro-structures of discourse to reveal a bigger picture of macro-structures in society. The paper thus draws upon this methodological approach to examine the effects of the newspaper discourse on the construction of the power relationship between Haiti and the USA. Apart from lexical and grammatical devices, the study analyzes photographs accompanying the articles. As a result, it incorporates multi-modal analysis, which points out that a number of semiotic modes are at play simultaneously in discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 177). These all interact to convey meaning, yet they do so independently.

The corpus of data consists of newspaper articles covering the two weeks following the Haiti earthquake, i.e., January 12, 2010 – January 26, 2010. The articles were collected from online archives of three newspapers generally considered to be representative of Western English-speaking countries: *The New York Times*, an American national newspaper, *The Guardian*, a British national newspaper, and *The Globe and Mail*, a Canadian national newspaper. When collecting the newspaper articles for the corpus, the key criterion for their selection was that they belonged to a hard news category. The reason for such a choice is that hard news is widely held to be the most objective and factual type of news. The number of the collected articles is 15 per each newspaper, which makes the total number of the articles gathered in the corpus 45.

ANALYSIS

The analysis reveals that the newspapers employ the so-called Ideological Square of US versus THEM (van Dijk 1996, 37) in their representation of the First World versus the Third World. The ideological square is a discursive strategy that leads to the construction of two groups: insiders and outsiders. The division is achieved by foregrounding OUR positive characteristics and backgrounding OUR negative characteristics while emphasizing THEIR negative characteristics and de-emphasizing THEIR positive characteristics. In the case of the present research, the newspapers construct the First World as US by ascribing only positive features and actions to this social group, and the Third World as THEM by pointing out merely negative features of the social group.

From the very beginning of reporting on the earthquake, the newspapers focus on the poor political, economic and social conditions of Haiti existing prior to the disaster. The emphasis is placed on high poverty in Haiti, poor infrastructure and building standards, and the malfunctioning of the government and its abandonment of citizens, as in examples 1, 2 and 3.

- (1) *A fierce earthquake struck Haiti late Tuesday afternoon, causing a crowded hospital to collapse, leveling **countless shantytown** dwellings and bringing even more suffering to **a nation that was already the hemisphere's poorest and most disaster-prone**. (New York Times, January 13, 2010)*
- (2) *Haiti was a humanitarian disaster even before the earthquake hit. It is **the poorest country** in the western hemisphere; most of its buildings are **badly constructed***

out of tin and cheap concrete with many slums perched on steep, bare hillsides which are particularly prone to landslides. (Guardian, January 13, 2010)

- (3) *The earthquake's devastating effect is magnified by **the notoriously abysmal infrastructure** in much of the country. (Globe and Mail, January 13, 2010)*

As can be seen in example 3, the link between the poor conditions in Haiti and the impact of the catastrophe is explicitly established in the discourse. Yet, the newspapers are silent on the fact that it was also the First World governments and economic actors that contributed to the poor state of Haiti prior to the catastrophe; they put the blame solely on Haiti itself.

The articles portray Haiti as chaotic, helpless and dependent on the help from outside. Examples 4 and 5 refer to chaos and the negative emotion of anger, using the emphatic adjectives *widespread* and *unpredictable*, which have a dramatizing effect, while examples 6 and 7 point out Haitians' helplessness.

- (4) *Inside Haiti the situation was still more **chaotic**, with thousands of people sitting in roads to stay clear of quake-damaged buildings, and **widespread reports of looting**. (Guardian, January 15, 2010)*
- (5) ***Looting of houses and shops increased Friday, and anger boiled over in unpredictable ways**. (New York Times, January 16, 2010)*
- (6) ***"Help, Ayuda, Aide"** read one [a sign] in three languages, with arrows pointing to a yard filled with survivors. (Globe and Mail, January 18, 2010)*
- (7) *A nation in ruins, **crying for help** (headline in The Globe and Mail, January 14, 2010)*

The choice of the word 'cry' in the headline in example 7 implicitly portrays Haiti as childlike.

Haitians are depicted as a homogenous mass in the newspapers. They are rarely given a voice and are seldom individualized. The newspapers tend to omit directly-quoted personalized narratives of the experience of the earthquake itself: there is only one such narrative in *The Guardian*, which is told by an American visitor, one in *The Globe and Mail*, told by a Canadian visitor, and three in *The New York Times*, two of which are told by American visitors and one by a Haitian. The newspapers only choose to quote those Haitians who foreground their helplessness and weakness, such as victims who describe themselves as "completely destitute" and ask for help – "Please save my baby!", "Please take me out.", "We need outsiders to come." These quotes help mobilize readers to humanitarian action but they also arouse feelings of pity, which imply subtle power asymmetry (see Balaji 2011, 51).

The Western advanced countries are, on the contrary, represented in a strongly positive light. The focus is put on the aid provided by these countries. In *The New York Times*, the number of the articles the main topic of which concerns international aid

is 7 (out of the total of 15 articles; 47%); two headlines of such articles are provided in examples 8 and 9. The number of the articles that mention American aid somewhere in the text is even higher – 14 (93%). In *The Globe and Mail* are 8 articles (53%), the global meaning of which concerns Canadian aid (see example 10) or Canadian victims whose help to Haiti prior to the disaster is emphasized. The number of the articles that include a comment on Canadian aid is 13 (87%).

- (8) *U.S. troops patrol Haiti, filling a void* (headline in *The New York Times*, January 20, 2010)
- (9) *Aid groups focus on Haiti's homeless* (headline in *The New York Times*, January 22, 2010)
- (10) *Once slammed for sluggish response, Canada swiftly sends in the troops* (headline in *The Globe and Mail*, January 14, 2010)

Although *The Guardian* also focuses on international aid including British help, the foregrounding is not as prominent as in the other two newspapers: international aid constitutes the main topic of a report in 5 cases (33%) and is mentioned in 8 articles (53%) (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: WESTERN AID

	NUMBER OF ARTICLES THE MAIN TOPIC OF WHICH CONCERNS WESTERN AID	NUMBER OF ARTICLES THAT MENTION WESTERN AID
<i>The New York Times</i>	7 (47%)	14 (93%)
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	8 (53%)	13 (87%)
<i>The Guardian</i>	5 (33%)	8 (53%)

Such a foregrounding of one's own country's aid provides the articles with a high degree of cultural proximity and thus makes the articles more relevant, readable and newsworthy for readers. At the same time, it points to the self-centeredness of the advanced countries. There are a number of explicit examples of self-appraisal in the articles, as in example 11.

- (11) *The scale and speed of the relief mission being prepared [by Canada] is **remarkable** for a country that has been criticized for being slow off the mark in reacting to past disasters.* (*Globe and Mail*, January 14, 2010)

On the whole, the First World is portrayed as a mythical character – a hero and savior of a vulnerable nation, which welcomes and is dependent on this help (see example 12).

- (12) *A sign on one fallen building in Nazon [. . .] read: “**Welcome U.S. Marines. We need help. Dead Bodies Inside!**”* (*New York Times*, January 17, 2010)

Such a representation contains traces of colonial ideology and racial paternalism. It implies an adult-child hierarchy between the First World and Haiti, which results in the construction of power asymmetry between the two groups of social actors.



PHOTOGRAPH: "American troops landed at the National Palace in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on Tuesday. They began rolling through the capital and assisting with the relief operation." (*New York Times*, January 20, 2010). Photo by Carlos Barria, re-printed here with the expressed written permission of Globe Media / Reuters.

Apart from verbal devices, the asymmetrical social relationship between the USA and Haiti is also constructed by visual means. As social semioticians point out, photographs are not an inherently realistic medium but are social constructs that provide a particular version of reality, the meaning of which is dependent on context (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). Among the features of images that have ideological underpinnings are the layout, spatial orientation and distribution of elements, what gets included and excluded, etc. In an illustrative example, the above photograph, the Western advanced countries are portrayed as help that comes from above. They descend from the sky and heaven and thus symbolically stand for something sacred, worth worshipping. On the other hand, Haiti is represented by masses of people, who stand on the ground, and thus are spatially oriented as 'down', with some of them reaching up towards the help. The spatial dimensions 'up' and 'down' have acquired a number of metaphorical extensions, including 'up' standing for power and 'down' standing for a lack of power (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 15). Thus, the contrast between the USA being positioned 'up' and Haitians being positioned 'down' in the photograph implies a power hierarchy between the two groups. A choice of a shot with a different spatial orientation, such as an image where both American soldiers and Haitians would stand on the ground next to each other, would provide significantly different connotations. Furthermore, Haitians are waiting for the help behind a fence, which constitutes both literally and symbolically a

barrier between them and the West. Such a portrayal constructs a divide between Haiti, portrayed as dependent, and the West, depicted as a savior.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of articles on the 2010 Haiti earthquake in three newspapers published in Western English-speaking countries reveals that to portray the relationship between the First World and Haiti the newspapers employ the strategy of an Ideological Square between US and THEM. The strategy is based on the creation of a binary opposition between a helpful West and helpless Haiti. The newspapers emphasize only the positive characteristics and actions of the advanced Western countries, making aid that they provide to Haiti one of the main topics of the articles. At the same time, they omit any reference to negative actions of this group of social actors, such as the negative impact of international financial institutions and the economies of the advanced countries on Haiti prior to the disaster. Haitians themselves are portrayed as the ones responsible for the poor socio-economic conditions in the country. They are homogenously depicted as helpless and dependent on help from outside. They are rarely given a voice to talk about their experience of the earthquake, which would help readers to sympathize with them; the newspapers rather focus on Haitians' cries, which evoke feelings of pity.

Such a depiction constructs an asymmetrical relationship between the West and Haiti, which can be compared to an adult-child hierarchy. Discursively, the First World is given power over Haiti. The analysis reveals that the visual mode complements the verbal mode in the portrayal of such a social relationship.

As a suggestion for further research, a cross-cultural analysis comparing the representation of the Haiti earthquake in newspapers published in Western English-speaking countries with the portrayal in Haitian newspapers would bring a deeper insight into ideological working of newspaper discourse.

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CAN WE TRUST THEM? A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BRITISH NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the analysis of newspaper headlines related to the issue of immigration published in the Internet versions of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* in 2010. The analysis stresses how and to what extent naming is used to refer to various types of immigrants. Since the newspaper is a mass medium and as such has the power to comment on reality, the tool of naming might be used to serve multiple purposes. Firstly, naming enables the newspaper to label various groups of immigrants and thus to express its point of view on the specific issue. Secondly, the references to immigrants allow the newspaper to influence public opinion and in this respect might contribute to potential power abuse.

KEYWORDS: discourse analysis; quality newspapers; newspaper headlines; immigrants; naming; ideology

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the analysis of newspaper headlines of two British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. The headlines were published in the Internet versions of these newspapers in 2010 and are all devoted to the issue of immigration. The aim of this paper is to focus on naming since it is regarded to be, among others, a tool that might contribute to potential power abuse. Naming enables a newspaper not only to define various types of immigrants by names but also allows it to possibly affect the understanding of its readers, thereby influencing their opinions and actions. If such an influence is reached by readers' unconscious perception,¹ power abuse might appear. In this respect, naming can affect society. As Norman Fairclough states, "there is not an external relationship between language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship" (2001, 23). In other words, not only is society influenced by language, but it also influences language, with each developing and reflecting the other. If various types of immigrants are given certain names or "labels" by a newspaper, they are then more likely to be perceived in the same way by the readers as well. Therefore, if the paper refers to immigrants only or mainly as asylum seekers, the image created by the headlines, and thus possibly in the minds of its readers, depicts immigrants as poor and vulnerable people who need help as they "fight" for shelter in a foreign, often hostile country. On the other hand, if the newspaper chooses to refer to immigrants as migrants,

1. Unconscious perception or "subliminal perception occurs whenever stimuli presented below the threshold or limen for awareness are found to influence thoughts, feelings, or actions" (Kazdin 2000, 497).

foreigners, etc., stressing mainly the fact that they are not welcomed in the country and represent threat not only to the country's economy but also to people in terms of unemployment and crime, it will probably promote the negative associations, thus reinforcing the negative image of immigrants. In other words, the medium has the power to "play" with associations, which are supported by the names given to various types of immigrants. A newspaper hence possesses the ability to depict the reality and image of immigrants either positively, negatively or neutrally, thus has the power to influence the readers' general perception of the issue. Moreover, the medium might and often does use the terms referring to various types of immigrants not clearly or even incorrectly, which might cause the readers to develop an unclear picture of who an immigrant, an asylum seeker and a refugee are. This might not only affect the readers' understanding of the issue of immigration but also the reality in which the readers believe they live. In addition, the readers, commenting on the issue of immigration in everyday communications, use these terms unclearly or incorrectly and hence may consciously or unconsciously influence the social climate. Thus, society (the media and the readers) influences language in a way that the names for various types of immigrants, even though previously neutral, are given positive or negative associations or are completely misunderstood by the society. In this respect, naming is powerful and is therefore analyzed to reveal not only the hidden ideology of each paper but also to uncover possible instances of manipulation.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As the theoretical sources for this paper, the discourse analysis with critical perspective (CDA) emphasizing mainly Fairclough's approach to mass media discourse has been applied to the corpus. As stated, Fairclough perceives discourse, or language, as, on the one hand, determined by society but, on the other hand, also influencing society (Fairclough 2003). Not only does mass media discourse possess the power to influence society, it can also exploit the privilege of a dominant (elite) institution to abuse it. As critical discourse analysis concentrates on the relationship between discourse (language in use) and power, this study concerns how and to what extent forms of inequality, mainly represented by naming, are expressed, represented, legitimated or reproduced by the newspaper headlines (van Dijk 1995, 20). Since CDA is more of an approach and therefore lacks methodology, Lesley Jeffries's analytical framework, partly focusing on naming as well, has been used for the analysis. Jeffries's approach to CDA is, like Fairclough's and others approaches, grounded in M. A. K. Halliday's systemic functional grammar (SFG) which highlights the connections between texts (headlines) and (social) contexts (Fairclough 2003). According to Halliday and Christian Matthiessen (2004), language is seen in terms of its function in the world, which enables us to analyze authentic texts and comment on their possible function, moreover, with the critical perspective, on their possible power abuse.

CORPUS

The study is based on an analysis of newspaper headlines related to the issue of immigration, which were published in two British quality newspapers, *The Guardian*

and *The Daily Telegraph*, during 2010. In total, 456 newspaper headlines published in the “Immigration and Asylum” section of *The Guardian* newspaper and 251 newspaper headlines published in the “Law and Order” section of *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper were analyzed.² The headlines were downloaded from the Internet versions of these newspapers firstly, for accessibility, and secondly because the Internet is a medium still regarded to be new and as such offers a different perspective on the genre of newspaper headlines transforming it into one of the most dynamic genres which by all means deserves attention. The two papers were chosen since they, together with *The Times*, belong to the so-called “big three” (most widely read) quality newspapers in Great Britain and therefore have the possibility to influence British opinions at large. Furthermore, they differ from one another in terms of political stance: *The Guardian* identifies with center-left liberalism, while *The Daily Telegraph* is politically conservative. It is presupposed that each newspaper was more or less influenced by its own ideology, therefore possibly influencing the description of reality, which might differ in both papers even if covering the same event.

THE GENRE OF HEADLINES

The analysis focused exclusively on news headlines since they are powerful tools that not only summarize a piece of news but also have the potential to attract the readers’ attention by various linguistic means. In fact, headlines are “advertisements” of the news in that they advertise, in a very appealing and often unclear way, the content of the following story. If the “advertisement” is good, the readers decide to go on reading, if not, they just skip it. Since advertisements not always tell consumers the truth about a product, headlines also have the possibility of not telling the truth about its product, the story, as well. According to Allan Bell (1991), by attracting the readers to a certain piece of information, the headlines may possibly contribute to the biased picture of the reality. Headlines can thus affect the process of readers’ understanding since the summary of the story, the headline, might be unclear. Moreover, a headline is often written from the newspaper’s point of view, as no text is ideology free. Not only does the ideology of the newspaper play a significant role here, but so does the genre itself. Headlines are specific in terms of grammar as they often consist of incomplete sentences (noun phrases without a verb), often appear without articles and auxiliary verbs, and tenses in headlines are also used differently (see Chovanec 2005, 73). According to Anna Tereszkievicz, not much difference can be seen between the genre of print and online headlines, as online headlines “assume the structural and stylistic conventions typical of print headlines with compact and dense forms, nominalizations and verbless clauses as prevailing syntactic structures” (2012, 214). The limitation of headlines in terms of the layout of a webpage may also lead to ambiguity and vagueness, which can contribute to the ideological function as well (Hopkinson et al. 2011, 74–101).

2. Guardian News and Media Limited or its affiliated companies, *Guardian*, www.guardian.co.uk; Telegraph Media Group Limited, *Daily Telegraph*, www.telegraph.co.uk.

APPROACH TO THE CORPUS

The issue of immigration was studied in the headlines of the two newspapers since it is regarded to be topical, controversial and yet not fully understood. With regard to the papers' ideology, the aim was to comment on the attitude of each newspaper towards the issue of immigration. Furthermore, observations on how references to various groups of immigrants are used in the headlines of each newspaper may also allow for the construction of a neutral, positive or negative image of immigrants. Therefore, attention has been focused mainly on analyzing the naming of immigrants in the headlines. This decision is supported by a report recently released by Oxford University's Migration Observatory that uncovered the British public's real views on immigration. The report was based on a survey of 1,000 Britons taken during September 2–8, 2011. The results showed that 69 percent of Britons living in the UK support reductions in immigration, which would correspond with previous surveys. More surprising were people's preferences for limiting immigration, as these were not focused on the largest groups of immigrants. It was found that the largest group of legal migrants, students, accounting for 37 percent of immigrants to the UK in 2009, is of the lowest concern to the British public. On the other hand, the smallest group of legal migrants, asylum seekers, accounting for only 4 percent of immigrants to the UK in 2009, is of the highest concern. Not only asylum seekers were the most commonly chosen targets for immigration restrictions (56 percent of respondents), but also low-skilled workers (64 percent of respondents). Moreover, the survey revealed that people feel that immigration reductions should target "only" or "mostly" illegal immigration (The Migration Observatory).

To summarize the survey, Britons real views tend to be in contrast with reality. Since people as well as the government and the immigrants live in the same country, it is interesting that their real views of the situation differ. One reason for this evidence might be that the government fails to listen to the public wishes. Another reason might be the presence of another entity in the communication channel, an entity with the possible power of influencing or shaping reality. The media might play a significant role in this indirect process of communication as it might contribute to the construction of an ambiguous picture of reality allowing or coercing the public to view the immigration situation from a different perspective.

With this idea in mind, the terms referring to various types of immigrants used by each newspaper are seen as essential, as they can influence the public's perception and ideas. The terms referring to different types of immigrants are also viewed as rather problematic since they are still not comprehensible to everybody. Unfortunately, the public has little awareness of their exact definitions or is not fully familiar with them, as they also differ from country to country. Furthermore, the media might exploit this situation to support its own perspective on the issue. In this way, the terms might be used ambiguously by the media, thus contributing to misunderstanding and resulting in people's biased picture of reality. Moreover, the media might even create a reality that does not have to be identical with the reality in which people live. The way in which

each newspaper addresses immigrants and hence supports or opposes the real views of the British public is therefore of the main interest.

ANALYSIS

As stated, the aim of the paper is mainly to analyze how naming is used to refer to various types of immigrants presented in the headlines, additionally commenting on how each newspaper either supports the British public's real views or differs from them.

Since language, or newspaper discourse, is used to reflect reality, naming becomes a dominant tool in describing and labeling. Naming is seen as an important device for the analysis for it can indicate not only how the newspapers perceive and thus label various groups of immigrants, which may serve the newspapers' ideological purposes, but also how these references influence the public opinion, hence contributing to the potential power abuse projected in the headlines. As Jeffries notes, "a choice of word not only makes reference to something, but also shows the speaker's opinion of the referent" (2009, 20). In other words, naming is viewed as an important tool which can expand the ideas and beliefs of a certain medium when "impartially" commenting on the reality.

To be able to analyze the references to different types of immigrants, it is essential to give clear definitions of the following terms: an asylum seeker, a refugee, a migrant and an immigrant. According to UNESCO's Glossary on Migration, an asylum seeker is "someone who moves across borders in search of protection, but who may not fulfill the strict criteria laid down by the 1951 Convention. Asylum seeker is someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status" (UNESCO Glossary). A refugee is "a person who has already been granted protection" (UNESCO Glossary). In other words, an asylum seeker can only become a refugee if accepted by the local or refugee authority as fitting the international definition of a refugee. On the other hand, a migrant is "any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country" (UNESCO Glossary). An immigrant is "anyone that migrates from their country or region of origin to a different country or region. This movement can be voluntary or coerced."³ For more information see my previous study which analyzed *The Guardian* newspaper headlines (Hopkinson et al. 2011).

It has been found that *The Guardian* newspaper prefers to use the term "asylum seeker" when referring to various types of immigrants (38 occurrences), followed by the term "migrant" (15 occurrences), "immigrant" (13 occurrences), and "refugee" (7 occurrences) which is used the least. See examples 1, 2, 3 and 4.

- (1) "Border staff humiliate and trick **asylum seekers** – whistleblower" (*Guardian*, February 2, 2010)
- (2) "Suspicion of **migrants** is deep-rooted – but not fixed" (*Guardian*, June 14, 2010)

3. Difference Between,
<http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/difference-between-immigrants-and-refugees/>.

- (3) “Expecting **immigrants** to speak English is hypocritical” (*Guardian*, June 10, 2010)
- (4) “Chance brings **refugees** to Britain not choice, says report” (*Guardian*, January 14, 2010)

According to the number of occurrences of the term “asylum seeker” in *The Guardian* headlines, the paper mainly stresses the vulnerability of various immigrants. In other words, it draws the attention of its readers to the fact that “these people” are mainly here since they were, either for political reasons or because of war, forced to leave their own country and now are hoping that the British government will provide them with shelter. It is thus possible to state that *The Guardian* focuses on the construction of an emotional description of the immigrants the most.

On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper names various types of immigrants “migrants” or “immigrants” (13 occurrences each), followed by the term “asylum seeker” (7 occurrences). The term “refugee” is not present in *The Daily Telegraph* headlines. See examples 5, 6 and 7.

- (5) “New passport for **immigrants** every three minutes” (*Daily Telegraph*, May 27, 2010)
- (6) “**Migrants** will boost population by 1.1m in five years” (*Daily Telegraph*, May 1, 2010)
- (7) “Tens of thousands of failed **asylum seekers** given right to work” (*Daily Telegraph*, July 29, 2010)

By using the terms “migrants” and “immigrants” the most, *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper emphasizes mainly the agency of immigrants to move and live in another country often because of a better standard of living. The newspaper might hence also attempt to create a connection between “their” search for a better life and “our” (British) threat of losing jobs, homes, etc., just because of “them.”

The fact that both newspapers named various groups of immigrants not only by the terms previously discussed, i.e., migrant, immigrant, asylum seeker or refugee, necessitates an examination of other references often used by the newspapers. (See Table 1.)

As illustrated, both newspapers often use other references when labeling immigrants. These references usually focus on the nationality of an immigrant as in examples 8 and 9. However, *The Guardian* newspaper aims to picture the immigrant, Mohammad Razai, positively as it firstly refers to him by his name. Secondly, it indicates that it is possible for a former asylum seeker to fit into British society and thus become one of its ordinary members. On the other hand, as visible in example 9, *The Daily Telegraph* uses the vague expression “Somalian woman” instead of the woman’s name.

- (8) “**Mohammad Razai**: from child Afghan asylum seeker to Cambridge undergraduate” (*Guardian*, June 6, 2010)
- (9) “**Somalian woman** with no right to live in the UK must be given a council house, according to EU judges” (*Daily Telegraph*, February 24, 2010)

TABLE 1: REFERENCES TO VARIOUS GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS

	THE GUARDIAN	THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
immigrant/s	13	13
migrant/s	15	13
refugee/s	7	0
asylum seeker/s	38	7
worker/s	7	9
professional/s	9	5
student/s	7	11
other	28	22
crime connection	0	10

Both newspapers also use references which cannot be identified by nationality, gender or social status. These references are rather related to the newspaper's perspective and as such can reveal the ideas and beliefs of the medium itself. Note especially examples 10 and 11, as they represent headlines published on the same day but each by different papers. Even though the referent is the same in both newspapers, the name assigned to the referent differs. *The Guardian* adds the adjective "jobless" to the term "migrants." By highlighting the fact that these people are unemployed, the paper focuses on the weakness of migrants, possibly implying that the government should feel responsible as it is its duty to solve these problems. By the choice of the adjective "jobless," the paper might also be attempting to create an emotional response among readers. On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* perceives the same group of people as "east Europeans" and adds the adjective "homeless." Not only does the paper provide the reader with a vague nationality of these migrants, moreover, it also creates an unfavorable picture with the help of the adjective "homeless," which carries rather negative connotations.

(10) "**Jobless migrants** living in shanty towns offered free flights home" (*Guardian*, February 7, 2010)

(11) "Free flights for **east Europe homeless**" (*Daily Telegraph*, February 7, 2010)

The Daily Telegraph also mentions "students" as a type of immigrant to the United Kingdom more often than *The Guardian*. Furthermore, if students are referred to in *The Daily Telegraph*'s headlines, the paper often assigns to them the adjective "foreign" as in example 12.

(12) "Huge rise in **foreign students** undermines Labour's policy" (*Daily Telegraph*, April 17, 2010)

As can be seen in Table 1, *The Daily Telegraph* relates various groups of immigrants to crime in ten headlines: see examples 13 and 14. *The Guardian*, on the other hand, does not make such a connection. Here again it can be perceived that *The Daily Telegraph* attempts to build a rather negative image of the immigrants in the minds of its readers.

(13) "Passport interviews catch only eight **fraudsters**" (*Daily Telegraph*, June 12, 2010)

(14) “**Foreign prisoners at large**” (*Daily Telegraph*, January 30, 2010)

The Guardian newspaper tends to use the term “asylum seeker” the most, which seemingly enables the paper to reflect its ideology and political opinions. As liberals generally aim to disperse power, promote diversity and stress equal opportunity and equality for all members of the community, to name the immigrants mainly “asylum seekers” might allow the newspaper to affect its readers by depicting immigrants mainly as weaklings dependent on the government’s help since the government is believed to be the body which should solve such problems.

On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* uses the terms “migrants” and “immigrants” when addressing different types of immigrants the most. Here again a relation to the paper’s beliefs can be visible. As *The Daily Telegraph* leans conservative, it can be perceived that by using mainly the terms “migrants” and “immigrants” the paper attempts to highlight the fact that these people do not seek asylum in the United Kingdom but rather search for a better economic situation and better life. Therefore, the paper consciously or subconsciously relates immigrants to the possible threat they might represent for the British society in terms of employment, housing, health care, etc.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the naming of various types of immigrants presented in the headlines on immigration published in the Internet versions of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* newspapers in 2010 revealed that different names for immigrants are preferred by each newspaper. The reason is mainly seen in each paper’s ideology. *The Guardian* tends to lean liberal, thus stressing mainly the need to help poor and helpless asylum seekers who must be saved as they are looking for shelter; furthermore, they have the same rights as other members of British society. On the contrary, *The Daily Telegraph* tends to lean conservative and depicts immigrants mainly as foreigners, those who are different, often not able to solve their problems themselves and hence represent a threat to British society. *The Daily Telegraph*’s view of immigrants is also supported by the crime connection created in the headlines, as immigrants are depicted as foreign nationals who cause problems in all spheres of life.

Moreover, a survey conducted by Oxford University’s Migration Observatory (see the “Approach to the corpus” section), enabled a comparison between *The Guardian*’s and *The Daily Telegraph*’s references to immigrants with the British public’s real views on immigration. As determined by the survey, more than half of the British public was mainly concerned with the asylum seekers as they were regarded to be the largest group of immigrants which should be, according to the British public, reduced. Even though asylum seekers represent only 4 percent of immigrants coming to the United Kingdom in 2009, they were of the highest concern for more than half of the British population. This fact might be the result of media coverage, more precisely of *The Guardian* view of the immigration situation, as the newspaper was firstly mainly concerned with asylum seekers in its headlines during 2010 and secondly managed to get its message to a large audience as it was the second most widely read news medium in that year. Additionally, the

largest group of immigrants coming to the United Kingdom, the students, representing 37 percent of immigrants to the UK in 2009, was according to the survey of the lowest concern to the British public. Here again the connection between the reality created by the media in their headlines and British public beliefs can be seen. True, *The Daily Telegraph* refers to students in eleven of its headlines in 2010, but in comparison to the occurrences of the term “asylum seeker” in *The Guardian* headlines (38 occurrences) it might still not be as visible for the readers to notice and pay attention to.

With the help of the analysis of names referring to different types of immigrants, it was discovered that even though both quality papers describe the same situations happening in the same country during the same year, the reality created in the papers’ headlines does not necessarily correspond with the reality in British society. Since no text is ideology free, I assumed that the political stance of each newspaper could be visible in the way the headlines are designed. What I did not expect was that also the names assigned to various types of immigrants, which evaluate and define the referent, are also cleverly used by each paper to possibly support its own perspective on the issue. Since this naming process cannot be seen by the ordinary reader at first sight, and moreover is difficult to spot, I believe that both papers, either with the intention to unite the British society or with the aim to preserve the country for its citizens only, manipulate the readers by their conscious or unconscious reference to immigrants.

As discussed, the medium, here the Internet newspaper, is seen as the third party in the one-way communication between the government and the public. Although the medium appears to be silent, for it only passes information from one entity, the government, to the other, the public, it must not be forgotten that the medium might employ various linguistic means by which it can cleverly add, adjust or even change the message transferred in this modern communication channel.

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THE FUNCTION OF REPORTED LANGUAGE AND NARRATION IN THE HEADLINES OF HARD NEWS

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ABSTRACT: The paper is concerned with the use of reported language and narration in the headlines of hard news reports. First, attention is paid to the generic function of a headline, especially in connection with its nuclear status at the interpersonal level of discourse (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998). Second, focus is placed on formal, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of direct and indirect forms of presentation on speech, writing and thought scales (Semino and Short 2004). The function of reported language and narration is interpreted in connection with the role the headline plays in the genre of newspaper reports. The conclusions are based on the analysis of headlines excerpted from British broadsheet newspapers.

KEYWORDS: direct forms of presentation; non-direct forms of presentation; narration; voice; genre; hard news report; newspaper headlines

1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper is concerned with the function of reported language and narration in the headlines of newspaper reports. The approach to the genre follows the Sydney School, based on ideas from Systemic Functional Linguistics. Genre is defined as a staged, goal-oriented social process (Martin et al. 1987; Iedema et al. 1994; Martin and Rose 2008). It is goal-oriented since it fulfils a purpose; it is staged because in the process of achieving the desired goal participants rely on a number of steps, which, if missing, may render a text incomplete or result in failing to accomplish the goal; it is a social process since it involves a number of social factors, such as the author and audience (Martin 1992, 502–3; Iedema et al. 1994, 76; Martin and Rose 2008, 6). The present paper pays attention to the initial stage in the generic structure of hard news, namely the headline, and the way reported language reflects and contributes to the role of the headline in the genre of hard news. As far as the system of reported language is concerned, the analysis draws on the categorization developed by Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004). It will be demonstrated that some forms of reported language (and narration) are, due to their syntactic and deictic properties, more suited than others for the intended function of headlines.

2. THE CORPUS

The corpus consists of newspaper headlines (235 in total) excerpted from hard news reports (175 in total) published in July and October 2010 and December 2011 in the main British broadsheets: *The Daily Telegraph* (50 reports, 57 headlines), *The Guardian*

(40 reports, 74 headlines), *The Independent* (40 reports, 52 headlines) and *The Times* (45 reports, 52 headlines). Looking at the number of headlines vis-à-vis the number of news reports, mostly there is only one headline in a news story; some cases involve the so-called double- or triple-decked headlines (see, e.g., Schneider 2000). Headlines accompanying other kinds of media texts were not included.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE HEADLINE

The function of the headline derives from the function of the hard news report. Apart from the criteria of time and urgency of dissemination, the hard news is defined in terms of the events it describes and their social significance, such as accidents, conflicts, crime but also discoveries or announcements (Tuchman 1978, 51; Bell 1991, 14). More specifically, its aim is to present an event that is newsworthy, mostly due to being actually or potentially damaging, aberrant, destabilizing, disruptive or breaching the status quo and social norms (White 1997, 104–6; White 1998, 377). Moreover, it purportedly presents information in an objective and impersonal manner, which is, among other factors, achieved by its generic structure (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998).

The headline is said to provide a summary or abstract of the most important information and / or to attract the reader to the story while simultaneously abiding by space constraints (van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Reah 1998). From the point of view of genre, the headline represents an initial stage of the generic structure. As regards its role in achieving the intended purpose, it identifies and summarizes those aspects of the event selected as disruptive, threatening, etc. (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998). By selecting certain aspects of the reported event, the headline (and the report) helps to reinforce the established norms and values. Thus it involves a social aspect as well. The process of selection, which not only focuses on some aspects and disregards others, establishes the overall angle from which the story is told and poses questions regarding the objectivity of the hard news report (e.g., White 2000).

The angle in this sense is to be distinguished from the notion of perspective, defined as “the introduction of a subjective viewpoint that restricts the validity of the presented information to a particular person in the discourse” (Sanders and Redeker 1993, 69). As will be explained in the following section, reported language is one of the devices with the potential to establish point of view. Various forms of representation differ in the extent to which they reflect the perspective of the reported speaker and the reporting speaker, i.e., the journalist. The aim of this paper is to ascertain whether there are any tendencies regarding perspective or point of view in the headlines, especially in connection with whose perspective tends to be employed in the presentation of events identified as threatening to the established social norms.

4. REPORTED LANGUAGE AND NARRATION

The analysis of reported language is based on the classification proposed by Leech and Short (1981) and further modified by Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004). They view reported language as a scale containing direct and non-direct forms with

different degrees of directness of representation: at one pole, there are free direct and direct forms of representation, reflecting the point of view of the reported speaker; at the other end of the scale, there is narration, reflecting the point of view of the journalist. In between lie a number of forms with different degrees of directness of representation, such as free indirect discourse or indirect discourse.¹ Analogous forms can be found on speech, writing and thought scales. Each form will be defined and exemplified later.

One of the aspects used to distinguish forms of representation is the extent to which they adhere to the criterion of verbatim presentation. Free direct discourse and direct discourse are said to abide by the faithfulness claims to form, content and speech act value (Semino et al. 1997). Though this may but does not necessarily have to be the case (e.g., Sternberg 1982; Short et al. 2002), this potential is related to the deictic and syntactic properties of the two forms. The reported clause is not syntactically subordinated to the reporting clause, which enables it to retain the deictic properties of the original situation as well as the subjectivity (perspective / point of view) of the reported speaker. Consequently, the reported element can also maintain the original structures and words used (Sternberg 1982, 110; Vandelanotte 2009). As the criteria of faithfulness claims, deictic and syntactic properties are identical to both free direct discourse (FDD) and direct discourse (DD), often FDD and DD are not considered two separate categories but mere variants (Semino et al. 1997; Short 1988). Nevertheless, in the present treatment the distinction between FDD and DD is maintained, and following Leech and Short (1981, 322), FDD is defined as lacking quotation marks, reporting clause or both. In all examples, any stretch of direct reported discourse will be marked in bold. If a headline contains more forms of reported language and / or narration, only the form under discussion will be underlined, as in (4) below; the absence of underlining means the whole stretch of discourse is relevant, as in examples (1)–(3).

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (1) “Get a grip to avoid second Southern Cross” | (Beckford, 2011) |
| (2) I knew our silicone was inferior , says breast implant chief | (Barrow, 2011) |
| (3) I’m here for British jobs | (Prince, 2010) |
| (4) Pakistanis irate over PM’s <u>“exporting terror”</u> remark | (Grice, 2010) |

Examples (1)–(3) are instances of free direct speech (FDS) since (1) lacks the reporting clause, (2) quotation marks, and (3) both. All three show the indisputable signals of expressivity / perspective of the original deictic situation, namely an imperative form in (1) and a first person pronoun in (2) and (3). Example (4) is the only instance of direct speech (DS) found in the corpus. Moreover, it is not a prototypical example of DS. As mentioned, in DD the reported element is not syntactically subordinated to the reporting element; in (4), however, the stretch in quotation marks pre-modifies the

1. The term reported *discourse* is used as an umbrella term to refer to reported speech, writing and thought; the term *non-direct* discourse is a subsuming label covering all forms of representation to the exclusion of pure direct forms, and is thus more general than, e.g., indirect discourse.

reporting signal (*remark*) and illustrates what Clark and Gerrig (1990, 789–90) refer to as “embedded” quotations, i.e., quotations the forms of which are irrelevant to the embedding context. The lack of formal constraints on the reported element, one of the characteristic properties of DD, is the main reason for viewing (4) as DD. All four examples were classified as speech events since there is no signal to the contrary, a strategy followed also in Semino and Short (2004).

As mentioned, though Semino et al. (1997) define (F)DD in terms of the adherence to the three faithfulness claims, the expectations of and compliance with faithfulness claims in newspaper headlines may be to a great extent relaxed (Short 1988, 67–69). The relaxation of faithfulness claims must be interpreted in connection to the function of the headline. The effect of drama and appeal is achieved by the retention of the original deictic centre and the reported speaker’s point of view. Additionally, the headline aims to summarize, a goal which may not be achieved by the particularity of the direct quote, peculiar to a single reported language or thought event. However, by the relaxation of the faithfulness claims, instances of (F)DD can act as speech summaries, “eye-catching versions of a macro-proposition representing a group of sentences in the anterior utterance” in which “the maxim of strikingness” is given preference to “the maxim of quality” (Short 1988, 75).

For instance, the headline in example (1) could be considered a summarized warning against possible problems in social services and an urge for action in order to prevent care providers from going bankrupt as happened in the case of Southern Cross. In addition, the urgency of the situation is heightened by the use of the imperative mood, not employed in the (presumably more faithful) DS found in the body of the text and, as follows from the contextual specification, also stylistically less likely to appear in the original speech situation. Or, the headline in (3) relates to British Prime Minister David Cameron’s visit to India, the purpose of which was business negotiations between India and Britain. It summarizes the purpose of the visit from the British perspective and, in terms of words and structures used, seems to originate with the journalist addressing the British audience but is veiled by the subjectivity of the reported speaker. In such cases, the journalist is not only the animator but also the author (Goffman 1981). Similarly, the DS in (4) gives the gist of the previous utterances rather than their exact reproduction.

As no occurrences of free indirect discourse (FID) were found, the discussion will proceed with indirect discourse. Indirect discourse (ID) differs from (F)DD in that the reported clause is syntactically subordinated to the reporting clause; as a whole the structure is deictically single-centred since the deictic coordinates of the reported clause are derived from the reporting clause (Sternberg 1982, 110; Vandelanotte 2009). The syntactic and deictic properties find reflection in the faithfulness claims, which apply only to content and speech act value (Semino et al. 1997). Generally, indirect discourse has a greater potential to summarize an event from the perspective or point of view of the reporting speaker, i.e., the journalist, and thus gives him / her more space to enforce a particular interpretation (Semino and Short 2004, 78; Smirnova 2009, 99).

In some cases, the indirectly reported content is partially quoted. Partial quotes generally foreground selected parts of the original utterance without having to provide a lengthy quotation and thus satisfy the need for vividness and brevity (Semino et al. 1997, 31). Often, the words selected for a partial quote are those that are particularly “apt, shocking, controversial or revealing” (Semino and Short 2004, 154) and thus suitable for accentuating the disruption of the status quo. The following examples illustrate indirect speech combined with a partial quote (5, *General says . . .*), indirect writing (6, *report finds . . .*) and indirect thought (7, *Detectives hope . . .*).

- (5) General says Army nearly “**seized up**” with too many missions (McSmith, 2010)
- (6) Regulator acts after report finds users get only half expected speed on average (Warman, 2010)
- (7) Detectives hope that victim’s nephew and niece aged three and four can help catch her killers (Peachey, 2011)

The narrative end of the continuum includes forms with a greater potential to summarize and limited adherence to faithfulness claims, both of which are a result of their formal properties. The narrator’s representation of a discourse act (NRDA) is a form which does not report the content of the original event and specifies only the speech act value (Semino et al. 1997). The reported event in (8) is interpreted as a demand and in (9) as a claim.

- (8) A demand every minute from our official snoopers (Whitehead, 2010)
- (9) Claims likely to deepen Tory anger at concession (Wintour, 2010)

However, there is a variant of NRDA which can report content, referred to as a narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (NRDAp). It differs from ID in that the form lacks a separate reporting and reported clause structure since content is reported in the form of a phrase. As well as ID, NRDAp can be combined with a partial quote.

- (10) Taliban condemns murder of Shia worshippers (Boone and Shah, 2011)
- (11) Home Secretary announces end to “**ludicrous**” system of Asbos (Morris, 2010)

Example (10) is an instance of narrator’s representation of speech act with topic reported in the form of a noun phrase (*murder of Shia worshippers*); in (11), also a NRDAp, the content is reported in a phrasal form a part of which is quoted directly (*ludicrous*). A phrase may present the content in a more compact or concise manner than a clause, e.g., by means of nominalizations as in (10) and (11), and thus imbue the content with the reporting speaker’s interpretation and / or evaluation (Semino et al. 1997; Semino and Short 2004, 52–53, 73–77). Evaluation or interpretation can be

also conveyed by the choice of the reporting verb or noun (*demand, claim, condemn, announce*) and the words selected for a partial direct quote (Weizman 1984; Hunston 1995; Floyd 2000). These factors are also relevant to ID and ID combined with a partial quote (*say, find, hope, "seized up"*). The forms of ID with content reported in the form of a clause, NRDAp with content reported in the form of a phrase and NRDA with no topic also clearly illustrate the scalar nature of reported language.

Adjacent to narration on the scale of reported language are minimal forms of representation: the so-called narrator's representation of voice (speech scale), the narrator's representation of writing (writing scale) and internal narration (thought scale) (Semino et al. 1997; Semino and Short 2004). These forms only indicate that a speech, writing or thought event took place without any comment on the speech act value or content and are thus characterized by the absence of faithfulness claims.

- (12) US and Karzai make contact with key Afghan insurgents
(Borger and Walsh, 2010)
- (13) Worried parents point students towards degree that enriches more than the mind
(Woolcock, 2011)

Example (12) is an instance of minimal speech report, the narrator's representation of voice; the reporting signal (*make contact*) notes a prior speech event without further specification. Example (13), internal narration, illustrates a minimal thought report, which specifies only the attitude of the source (*worried parents*) without noting any concrete thought. An example of internal narration (*Tory anger*) can be also found in (9).

The last form to be discussed is narration, which effectively lies off the scale of reported language. As shown in example (14), narration does not evoke any other voice, at least not in the form of reported language, and thus what is said is understood as having originated with the journalist.

- (14) Four killed as toxic sludge engulfs towns (LeBor, 2010)

However, even narration can appear with a partial quote (example 15); in this case the words in quotation marks are intertwined with the journalist's language with no explicit reporting signal of either the kind of language / thought event or its source.

- (15) "**Failings**" in rebuilt schools (Paton, 2010)

Before the discussion of the frequency of occurrence of the individual forms of representation and narration, a note will be made on their co-occurrence. A comparison of the number of headlines (235) with the number of forms of reported language and narration (328), discussed in Table 1, shows that in some cases forms of reported

language and narration co-occur in one headline. In example (4), the PM's remark (direct speech) is described together with its consequence, Pakistan's negative reaction (*irate*, internal narration). Similarly in (9), the claim (narrator's representation of speech act) is mentioned in the context of Tory anger (internal narration). In (6), narration (*regulator acts after*) co-occurs with indirect writing (*report finds . . .*), and in (13), narration (*point students towards . . .*) co-occurs with internal narration (*worried parents*). Notice that the co-occurring forms of reported language are mostly those which have a greater summarizing potential and are brief in form. Example (2) illustrates a different kind of co-occurrence in which forms are not placed alongside each other. Instead, one form of reported language is contained within another in the so-called embedding structures (Semino and Short 2004, 33–35). This notion of embedding is different from the concept of embedded quotes exemplified in (4). In (2), the reported clause of FDS contains, i.e., embeds, an instance of a self-reported indirect thought (*I knew . . .*). The occurrence of narration and individual forms of reported language will be discussed in the following section.

5. REPORTED LANGUAGE AND NARRATION IN THE HEADLINE

This section aims to explain the occurrence of narration and the individual forms of representation (328 in total) in the corpus of 235 headlines (HLs), summarized in Table 1. Vertically, the table lists forms reporting speech, writing and thought, narration and ambiguous forms of representation. Horizontally, it lists all the individual forms: (free) direct discourse (F)DD, indirect discourse (combined with a partial quote) ID(-q), the narrator's representation of a speech act (with topic, possibly partially quoted) NRDA(p, -q), minimal forms of reports (MIN), narration (combined with a partial quote) N(-q) and any kind of ambiguity (A).

TABLE 1: REPORTED LANGUAGE AND NARRATION IN THE HEADLINE

235 HLs	FDD	DD	ID(-q)	NRDA(p, -q)	MIN	N(-q)	A	TOTAL
Speech	12	1	20	62	9	–	–	104
Writing	0	0	1	10	1	–	–	12
Thought	0	0	5	4	21	–	–	30
Narration	–	–	–	–	–	130	–	130
Ambiguity	–	–	–	–	–	–	52	52
TOTAL	12	1	26	76	31	130	52	328

The total of 328 forms yielded 130 unambiguous narrative forms and 146 forms of reported language; the voice of the journalist and the voice of others are thus comparatively balanced. Also, 52 ambiguous forms included both reported language and narration. As for reported language, pure non-direct forms (24 ID, 70 NRDA(p) and 31 minimal forms) outnumber their combined analogues (2 ID-q and 6 NRDAp-q) as well as pure direct forms (12 FDD, 1 DD). Similarly, pure narration (107) is more frequent than narration with a partial quote (23).

As far as the speech, writing and thought distinction is concerned, speech (104) clearly predominates over both writing (12) and thought (30). The high frequency of speech reports in general may be underscored by the adopted analysis approach, in which a form was interpreted as speech unless there was an indication to the contrary, a strategy found also in Semino and Short (2004). In a headline, the context often does not provide sufficient clues to indicate that a form different than speech is reported. Also, only speech reports appear in pure direct and combined forms of representation. Thought is by definition an internal non-verbalized phenomenon not accessible to observation and thus impossible to report in direct form; in the context of newspaper reports, preference is given to non-direct forms, which have a less dramatic and artificial connotation (Leech and Short 1981, 345; Semino and Short 2004, 118).

Out of the 130 instances of narration, 107 are pure narration and 23 are narration combined with a partial quote. Narration, i.e., discourse originating with the reporter, is flexible since there are no requirements on form: the headline may take the form of a sentence (example 14) or a phrase (example 15). More importantly, narration-based headlines portray the disequilibrium entirely from the (deictic) perspective of the journalist. Since narration brings in no other voice to which the validity of the content would be restricted, it does not acknowledge the existence of alternative points of view; the content is presented as monoglossic, i.e., not open to negotiation and hence fact-like and taken for granted (Martin and White 2005, 99–100). Where narration co-occurs with (non-)direct and combined forms, more points of view are naturally present. In N-q, no constraints are imposed by the form of the reporting signal; as the words selected for a partial quotation reflect the perspective of the unspecified source, the whole structure is a mixture or blend of different voices and respective points of view. Also, as will be demonstrated, due to the absence of the source of attribution and a lack of context, N-q is a frequent source of ambiguity.

The second most frequent form is NRDA(p) with 70 occurrences and its variant with a partial quote, NRDAp-q, with 6 occurrences. The formal advantage of this form is that there is no separate reporting-reported clause structure, which enables the reporter to comply with space requirements. Considering the form from the point of view of its location on the continuum between FDD and narration, it is close to the narrative end of the scale, so the summary of the language / thought event the form offers (with or without reporting the content) reflects to a large extent the perspective of the reporter. As with N-q, the variant with a partial quote is less frequent and results in a mixture of perspectives.

Disregarding ambiguities, the minimal forms of representation are of the third highest occurrence (31). Especially important is the minimal representation of thought, internal narration (21), which reports a state of mind or emotion, mostly a negative reaction to a disruptive event (examples 4, 9, 13). The remaining non-direct form, namely ID (24) and ID-q (2), is the least frequent, which is attributable to the presence

of separate reporting and reported clauses and a corresponding lower degree of summarizing potential.²

As for pure direct forms, FDD (12) predominates over DD (1). On the whole, (F)DD is the least frequently occurring category, which could be ascribed to the individual character of (F)DD, which may not square with the summative or selective function of the headline. Also, as pointed out by Short (1988, 65–66), quality papers may wish to avoid making the impression of sensationalism evoked by the subjectivity of (F)DD. The relative proportion of FDD and DD in the headline is the opposite to their relative proportion in the body of the text. The higher frequency of FDD probably corresponds to the relaxation of faithfulness claims and the danger of libel, which may be avoided if the quotation marks, the source of attribution or both are omitted (Short et al. 1999). On the other hand, the expectations of faithfulness claims may be higher for DD and thus less compatible with the function of headlines. Also, due to the presence of reporting signal, DD is more demanding on space. Though FDD and DD may be functional equivalents in some genres or in some parts of the generic structure, the pragmatic difference in the case of headlines shows that the distinction is justifiable.

Though, admittedly, ambiguities (52) are not a marginal phenomenon and to a great extent reflect the functions of the headline as a summarizing and attention-seeking device, they will not be dealt with here in detail. Example (16) illustrates one of the most frequently occurring kinds of ambiguity.

(16) Health care at home by “**remote control**”

(Smith, 2011)

Example (16) reports on the introduction into patients’ homes of new monitoring devices, which transmit patient health information to medical staff. The indeterminacy lies in two possible sources of the words in quotation marks. Either they originate with an unspecified source and the form is an instance of narration with a partial quote, or they originate with the journalist and are used to approximate a complex technological issue to the audience via a concept with which they are all familiar, and the inappropriateness or inaccuracy of the expression used (*remote control*) is indicated by enclosing it in quotation marks, so-called scare quotes (e.g., Predelli 2003). The ambiguity is caused by the lack of context, which would clearly indicate whose voice speaks through the headline.

2. Due to the absence of subordination and a frequent lack of clear signals, some forms of representation with a final reporting clause (17) were classified as ID(-q) ambiguous with free (in)direct discourse (-q), which also lowered the occurrence of unambiguous ID(-q).

6. CONCLUSION

The function of the headline in hard news is to identify its point of social significance; the content of the headline is a result of the process of selection and / or summarization and sets an angle on the whole story. The structures used reflect and facilitate this process: narration and the forms of reported language which are structurally most flexible and have a greater potential to summarize are of the highest incidence, namely the narrator's representation of discourse act (with topic) and minimal forms of representation. Consequently, they enable the reporter to portray an event concisely and weave in their point of view. In other words, those features of the story are highlighted that the reporter believes (his audience will perceive as) most disturbing and threatening to the established social norms.

Over all, (free) direct and combined forms of representation are less frequent than non-direct forms and narration. If they appear, combined forms are a useful tool of manipulation since the voice of others is interlaced with that of the journalist and subjected to the function of the reporting context. Due to the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic incorporation, these forms are particularly liable to slanted interpretation (Semino et al. 1997, 31). Moreover, even in FDD, which supposedly retains the point of view of the reported speaker irrespective of the possible absence of their specification, faithfulness claims may be relaxed precisely to serve the purpose of the headline – to add vividness and drama but establish the perspective and angle perceived as desirable. Additionally, though ambiguities were touched upon only marginally, the most common types are related to the indeterminacy or mingling of voices, which leads back to the issue of the perspective from which the story is presented.

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HETEROGLOSSIC INTERTEXTUALITY AS A DISCOURSE STRATEGY

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ABSTRACT: Ad recipients have wide-ranging experiences of perceiving other texts. The discourse strategy of intertextuality is used in advertising when these experiences become the basis of perceiving ad messages. The presence of voices from other texts or text types in an advertising text marks intertextuality of a heteroglossic type. This article studies heteroglossic ads and their dialogic character. It focuses on how dialogism in ads empowers the participants, adds interactivity, strengthens the involvement of the recipients and positions them in the role of co-authors. The voice of the producer or a symbolic representative of the product such as a well-known entertainment or sports celebrity, thinker or a politician helps build a relationship between the recipient and the product and thus creates an emotive and attitudinal layer of meaning via exploring the recipient's mental space.

KEYWORDS: advertising discourse; discourse strategy; intertextuality; voice; heteroglossia; mental space

The phenomenon of intertextuality in advertising discourse can be detected in two basic forms: as a presence of other discourses in the ads or as a presence of voices. The first one is referred to as multigeneric intertextuality; the latter, which creates the focal point of this article, is labeled heteroglossic intertextuality (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Gadavani 2002; Nemčoková 2012).

In the case of heteroglossic intertextuality, a presence of voices or an indication of participants' presences that originally belonged to other discourses can be detected. In general, voice is defined as "an indication of who the participants of the discourse are and what identity they assume" (Gadavani 2002, 483). According to Bakhtin (1981, 434), the voice is "the speaking personality, the speaking consciousness." Applied to the discourse of advertisements, it is reported speech, reported thought or a participant's use of a foreign language that may indicate another presence (apart from the ultimate message sender). Such an occurrence can be understood as instances of multi-voice, or heteroglossic intertextuality. The following 2005 Armani perfume ad illustrates the presence of another voice: "Subtle and sensual, a fragrance should be an aura that surrounds us.' Giorgio Armani. Black Code. Armani Black Code the new fragrance for men GIORGIO ARMANI" (VF10). In many printed ads, the presence of another voice is introduced through an illustration and/or through the text. In this specific ad, Giorgio Armani is present only as the speaking voice. His quoted words and his name given underneath are set within the rest of the advertising text and thus constitute its heteroglossic character.

1. HETEROGLOSSIA, DIALOGISM AND MENTAL SPACE

Heteroglossia (multi-voiced character) is that “which insures the primacy of context over text” (Bakhtin 1981, 428) and thus illustrates the basic feature of intertextuality – the dependence of textual meaning on context (Nemčoková 2012). As a result, the meaning of a text is interactive, dependent on conditions in which it is uttered. Dialogism is a related term, understood as “a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning the others” (Bakhtin 1981, 426). When an ad features explicit or implicit dialog between the voices in the discourse or between the participants of the communication (the sender and the recipient), it is considered to be dialogic. This enhances the involvement of the recipients, their incorporation in the process of meaning creation, and possibly social proximity, friendly attitude and intimacy.

Simultaneously, dialogism (and heteroglossic intertextuality as its discourse representation) is a powerful tool for exploring a recipient’s mental space (c.f., Fauconnier 1994; Lakoff 1990; Geeraerts and Cyuckens 2007; Nemčoková 2011; Nemčoková 2012). It enhances creating an emotive response to an ad by allowing recipients to fill the mental space with their own associations and experiences of the dialogic discourses, which represent the most natural form of communication. Dialogues imply mutuality, personal attitude, interaction, belonging and possibility of influence over others. For advertisers, these are valuable features that allow recipients to create a positive attitude towards the ad message. Heteroglossic ads of a dialogic character empower the participants, add interactivity, strengthen the involvement of the recipients and position them in the role of co-authors.

2. VOICES IN ADS

The sender as an inherent participant of the communication may assume multiple identities. Due to this, the message may be delivered by many voices. Who the sender is creates an essential part of the recipient’s interpretation. A producer, a product, a user of the product or a symbolic representative may all assume the roles of message senders.

Ads are a well-established genre, and the recipients naturally recognize that a sender with a persuasive intention is behind any commercial message. This suggests an impersonal unidentified sender who may even pretend “not to be there” is implied as a voice. This kind of sender is viewed often as an abstract persona, an inherent voice. When other voices except for the inherent one appear and deliver parts of the message, heteroglossic intertextuality is inferred. Cook (2001, 219) concludes that ads are prototypically heteroglossic, yet one voice tends to dominate. The reason for dominance is the reluctance of the advertiser to leave too much space for the recipient to come with his/her own judgment (Cook 2001, 193).

In the corpus of over four hundred product printed ads from American magazines, seventeen were identified as clearly heteroglossic. Within these, two distinct groups are identified: the first one (seven instances) contains a voice of the producer talking

about the product or benefits of its use; the second group (nine instances) features a symbolic representative of the product, a personality who embodies the unique selling proposition. One ad contains a first-person voice of a recipient using the product. The two mentioned groups are considerably different in many aspects and seem to be quite homogeneous in their employment of voices.

2.1 THE VOICE OF A PRODUCER

All seven ads in this category feature the voice of the producer, or a person whose name appears as a part of the product name. Such a person speaking does not necessarily have to be the manufacturer; however, their name functions as a signature, a personal guarantee of quality. The producer's voice is made distinct and clear by being placed in quotation marks and/or occupying a prominent headline position in all the ad texts. The speaker is identified by name immediately after the quote in four cases, as seen in examples (1) and (3). In other cases, the name of the speaker is inserted at the end of the body copy, in a usual position for a closing signature line, as shown in example (2). Both the first name and surname are given in all cases; this creates a significant part of the identity of the product.

- (1) *"Room after room after room a Dyson doesn't lose suction" James Dyson. There's a fundamental problem with vacuum cleaners: they start losing suction after just a few rooms. Our unique patented system is different. It separates dirt from the air at incredibly high speeds, so a Dyson never loses suction no matter how much you vacuum. Visit dyson.com or call- XXX Dyson. (VF10)*
- (2) *Be faithful to your spouse – Play around with your salad. Paul Newman. If you're particularly faithful to just one of my delicious all-natural salad dressings, why not loosen up and try something different? Perhaps flavors seasoned with fresh-from-the-garden herbs & spices could persuade you. Just one fling with these tempting alternatives will make you glad you stayed. Newman's Own. Paul Newman and the Newman's Own Foundation donate all profits to charities. Over \$200 million has been given to thousands of charities since 1982. (P6)*
- (3) *Oh, I wish . . . this bite could last forever. Deli shaved ham. For thinly sliced, deli fresh taste, you can count on Oscar. Oscar Mayer Shaved Virginia Brand Ham. New! (P5)*

All the examples present a producer speaking in a direct way. The recipient is explicitly addressed by an imperative and a pronoun ("your") only in (2); nevertheless, the other personal messages are implicitly directed towards the ad recipient. The dialogic character of heteroglossic ads is highlighted.

Each personalized message in these examples addresses the recipients in its own unique way. A positive response is intended in each case, yet the means differ. (1) shows an overt statement of product quality with no verbal frills, no hidden meaning and limited possibilities of verbal misleading. Here, the identified producer clearly states the major advantage of the product (a vacuum cleaner) and leaves further specification of

the technical details to the unidentified voice, possibly a specialist from the company, a designer or an engineer. By placing the identified voice separately from the anonymous one, a corporate hierarchy is suggested. The producing company is seen as organized and well managed, with the boss standing behind the proud team. This suggests the mechanical products they make are well-designed and have high utility value. Vacuum cleaners are bought for their functionality; verbal decorations or evoking rich imagery could here be counterproductive.

The two other examples promote food products. (2) is a Paul Newman (actor-turned-businessman) message that is intertextual at more levels. Not only is it the producer addressing the recipients directly with imperatives in the headline suggesting the way to use the product, it is also a reference to a shared cultural knowledge of Paul Newman's private life as a devoted husband of 50 years. The two layers overlap: if Newman is known for being a faithful and devoted family man in the least favorable environment – the film industry, such qualities are transferred to him as a producer – hard-working, devoted and caring. Newman's own words in the address combine family life and product promotion in a playful, humorous way. Such associations are desired elements when mental space is created and processed. Humor infiltrates the message through a pun: "play around" can be understood as "have fun, goof around, have a fun time" (with the product) and "have an extra-marital affair" (connected to a previously-mentioned spouse). This opposition is expanded upon later through several other ambiguous expressions ("loosen up," "one fling"). The mental space can be filled by developing an internalized personal relationship with the producer; other positive elements may be the playful decoding of figures of speech, the shared knowledge and informal jargonized product description.

A simpler message is found in (3). The recipient is not addressed directly; the headline gives an impression of being unintentionally overheard praise of a tasty product. The sender of the message is familiarly identified as Oscar ("you can count on Oscar"), and later the full name of Oscar Mayer is given. Most American recipients recognize this as the name of a famous meat-production company (originally established by Oscar Mayer in the nineteenth century). Oscar as a person cannot be expected to have uttered this. However, the company previously invested into building their name through personification. In the 1970s, their TV commercial said: "My bologna has a first name. It's O.S.C.A.R. My bologna has a second name. It's M.A.Y.E.R.!" (Harrington 2009). The personification of the company is vividly achieved (and reminded) in the ad. The founder's name is used to personalize the message – sharing how it feels to enjoy the product.

All the ads in this category explore the voice of the producer to help build a relationship between the recipient and the product and thus fill the mental space. Through the speaking voice, a machine is directly portrayed as being well-designed and functional; food products are promoted indirectly, by figures of speech, implying their positive attributes and the personal emotional involvement of the producer. Four ads in this category promote low-involvement food products. Three promote a vacuum

cleaner, wine and a luxurious cosmetic product. The speaking persons are taken as specialists who not only know but who also personally care. If publicly known, their complex personalities may contribute to the overall mental space processing.

2.2 THE VOICE OF A SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIVE

The situation is considerably different when the speaking voice is of a well-known personality, usually a celebrity, who does not have any direct relationship with the product except for symbolizing and representing it in an abstract, metaphorical way. The total number of ads in this category is nine, which is similar to the previous one. However, the distribution and discourse differ. Only two ads promote low-involvement daily cosmetics and a food product. All the others promote high-involvement luxury goods – watches and perfumes. This suggests an overwhelming preference of a voice as a symbol to promote high-end products. The following cases illustrate this group.

- (4) *Dior Christal Special Edition Chronograph. 488 diamonds, black sapphire crystal. "Always make time for an adventure." Sharon Stone (VF3)*
- (5) *I live for the moments like this. Pleasures Estee Lauder (featuring a full-page photo of Gwyneth Paltrow) (VF9)*
- (6) *Covergirl. Plump 'em don't clump 'em. New Volume Exact Mascara Brilliant new brush with microchambers plumps each little lash without clumping for volume a whole new way. Go brush to brush and compare. Clumps on the brush could end up you-know-where! (photos) Volume Exact Brush Ordinary brush Find Queen Latifah's look at covergirl.com easy breezy beautiful COVERGIRL (OK1)*

Ads in this sub-group have a rather short body copy (compared to the ads in the sub-group featuring the voice of the producer). The ad messages give very few, if any, details of the products. Mostly the name of the product and a voice's statement comprise the whole text. Both (4) and (5) are typical instances of symbolic representatives promoting a product. In none of the ads does the voice mention the product itself, nor do the celebrities verbally imply its usage. The associations with the speaking voice, or with what the voice says, fill the mental space.

If direct speech or a direct thought appear, placement tends to be towards the end of the body copy. The full name of the celebrity is usually given in rather small print. A large photo of a famous face takes over the role of the name. In one case, which is listed here as example (5), no name is given at all. Instead, a photograph of Gwyneth Paltrow, a household name and face, fully takes over the function of a symbol. It may be assumed that names and signatures are less relevant, since they are viewed as a documentary confirmation of product guarantee. Here, the symbolic voices do not guarantee anything; they do not represent the quality or usefulness of the product. They fulfill their function as symbols, sharing qualities with the products in an abstract way. This can be confirmed by one ad promoting a product via the voice of an imaginary celebrity – James Bond. The recipient's interest in the product is evoked and justified

by the beauty and high social status of the film stars or characters. The product quality can be inferred and placed in the mental space in a very indirect manner, through the metaphorical transfer of the person's features to the product, with possibly no rational processing.

The statements of the voices are equally abstract, making sense only figuratively, mostly through metaphorically relating the speaking voice to the inherent sender's voice. When Sharon Stone in (4) says "Always make time for an adventure", she does not claim explicitly that there is a positive correlation between wearing a Dior watch and experiencing an adventure. She, her voice and her words all function as a cue and fill the mental space as a symbolic representation of the product. It is the inherent sender's persona who puts the actress and the watch in a relationship. In these ads it is mostly a visual link, showing a photograph of the famous person wearing the product (if it is tangible, such as a wrist watch) or seemingly wearing the product (if it is a perfume).

The two ads in this category that promote low-involvement products share most characteristics with ads in the former sub-group, featuring the voice of a producer. The body copy in these ads is similarly long, and the voice gives details of the product or its use. However, the promoting celebrities do not come across as developers, producers or company owners; they function as recommenders. In (6), a famous, black, musician-turned-actress, Queen Latifah, talks extensively about Covergirl mascara as a solution for unpleasant situations arising from using other mascaras. Content-wise, rational processing by the recipient is expected. However, emotional value is added by the fame of the personality, her reputation and high social status, which may fill the recipient's mental space. To link the product with Queen Latifah in a more emotive way, one part of the message ("Plump 'em don't clump 'em") is delivered in an imitation of a rapper's rhythmical voice. Covergirl is a product range aimed at teenagers and younger women and so the informality of Queen Latifah's language ("Clumps on the brush could end up you-know-where") is an intended choice aimed at evoking a closer relationship between the normally unreachable celebrity and the ad recipients. By imitating language she might use with real friends, real people in real situations, her recommendation sounds realistic and trustworthy. This conforms to the reason strategy, while the relationship created between Queen Latifah and the recipients enhances the emotive processing.

2.3 FOREIGN VOICE

From the marketing point of view, the use of foreign language in ads may function as pertaining to the larger marketing strategy (Kuppens 2009, 116), as when McDonald's used their English slogan "I'm loving it" all over the world. It may also be used to evoke stereotyped cultural connotations, as when Volkswagen advertised their cars worldwide with the slogan "*Das Auto*", adding the symbolic value of precision, technological advancement and uncompromising attitude that is stereotypical of Germans. Communicative value is subdued in favor of symbolic value; the foreign language may function as a "language fetish" (Kelly-Holmes 2000).

Use of foreign language as a discourse strategy can be seen as a special case of heteroglossic intertextuality. The inherent voice is expected to be using the language that most probably ensures successful communication; here it is English. When English is replaced with a foreign language, a different voice seems to be addressing recipients. Switching codes can also be seen as an analogy to switching registers in multigeneric intertextuality.

(7) *Lacoste. Un peu d'air sur terre.* (VF2, VF8)¹

The French in (7) undoubtedly confirms Kuppens's reasons of pertaining to the unified marketing strategy of the Lacoste Company and for adding the French connotations (such as creativity, elegance, stylishness) to the mental space. Memories of visiting the country or encountering French culture can be recalled. In this specific case, Kuppens's "creative-linguistic reasons" (2009, 116) apply as well because the French slogan is rhyming for those who can pronounce French correctly. By spotting such an ear-pleasing detail, the recipients not only feel positive about the phonetic delight but their self-confidence is enhanced through mastering a foreign language, an asset of huge value in today's Western world. The changed language code has the capacity to switch contexts and enhance the emotional value of the product through evoking new situations in the mental space. That makes (7) functionally intertextual. Intertextuality here is based on the recipient's expectations: the inherent ad sender is expected to speak English; the French speaker appears to be another voice.

A voice speaking a different language may temper the direct appeal for obtaining the product. Direct appeals are rather infrequent in the category of high-involvement products. Softening its imperative power, a voice using a non-existent, invented foreign language is detected in the following ad:

(8) *My "I deserve it" gold bracelet. There's one language everyone understands. Charms from the Bags and BelShoes collections in 14K gold and enamel. Rosato HSN Speak Gold* (VF9)

The speaking voice in the headline says "I deserve it" in an asyntactic manner. The special position of the phrase and its placement within quotation marks make it stand out from the rest of the text. The inherent voice urges recipients through an imperative slogan to "speak gold" and thus indirectly explains the special meaning of the pre-modifying "I deserve it" phrase: it was said in a different code, a foreign language – the Gold language. What seemed to have been said in English comes across as a (precious) foreign language the recipient is encouraged to adopt and use. Thus, a direct imperative encourages the recipient to obtain the product in a paradoxically indirect manner.

2.4 BREAKING THE RULES

As Cook points out, advertising is a restless discourse since ads are "a fluctuating and unstable mixture of the voices around them" (2001, 222). Even though the advertising

1. English translation: Lacoste. A bit of air on Earth.

genre changes fast, some principles are valid in the long term. One such principle governs intertextuality: it is a functional and effective strategy when the original text is recognized, and so its meaning can fill the recipient's mental space and thus influence the interpretation of the present discourse. However, with the advertising practices becoming well-established, the rules are challenged even if they go against logic. Risking the rejection of recipients is balanced by the possibility of introducing a ground-breaking concept; it is a part of the enormously competitive creative process.

Intertextuality with the identity of the voice or genre intentionally veiled seems to be breaking one of the major principles of its use. A Jaguar advertising campaign is a unique example of such an occurrence in the corpus.

- (9) *Jaguar. Gorgeous trumps everything.*
Jaguar. Gorgeous doesn't care what others are doing.
Jaguar. Gorgeous gets in everywhere. (VF9)

- (10) *Jaguar. Where did Gorgeous go? Prefergorgeous.com* (VF10)

The Gorgeous ads feature blurred grayish photos of an actively-moving female that is most probably very beautiful when seen in focus. However, the uncertainty and suspicion is always there. The mental space of the recipients seems to be outlined, but they are left in doubts about what to fill in. The same is achieved through statements about the "Gorgeous" character. She "trumps everything" and "gets everywhere". She is suggested to have disappeared with the "Where did she go?" question. All of these expressions build her uniquely strong, seemingly omnipotent position, yet this position is never clarified. The recipient is left guessing who she is and what she does. The suspense over her identity is strengthened by the fact that she is an obvious presence in the ads, seen and talked about, yet never says a word herself. Her identifier, Gorgeous, is the only verbal cue of her qualities. This ad campaign was, indeed, designed to present the Jaguar as a fashion icon, a car for "gray eminences", for those who are not seen and heard but who set trends and hold the power. The Gorgeous campaign was presented as one for *fashionistas*, which is "a non-gendered term used to describe people who do not follow trends in their life styles; they set them and live by them and others . . . may emulate" (Bernstein 2007). The uncertainty and suspicion evoke curiosity and build an image of the highest and most desirable social role. The campaign is praised by some and loathed by others, but as a unique example it has been talked and written about since its launch in 2005. Regardless of recipients' tastes and the effectiveness of the campaign, Jaguar saw an improvement in business in the latter half of the decade. The role of purposefully-veiled intertextuality made the product (and the advertising agency) prominent, striking and noticeably different in the advertising overflow.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Exploring mental space is a cognitive tool, due to which recipients become co-authors of the message. Heteroglossic ads allow for recipients' mental space exploration

by implying dialogism, interaction and the personal involvement of the recipient. The mental space is filled with personal constructs derived from interaction and communication with the message sender. When the speaking voice is the producer of the promoted goods, the authority, mastership and personal responsibility of the sender is mapped onto the mental space. This enhances reason strategy, which is mostly used for promoting low-involvement products. When the speaking voice is the symbolic representative, an abstract metaphorical processing occurs of mapping the qualities of the representative or their implicit message onto the product. This pertains to the tickle (emotion-enhancing) strategy and is mostly used for promoting high-involvement products. A similar mapping of abstract features onto the mental space occurs in the case of the inherent voice speaking a foreign language. In such a case, it is the associations elicited by the foreign language that fill the mental space. The novel approach seems to be the intentional veiling of the identity of the intertextual voice, thus creating curiosity, mystery and the exclusivity of the voice and the product.

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CORPUS

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Vanity Fair. October 2005. [VF10]
Vanity Fair. November 2005. [VF9]
Vanity Fair. September 2006. [VF8]
Vanity Fair. June 2007. [VF3]
Vanity Fair. September 2007. [VF2]

THE INTERPLAY OF TEXT AND IMAGE IN COMICS: A LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION OF WILL EISNER'S *A CONTRACT WITH GOD*

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ABSTRACT: Comics was long regarded as a marginal literary genre and was generally shunned by scholars. Recently, this point of view has started to shift and a new field has emerged: comics studies. Comics is analyzed from multiple perspectives, and works published on the subject appear mainly in conference proceedings, journals, etc. While linguistics offers many possible tools to analyze the genre, linguists generally seem disinterested. Comics should be given credit for what it is – the interplay of text and image where intertextuality plays a significant role. This paper, which analyzes Will Eisner's 1978 graphic novel, *A Contract with God and Other Tenement Stories*, focuses on the interplay of text and image in comics and shows that intertextuality helps decode the meanings hidden even in seemingly simple units formed of text and image.

KEYWORDS: intertextuality; interplay; text; image; comics; panel; Will Eisner

1. INTRODUCTION

Comics was long regarded as a marginal literary genre, which literary critics and linguists tended to avoid altogether. Only recently has the point of view started to shift, and a new field of study has emerged: comicsology as a new interdisciplinary field. Comics is analyzed from different points of views, from literature through sociology to the aforementioned new field. Serious study of comics was started by Will Eisner and his book *Comics as Sequential Art* (1985); relevant research of comics can be found in Thierry Groensteen (2007) and Jeet Heer and Kent Worcester (2009). On the other hand, linguists seem to care little, and this despite the fact that the broad scope of linguistics might lend itself to the successful analysis of the genre. Comics should be given credit for what it is – the cooperation between text and image in a narrative discourse. This article thus attempts to bring a linguist's perspective into the analysis of comics.

This paper focuses on the interplay of text and image in comics from the point of view of intertextuality. The aim of this paper is to analyze the depth of interplay between text and image in chosen comic book panels through intertextuality based on several examples taken from Eisner ([1978] 2000) and one example from Eisner (1985). Based on the evidence, this article identifies differences in the role of intertextuality between various comic book panels.

2. TEXT AND IMAGE, INTERTEXTUALITY IN COMICS

Comics is generally accepted as a distinctive literary art form in which text and image meet and create meaning. Will Eisner understands and examines comics as “an art

and literary form that deals with the arrangement of pictures or images and words to narrate a story or dramatize an idea” and introduces the term “sequential art” (1985, 5). Scott McCloud’s definition does not deviate from Eisner’s much; he takes comics as “juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer” (1994, 9). He also explains that considering letters as images is an inseparable part of the definition (McCloud 1994, 8). This notion, in principle, means that letters, in their very nature and visual depiction, are images. This point is demonstrated later as part of the analysis.

Eisner introduces the idea that reading comics is more than the usual kind of reading where readers follow a text. For him, comics is read from several perspectives as it consists of texts and images (Eisner 1985, 7). Apart from this, he also claims that readers are “thus required to exercise both verbal and interpretative skills” because in comics “the regimens of art (e.g., perspective, symmetry, brush stroke) and the regimens of literature (e.g., grammar, plot, syntax) become superimposed upon each other” (Eisner 1985, 8). Furthermore, the reading of comics “is an act of both aesthetic perception and intellectual pursuit” (Eisner 1985, 8). Eisner also assumes that readers are supposed by authors to possess certain general knowledge: visual, textual, cultural, literary, etc. Likewise, the knowledge has to be possessed by the author, otherwise the idea or meaning cannot be transmitted.

As this overview suggests, Eisner’s definition evolved, intentionally or not, from de Saussure’s view of semiotics, especially of the sign, and can be furthermore supported by works of other scholars and linguists, e.g., Roland Barthes (1977), Scott McCloud (1994), Umberto Eco (1976), or Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (1985).

Halliday and Hasan, in their book *Language, Context and Text*, redefine de Saussure’s view of the sign because, as they claim, de Saussure’s conception of the sign “tended to remain rather an atomistic concept” (1985, 3). They aimed to change the focus from an atomistic concept to larger units, to meanings, systems of meanings, and the relationships between them (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 4). The redefinition is crucial for any analysis of comics on all levels, as it includes all cultural systems of meanings. A culture is constituted not only by a language or languages, but also by images, history, art, literature written not only in the respective country, etc. John Paul Lederach claims that “culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them” (1995, 9). Therefore, meaning and culture are closely connected.

Meaning in comics is primarily created through text and image; other elements contributing to the final conveyed message are the seven standards of textuality as described by Robert-Alain de Beaugrande and Wolfgang U. Dressler in *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. The standards are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality. The most relevant to this study of the standards is intertextuality, which is “the ways in which the production and reception of a given text depend upon the participants’ knowledge of other texts” (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, 182). This definition, however, focuses strictly on text and is missing

a certain important element. Intertextuality in comics does not consider only other texts as relevant sources of information but should be understood in much broader sense to include also cultural elements such as those suggested by the definition of culture by Lederach (1995, 9). Julia Kristeva defines intertextuality more broadly and distinguishes two major types: the horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal, in her opinion, connects the author and the reader of a text, which means that the author and the reader share a certain amount of knowledge (literary, cultural, emotional, etc.). On the vertical axis, she basically means the connection of a text to other texts (Kristeva 1980, 69). An attempt at definition or at least a description of the interplay of text and image then has to be understood as the combination and interaction of all the previously defined. Intertextuality in comics can then be understood as production and reception of a text based on its connection to other texts or images with regard to cultural phenomena and the relationship of the author and the reader, i.e., mutual relationships between parts of one panel, namely letters, images and text in text bubbles.

Intertextuality is a popular concept and has been used to analyze various types of discourses, ranging from television shows and films (Kinder 1993) to advertising (Nemčoková 2012). Roman Trušník (2013), for example, shows how intertextuality is used to define the setting of novels, characterize their protagonists, and fight or endorse other texts in the context of young adult literature.

This paper demonstrates how the concept of intertextuality can be used to explain the interplay of text and images in comics. The examples are taken from Will Eisner's classic "A Contract with God" (1978) and *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985).¹ "A Contract with God" tells the story of Frimme Hersh, who carves a contract between God and himself on a stone tablet. Hersh considers the contract broken when his daughter dies but later on renews it.²

3. INTERTEXTUALITY IN A COMICS BOOK TITLE

Comics, be it a graphic novel, comic strip or action comics starts the narrative with a title. In example (A) (Eisner 2000, 7/1) is the title of the short story "A Contract with God" written by Will Eisner. This panel consists of two inseparable parts, the image, which might be overlooked at first as it seemingly does not provide any important information, and the text. As for the text, two different font styles are used, providing readers with initial yet unclear information.

To reflect the themes of the graphic novel consisting of four loosely-connected short stories – life, death, faith, and religion – the author uses both Roman and Hebrew font styles. While the Roman font is used for "A Contract with," the Hebrew font is used to emphasize the word "God." The importance of the Roman font type is rather low,

1. As the analyses of examples included in this article are complex, it is necessary to explain how each example is referred to. The first, capital letter refers to the analyzed comics panel, the following number refers to the analyzed part: 1 for text, 2 for image. The last part, a small letter, signals that the textual part is divided into two smaller parts.

2. For a literary analysis of the work, see Weiss (2011). Also, for a wider literary context, see Weiss (2012).

as Christianity has little significance in the stories. Seemingly, its only function is to serve as a contrastive element that helps accentuate the importance of the other font type. The Hebrew font type can be considered critical because the short-story concerns a man who writes his own contract between himself and God. The text or wording of the contract is not mentioned. However, as the story develops, it is, in the opinion of the main character, broken by God and, later in the story, renewed.

The image, i.e., the background of the text, is as important as the title. It is a picture of a tablet. As noted, both the author and the reader have to possess the same knowledge. In the case of "A Contract with God," a reference to the Bible is presumed, in this case the Ten Commandments. Generally speaking, the commandments are a contract between the Judeo-Christian God and the followers of that god.

Eisner's work is not the only one making title references to the stories; many comic book titles use references when possible, e.g., *Superman: True Brit* (2006) (the S is Superman's key signature letter), *Sláine* (reflecting Celtic art), *Batman: The Dark Knight Returns* (1996) (as the Batman comic book titles usually involve a bat-like image). This illustrates that a title is used as a part of the comics genre in the process of story-telling.

Returning to the interplay of text and image, example (A) provides the reader with more than just a simple title; it provides complete information going beyond the text and image and proves that intertextuality is an important feature. In other words, experienced readers are supposed to realize the reference to the Bible and the commandments through the combination of the font type, the text background in the form of a tablet, and their own general knowledge.

The inseparability of text and image can be seen in two further examples, (B) and (C). In (B) (Eisner 2000, 30/1), there may seem to be four panels but there are actually only two. Only the first one is analyzed. It contains a "dialogue" between the main character and, supposedly, God. A storm is raging outside. The panel (B) in its first part (B1) features the main character standing at a window shouting: "I ask you . . . Were the terms not clearly written?" (B1a).

The second panel (B2) contains the actual window with lightning outside. The text itself can be neglected at this point as the most important message is the main character's communication with God, i.e., the main character is shouting out of the window, to which God replies with lightning). The lightning's meaning in (B2), be it positive or negative, can be set aside because it is important only as an element of wordless communication. Text and image in (B) cannot stand alone. They complement each other even more closely than in example (A). (B1) can be perceived as a serious question, (B2) as an answer because in communication, there usually have to be two participants. Also, (B1) would have a different meaning without (B2), as the character might appear to be shouting out of the window without any particular reason, shouting at kids, complaining about something unspecified, etc. However, the lightning in (B2) gives the panel its meaning.

In example (C) (Eisner 2000, 31/1), directly following the events of (B), the same relationship level can be observed. The main character is reaching for the window.

The text bubble in the panel (C1a) says: “Enough.” The character does not seem to be saying the word loudly as the character and the speech balloon are connected indirectly through their visual presence in the panel. Functions and differences between individual speech balloons are analyzed in Eisner (1985) and McCloud (1994). The meaning of the panel here is clear only because of the relationship of the text and image. The main character refuses to listen to God. The meaning would remain unclear and could be interpreted differently without the text part of the panel. The character might seem to be reaching for something intangible, trying to catch at the window because of nausea or sickness. Even the stretched arm and open palm do not have to mean what the reader might think. The interplay is the key to the meaning. The text (C1a) itself without the image would also have a different meaning. It could be interpreted as God’s words, which would change the meaning altogether.

As the analyses of examples (A), (B) and (C) prove, the interplay of text and image plays a significant role, and neither of the parts in any of the given examples can stand separately and provide the intended meaning. In other words, many elements play a significant role, and each of the roles contributes to creating the desired meaning of the panel as a unit. The interplay of text and image is essential.

4. INTERTEXTUALITY IN A COMIC BOOK PANEL – SUPPORTIVE INTERPLAY

The following analyzes several images, which are in the form of panels containing a different form of interplay. According to Eisner, the panels can be described from different points of view with supportive and interpretative functions. The supportive function means that the text supports and complements the image, and each would be understandable separately (1985, 11–12). Also, by the interpretative function he means that text and image interpret or explain each other (1985, 11–12). While Eisner uses the terms *ad hoc*, McCloud (1994) introduces a division of comics panels, as is the case with the two following panels, as word-specific and additive respectively (McCloud 1994, 153–54). In the case of example (A), the dependence of text and image on each other is essential. The key issue presented further is the mutual dependence and independence of text and image. Considering examples (D) and (E), each is analyzed separately and then compared.

(D) (Eisner 2000, 7/1) consists of three parts: two textual parts, (D1a) and (D1b), and one image (D2). The textual parts state: “All day the rain poured down on the Bronx without mercy” (D1a) and “The sewers overflowed and the waters rose over the curbs of the street” (D1b). (D2) portrays the main character walking along a street overflowing with water.

In general, where the image-word relationship is word specific, the panel (the whole unit) is divided into two parts, the text part, (D1a) and (D1b), and the image part (D2) (McCloud 1994, 153–54); they are related, but not as much as in the previous example. Here, the text and image could be separated and their roles would remain mostly the same without any shift or changes to the complexity of the whole panel’s meaning. In other words, separating the two parts would not change much as far as their individual meanings go.

Western culture reads texts from left to right, from top to bottom. However, comics allows changes in this respect. The two texts (D1a) and (D1b) are read consequently, i.e., (D1a) then (D1b) and only after that the image (D2). Nevertheless, the image part (D2) may be looked at first, and then the reading can be continued in the sequence (D1a) and (D1b). The sequence of reading is dependant entirely on the reader, but a unity of the meanings is created through intertextuality as is understood in the above definition.

The texts (D1a) and (D1b) do not mention anyone walking in the rain. This information is added only visually with the use of the image (D2). Thus, intertextually, a story is created within the panel that is not supposed to reach beyond it and does not interfere with the analysis.

The visual depicts a man walking alone along the street with rain pouring down. The texts describe the situation clearly. Eisner claims that the text and image support each other (1985, 11). As far as this statement goes, the text in the image provides several extra pieces of information that admittedly are not crucial for understanding of the whole panel and context of the graphic novel but are to some extent crucial for understanding the consequent events in the graphic novel. To develop the idea, text (D1a) gives a location: the Bronx. Text (D1b) describes the street, thus providing additional information, and as suggested, the image (D2) introduces another extra piece of information, the man walking alone.

There are also font type differences between (D1a) and (D1b). Text (D1a) is supported with a visual depiction of rain (raindrops) evoking weather conditions, setting a sentimental – and possibly sad – mood. What also contributes to the general feeling is the font's stylization – comparatively large and bold letters symbolizing the heaviness of the downpour depicted in (D2), and of the background of the narrative – the death of the main character's daughter. Text (D1b) is pictured differently and deals with a different part of the image (D2) – the street including the hydrant, curbs, and sewers flooded by water. This proves what McCloud (1994) claims: letters should be considered as images.

The three parts are also interrelated. Text (D1a) is the most general part of the unit that is connected with text (D1b) through textual relations, i.e., the words “overflowed” and “waters” and with (D2) through the visualization of rain as if the rain starts falling in (D1a) and continues to (D2). Text (D1b) is more specific and therefore different from (D1a), as it is connected more directly with (D2) because it summarizes it almost completely.

To conclude the second analysis, while interplay of text and image plays a certain role, each of the two parts – texts (D1a) and (D1b) and image (D2) – can be understood separately, and there is no need to combine them because they complement each other.

5. INTERTEXTUALITY IN A COMIC BOOK PANEL – INTERPRETATIVE INTERPLAY

The third analyzed panel in this paper, example (E) (Eisner 1985, 12), may seem to have the same quality and separability of text and image as in the previous examples, but unlike those examples, (E) carries an interpretative function, meaning an inseparable

text and image. In other words, the unit's meaning would not be understood without having both the text and image at the same time. For the purpose of the interplay analysis, the panel in example (E) is split into two separate parts, text (E1) and image (E2). In the panel, there is a male character lying on the floor uttering (E1). Blood is leaking from his body and he is pointing with his finger. His facial expression is unclear.

Unlike previous texts that were used only to support the general mood as demonstrated earlier, text (E1) carries a certain level of dynamic and emotional quality. Clearly, it can be disassembled and analyzed from two perspectives, textual and visual, i.e., the meaning of the text and the meaning of the font type.

The atmosphere evoked by the font type is emotional in a rather negative way, bringing about the themes of terror and horror and thus arousing uneasiness. The reason is practically at hand, as there is blood running down from the ill-shaped letters. The visual stylization of the utterance can be highly suggestive and disturbing.

As for the meaning of (E1): "I came to your house as a friend and you murdered me!! . . . For this may your people be paralyzed by the stain of my blood." Deduced from (E1) can be the background information of the narrative, i.e., a host is being accused of participation in killing his guest, prompting the dying guest to curse the host and his associates. Of significance and relevance for further analysis of (E2) are the particular words "your," "you," and "the stain of my blood." The difference in the used font types – normal and bold – further stresses the emotionality of the utterance.

Three key features in (E2) are necessary to understand the unit's meaning: the character's face, pointing hand, and blood stains. The character seems to be speaking, as the mouth is open; however, this in itself does not have to mean much and certainly does not provide any particular meaning. The finger is pointing at someone who is not present in the image but is present somewhere in the context of the story. To make the message more appealing or direct, the finger could even be pointing at the reader who witnessed the killing. The participation was, however, indirect. Finally, there is blood spilling from the wounded person.

While the text itself is meaningful to some extent, the image does not provide any kind of information that would carry meaning apart from the pointing finger, face and blood. Only through intertextuality is the unit's meaning established because the interplay of text and image create the desired meaning.

Returning to the larger scope and analyzing the panel as a whole, a certain connection between the textual meaning and the image can be made. Firstly, the pointing finger corresponds very well with "you" and "your." Secondly, it can relate to the absent host or the reader. Lastly, the words "the stain of blood" in the panel complement the blood on the ground. The image thus can evoke pre-supposed terror, hate, and other negative emotions.

Example (F) (Eisner 2000, 33/1) depicts a window through which the reader can see the main character after the aforementioned loss of his daughter, a female person standing next to him and unspecified people entering a door in the background. The window part is the whole panel, and it is split into two: the image part (F2) (as described

above) and text part (F1) that is also a part of the window: "All during the days of mourning that followed the funeral, the rain fell without pause. Friends came – each offering Hersh the usual words of comfort which he accepted in stony silence."

Yet again, the function can be described as interpretative. It helps the reader to understand this part of the story. Also, as mentioned, the theme of rain creates a certain emotional quality, as the reader can see the main character mourning and the person next to him consoling him and people coming in to comfort him. Without the text, the meaning of the image could be interpreted differently, but as the text explains, the character is depressed and silent. Moreover, the emotional quality with the interplay involved stays the same as intended. In other words, it helps to create the intended atmosphere and meaning.

The analyzed panels show that, unlike in the second analysis, here the interplay between image and text is strongly involved. While the text could stand separately and provide a certain meaning, the meaning the image provides is inexplicit. The two parts, therefore, cannot stand separately, as the meaning is created only through the combination of both. Moreover, the text and image are linked directly through the elements already discussed.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to analyze the interplay of text and image through intertextuality in chosen comic book panels. As the analyses shows, interplay plays an important role in both titles and regular panels. It proves that there are differences between individual panels as far as the role of intertextual interplay goes. Examples in the fourth (D) and fifth parts, (E) and (F), of this paper demonstrate the significant extent to which interplay differs, which suggests that there may be greater differences between comic book panels. Examples in the third, (A), (B), and (C), and fifth parts, (E) and (F), of the paper treat text and image as inseparable units. Example (A), the title, involves not only visual and textual elements but also general knowledge, thus going beyond the title itself. Examples (E) and (F), on the other hand, employ elements of emotionality that rely on general knowledge as well. On the other hand, example (D) exhibits a certain amount of independence of text and image. The independence, however, should not be seen as a fact that allows treating the elements independently but rather as another level of intertextual interplay. As comics seems to be a compact literary genre involving various levels of interplay and intertextuality, further research in the field should seek and address differences in levels of interplay.

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COMPLICATIONS WITH ENGLISH IN MILITARY-ORIENTED COALITIONS

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ABSTRACT: As a multinational organization, English has always been of importance and an operational requirement for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It has also been of fundamental significance in building and sustaining the military coalitions of the last twenty years. English is not just a language today, but a war-fighting skill and a tool for interoperability. For the United States, United Kingdom and Canada, with their shared histories and battles won and lost together, it has an even deeper and more meaningful role. For the English-speaking nations, the language is a reflection of their shared values and common interests and not just a tool for the battlefield or a means of communication. Given the demands upon the language, this work sets out to address some of the complications these entail: what difficulties arise with such high levels of expectation and what are the implications for today's military-oriented coalitions?

KEYWORDS: English; English-speaking nations; speaking errors; military coalitions; mistakes; NATO; STANAG 6001

1. INTRODUCTION

Interoperability is a vital milestone, and English is critical to sustaining it. Coalitions pursuing stability and conducting multinational missions, post-conflict operations, maritime-security and humanitarian, nation-building and stability operations are dependent on it. Thus, with this new, twenty-first century approach to war fighting, more thought needs to be invested in understanding how it intersects and interacts with other aspects of the military system, from strategy and doctrine to the development and implementation of human resources. This article raises but a fraction of the issues that have come to light over recent years with regard to this and has been divided into three broad areas of research: Academic Nuances, Linguistic Nuances and Operational Nuances.

2. ACADEMIC NUANCES

The Bureau for International Language Coordination (BILC), which is a NATO advisory subcommittee, introduced an English language standard, called Stanag 6001 in 1976.¹

1. STANAG is an acronym that stands for Standardized Agreement. It is a norm or standard. There are more than one thousand different stanags across NATO. Each of them has a certain code that indicates

Stanag 6001 is a set of descriptors for the following language proficiency skills: Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing, which are graded from 0 to 5. With plus levels at each grade (see Table 1), the testing is tuned to assess not just a student’s proficiency, but the level of the operational language that they need to perform their job.

TABLE 1: STANAG 6001 LEVELS

STANAG 6001 PROFICIENCY LEVELS (EDITION 4, 2010)			
Level 0	No proficiency	Level 0+	Memorized proficiency
Level 1	Survival	Level 1+	Survival +
Level 2	Functional	Level 2+	Functional+
Level 3	Professional	Level 3+	Professional+
Level 4	Expert	Level 4+	Expert+
Level 5	Highly-articulate native		

Level 3 is a fully professional level of English, culturally bound and hard to achieve. At this level, a person is able to understand most formal and informal speech on practical, social and professional topics, including particular interest and specialist fields of competence. This level, for example, demands an understanding of abstract concepts, the discussion of complex topics (including economics, culture, science and technology), as well as professional fields of interest, hypothetical scenarios, meetings and the explicit and implicit information of a spoken text.

In addition, students at this level also need to be familiar with colloquialisms, military terminology, contextual slang and military jargon. Although inaccuracy may occur in low frequency or highly complex structures characteristic of formal speech patterns, native speakers are rarely disturbed when dealing with a non-native speaker at Level 3, and there is no distortion in essence of meaning. To obtain such a grade across all four language skills is a significant achievement. That military personnel assigned to work in NATO are usually required to do so and qualify with either an SLP 2, 2, 2, 2, an SLP 3, 3, 3, 3 or a combination of both, is indicative of the expectations required and a clear demonstration of the challenges that military coalitions face.

Furthermore, as only three of the twenty-eight NATO² members use English as their native language (the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America) the road to interoperability in the language has sidelined the capabilities of otherwise many deployable forces. To complicate the matter, today’s military coalitions (such as the International Security Assistance Force – ISAF – in Afghanistan) are trans-Alliance and involve many other countries, for example: Australia, New Zealand, Ireland,

a field of specialty. For example Stanag 2579 deals with linguistic support for operations, while Stanag 2116 – deals with NATO codes for the grades of military personnel. Other stanags deal with materials, procedures, etc.

2. Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

the Republic of South Korea, Jordan, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, Armenia, Singapore and Bahrain. This translates to multicultural and multilingual environments in which personnel are exposed to many different types of 'Englishes'.

Macaulay (1996, 61) drew attention to this situation by identifying "six aspects of the language (common core, regional, social class, sex, age, and medium of expression differences)" that clearly affect an individual's operation in it. One such example is the differences in dialects that are found across English native speakers, dialects that vary to such an extent, that many aspects of the language such as lexicon, pronunciation, intonation, syntax and morphology are distorted beyond regional recognition.

However, while the language skills of forces deployed in peace-support operations are generally sufficient for the tasks they face, several countries have started to report the difficulties they have been experiencing. This is especially true of countries like the Czech Republic, at the forefront of combat-support operations and where a particular level of linguistic expertise is needed to operate to maximum efficiency. One of the reasons pertaining to this is adult learning, which Macaulay describes in the following way:

In the case of adults learning a second language, it is quite clear that exposure to the language and the opportunities to use it are not sufficient in themselves to ensure mastery of the language. It is not uncommon for adult immigrants after years in the country of their adoption to have little proficiency in the language spoken there. Similarly, many students in second-language classes emerge after several years of instruction with little ability to use the language. (Macaulay, 1996, 127)

The development of human capital in this area cannot, hence, be overstated. This is particularly true in the area of teachers and instructors where there is a developing need to inspire soldiers to think critically, challenge assumptions and question the accepted. The reason for this is that as 'Third Generation Warfare' requires generalship on the ground, the level to which a soldier needs education today is incomparable to that of his counterpart of yesterday and, to meet this challenge, a faculty with the right balance of academic credentials, military teaching experience and operational experience is a key component. As too, is the development of modern, up to date methodologies, a balance of civilian and military teaching personnel and a move from academic, civilian oriented materials and departments to military and multicultural ones. Why? Because while English has been advancing at the pace of the battlefield and restructuring itself to the dawn of a new, fourth, technological generation of warfare, the teaching of it has not.

For example, our continued response when faced with difficulties in using English as the language of war is to subjugate it into specialist subsets of language, evolved or designed to coordinate and control the mechanisms of the many technical procedures that make up the modern battlefield. Now, while this diffusing of the language has its benefits, they are limited to subgroups and become little more than jargon, especially in multicultural, multilingual, and multi-unit environments. Furthermore, in subjugating the language, the teaching of it has become dated and a generational gap in the learning of it has developed. The problem is that English is an evolving language, a breathing

entity and any attempt to stem its advance is counter-productive and a hindrance to proficiency in it. We need to move from coping with the language to living with the language; a move from the theoretical, academic environment of the classroom, to the practical, physical environment of the field.

Along with human development, materials and methodologies, technology is as equally fundamental to this school of thought. Simply put, technology in the language of the classroom translates into nothing less than proficiency in the language of war. The question should no longer be, for example “What can we do with a smart board that we cannot do with a blackboard?” but, “What can we do with an iPad that we cannot do with a smart board?” This is due to the unquestionable fact that technology has enabled us, as with every progression, to teach better and to teach faster. It puts the world at our finger tips and the language into context. It replaces not just the blackboard, but also the analogy of the teacher’s desk as the bridge / barrier over which knowledge is funneled to the students. What technology gives us is an insight into the ever changing end goal of a military student’s language requirements and the means to reach it. It is not a bridge. It is a dual carriage, a super highway.

Maximizing technology, however, has not been easy and, like the introduction of any new tools to a field, it is going to be some time before its full potential can be realized. What is clear, however, is that not only is it fundamentally ground-breaking in terms of its capacity, but that once teaching strategies have been customized to meet the needs of the students, it is able to multitask to a degree that we could not have dreamed of before. In short, it ensures our teachers a pivotal role in which they can embed a myriad of interactive tools and resources into their lessons and inject enough of the language to enable our students to operate effectively in it. Furthermore, technology delivers materials in the fashion that our students are familiar with. What we have to understand is that this is just the beginning. The smart board of tomorrow will be as different from those of today as the machine this paper was written on is from an old, 1920s typewriter.

All of this has made the adoption of English as the lingua franca across NATO a graduate level enterprise and has hence become a fundamental aspect of military training doctrine. Unfortunately, with real time intelligence and in what is becoming an increasingly computerized battlefield, military English (without its accompaniment of paralinguistic signals) has actually become so far removed from the language of Shakespeare and the BBC that ‘taught English’ is often of little relevance to the language that the students need to do their jobs.

3. LINGUISTIC NUANCES

As speaking and listening competencies are crucial to military led operations, the new tools for the job are, primarily, a vast vocabulary and a familiarity with all shades of synonyms, from their usage to their misuse. This is not an easy task. Even the three English-speaking NATO countries (the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom) find themselves separated at times by a ‘common language’. For example, as reported by Danielson (1983), if a British pilot had radioed in for an “overshoot, visual circuit with

undercarriage for a roller,” and, after landing, asked for a “bowser,” what he had actually requested was for nothing other than a “low approach,” followed by a “closed pattern,” with “gear down” for a “touch and go.” His request for a “bowser” was a reference to his need to “refuel.” The situation today, with over 10,000 American acronyms and specialist aeronautical terms alone (Crane 2006), is even more confusing.

To compound this issue, native speakers rarely recognize that the common working language in peace-support operations is International English, as opposed to their own version of the language. The need for effective communication is hence of particular importance in operations where linguistic misunderstandings risk leading to miscommunications, which have, in many cases, resulted in casualties. Although there has been little research in this field, the French Foreign Legion and the British Gurkhas are excellent examples of where the problem, through living the language they operate in, has been solved. The Czech and Polish fighter pilots of the Battle of Britain (1940) also illustrate why we must not wait and why interoperability is so dependent on English language proficiency; forced to fly in English, in English machines, in English formations, with English manuals and English commanders in a world in which the English and Americans dominated, their losses were initially and comparatively high.

As with the Battle of Britain, the tide of any future battle will rest with NATO fighter pilots, and a key component of their effectiveness will be dependent on their ability to interoperate in English. Hence, in order to deter war and be prepared to win if it should occur, the learning of English, the *de facto* operational language, is of utmost importance for armed forces. This is especially true for NATO, with its ever-increasing number of peace-support operations on the one hand, and the Alliance's enlargement and partnership activities on the other.

The vocabularies and synonyms required to deter and win wars, however, are legion and need to be lived to be put into context. Urbanová (2008, 52–53) claims that spoken language prefers short words, mostly of Germanic origin, because of speech economy and their easy understanding, while long multi-syllable words are of foreign origin (Latin, Greek and Romance), stylistically attributed to a highly cultivated and refined vocabulary, forming a distinctive characteristic of the so-called elaborate style.

In her opinion the tendency towards monosyllabism often results in the shortening of multi-syllable words (e.g., varsity in lieu of university, lab in lieu of laboratory, etc). She adds that spoken language abounds in phraseologies, idiomatic expressions, colloquialisms, slang expressions but also interjections and unarticulated sounds expressing hesitation, surprise, joy, etc. which urge speakers to respond naturally without excessive emotional control as do discourse markers and other pragmatically functional expressions (e.g., well, I mean, you see, you know, anyway, all right, really, so, I see, mmm, hmm, yeah, fine, etc.) The reason for this lies, in her opinion, in the fact that participants in spoken conversation are expected to send out paralinguistic signals which indicate that speech is being followed and understood. Urbanová (2008, 52–53) also mentions addressing, which signalizes a mutual relationship between participants in a discussion and significantly reflects professional differences among speakers.

To compound this, the strong regional accents (of many of the native speakers with whom the other 25 members of NATO work) are another frequently encountered problem. Verbs are contracted into convenience, or simply deleted. ‘TH’ sounds are mispronounced, and often consonants and vital vowels are either run into each other or dropped. Indeed, many ‘foreigners’ report experiencing greater problems understanding English native speakers than non-native speakers. By default and geography, unlike their continental European partners, the Americans, the Canadians and the British have actually limited experience in communicating outside of their own language and comparatively little knowledge of its mechanics.

These disadvantages manifest themselves in a variety of ways but particularly when complex tasks are assigned to individuals, or working groups are assigned, or time is of essence and people are dying. In short, intended or not, non-native speakers are increasingly finding themselves on the sidelines of the decision making process. The political implications of this situation are clear: A perceived weakness in English be it a uniform or an accent, could not just directly reduce the influence of an officer in the field and lead to casualties. For want of a better word, a type of discrimination has come into existence that needs to be addressed if operational efficiency is to be improved across NATO.

Other issues involve military acronyms and initialisms (see Table 2) such as AWOL (absent without leave), HQ (headquarters), KIA (killed in action) and POW (prisoner of war), many of which have entered the vernacular. However, a plethora of them remain firmly in the hands of the English Speaking militaries and, in both meaning and pronunciation, are a language unto themselves.

TABLE 2: BRITISH MILITARY ACRONYMS AND INITIALISMS

ABBREVIATION	EXPLANATION	ABBREVIATION	EXPLANATION
Atts and dets	attachments and detachments	FOO	forward observation observer
Comd	command	Coy	company
En	enemy	HQ	headquarters
Co-ord (verb)	coordinating	FUP	forming up point
Co-ords (noun)	coordinates	LOD	line of departure
Posns	positions	Re-org	reorganization
MG	machine gun	Pl	platoon
Bn	battalion	HE	high explosive
Bde	brigade	RTM	ready to move

Chaloupský (2005, 51) mentions that there are also recommendations on how to create acronyms. For example, regulations on strategic air commands say that exercise terms should be created as “a combination of two words, normally unclassified, used exclusively to designate a test, drill, or exercise, the term exercise being employed to preclude the possibility of confusing exercise directions with actual operations directives.”

TABLE 3: EXAMPLES OF ACRONYMS RELATED TO DIFFERENT TYPES OF EXERCISES

ACRONYM	EXPLANATION	ACRONYM	EXPLANATION
AAWEX	anti-air warfare exercise	AIRBAREX	air barrier exercise
AIRLEX	air landing exercise	BLTLEX	battalion landing team landing exercise
BOMBEX	bombing exercise	CASEX	close air support exercise
CAX	combined arms exercise	COREX	coordinated electronic countermeasures exercise
EWEX	electronic warfare exercise	FAIRDEX	fleet air defense exercise
JAMEX	jamming exercise	LOADEX	loading exercise
NUCLEX	nuclear load-out exercise	RADEX	radar exercise

Another point that is often forgotten is that words also have different meanings than their equivalents in translation. To be ‘punctual’, for example, while to be ‘on time’ in English, actually means to be ‘meticulous’ or ‘precise’ (punctičkářský) in Czech. Similarly, nor is an ‘officer’ an ‘officer’ in Czech and ‘to control’ is to ‘operate’ or ‘manage’ (something), and not to ‘check it’.

‘V’ and ‘W’ consonants are also of note as they have sounds that are never the same and result in ‘Vector’ becoming ‘Wector’ and ‘Whiskey’, ‘Viskey’ – both important and of key reference in battlefield terminology. Moreover, as the Czech alphabet does not have a ‘W’ consonant in it, the pronunciation of these two letters often causes problems with importations into it from other languages.

Confusing prepositions of place and time are also the ingredients for disaster: Drop speed ‘to’ / ‘by’ could bring a convoy to a crashing halt or an aircraft to a stall. Turn 220, if understood as turn ‘to’ 20 would send an aircraft right instead of left.

Furthermore, as Czech does not have a continuous form, and one form of the Czech verb can be the equivalent in English of many different verb forms (for example: I do, I am doing and I have been doing), Czechs often overcompensate by using the present continuous when, in fact, the present simple is all that is required. Such confusions are compounded across the radio when speech is reported in English, especially with its subtle changes of tense and meaning. English, with perhaps the most exceptions to the rules of any language in the world and while often found easy to learn at a basic level, is among the most difficult to master.

4. OPERATIONAL NUANCES

With the increasing civilianization of the military and the recent global economic crisis having an adverse effect on training, the chasm between Peacetime English and Wartime English is growing. In short, the language needs of personnel are changing across the Alliance on a daily basis and at a rate hitherto unimagined. Indeed, the transition to a Fourth Generation of Warfare has left English Language Training in its wake and, without addressing this as a matter of urgency, we risk endangering the lives of our men and those in their charge. Military teaching experience and past operational experience is key. Without this balance of instructors and managers with

academic and field credentials in the types of English needed for operational duties, lives and opportunities for greater cohesion will be lost – not just for the enhancement of civil / military relations but for the soldiers on the ground. As status and combat have a direct impact on choice of vocabulary (see Table 4), pronunciation and speed of speech, the differences between Peacetime and Wartime English need to be recognized. This can be seen in Spolsky’s (1998, 22) example:

In the US Marine Corps, senior officers are addressed in the third person (‘Would the General like me to bring him a cup of coffee?’) and other officers as ‘Sir’ from their subordinates. Non-commissioned officers are addressed by rank (‘Yes, Sergeant.’). In a different setting, such as under battle conditions, things change. Officers are addressed directly, often by a regular nickname. Company commanders, for instance, are often called ‘Skipper’ and Sergeant-Majors ‘Gunny.’ The more democratic armies often make a point of dropping special address rules along with saluting during times of war.

TABLE 4: INCORRECT CONCEPTS AND REAL MEANINGS OF LEXICAL UNITS

LEXICAL UNIT	INCORRECT CONCEPT	REAL MEANING
Theatre (of war)	Building designed for the performance of plays, operas, etc.	Major area of military activity / battlefield
Ship	Boat / ship	Helicopter / aircraft
Gunship	Ship with guns	Helicopter armed with rockets, missiles, etc.
Shipment	Delivery by ship / boat	Delivery by plane
Linguist	Person who studied linguistics	Person who can speak a foreign language
Section	Division / Department	Small military formation / part
Flag Officer	Warrant Officer	General Officer
Man Transportable	Person who can be transported	A Transported item (Javelin anti-tank weapon)
Flight Physical	Real / authentic flight	Medical check up
Army	Armed Forces	Ground / Land Forces

All of this can be seen more readily in the world of aviation. Despite international treaties on English as the official language of aviation, hundreds of passengers and crew have died in crashes as a direct cause of language problems. For instance, “on November 13, 1993, on approach to Urumqi, in China’s far west, a ground proximity warning system sounded on Flight 345 “Pull up! Pull up!” Just before impact, one crew member can be heard saying to the other, in Chinese, “What does pull up mean?” (Thomason 2001, 29).

In fact, it is no secret that English, which is multipurpose and inexact, is in fact the worst medium for operational communication and hence the increasing use of communications technology in the field. Although little is known of the actual feasibility of using the English Language as the main form of communication across the Alliance, there has been a great deal of research into its adoption as the main form of communication in the world of aviation.

That the two fields have so much in common (interoperability, high-tech, high-speed equipment, real-time intelligence, enormous responsibilities with disastrous

consequences for the tiniest of errors), has not gone unnoticed. Even their origins are similar. As with the world of the 1990s for NATO, in the world of the 1950s, English was the only feasible choice for the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to make. The United States was, as today, the most dominant nation in aviation as well as in world politics.

However, while the ICAO acknowledged that the inability of English to express specific instructions to pilots without confusion disqualified it as a language for permanent use by aviation, NATO did not. Hence, vocabularies that originated with the beginning of amateur radio in the 1920's became the standard. Would Czech or Spanish, with half the vocabulary of English, have been better? Arguably, yes. Had even Latin, for example, been the language of the aviation industry, thousands of deaths could have been avoided. The reason for this is that, unlike English, these languages do not have the technical discrepancies nor, of course, the cultural baggage.

And if Latin were the language of NATO? We simply do not know. What we do know, however, and what is increasingly being brought to the table, is that the greatest contributing factor to the flaws in interoperability across the alliance is the English Language. The inability of English to express specific instructions without confusion should, in fact, in an ideal world, disqualify it as a language for permanent use for interoperability on the battlefield. So, while perhaps one of the greatest languages for literature, science and poetry – and almost certainly diplomacy – it is simply too 'enigmatic' for the speed of modern warfare. Despite this, the practicalities of replacing it are a century away from reality. The question hence, is what we can do, now, today, to avoid the ambiguities, the misnomers and the illogicalities of English that lead to miscommunications, lost opportunities and death.

To better explain this last statement, let us consider a multinational environment such as NATO or the United Nations (UN): In some instances, to illustrate, foreign language requirements for posts have been set without sufficient research. This has led to problems, such as high-profile posts being filled by senior staff with poor language skills or, conversely, difficulties in filling posts with unrealistically high linguistic requirements.

In addition, Thorne (1997, 140) suggests that speakers coming from lower social classes are mostly without formal education and thus have non-professional rather than professional jobs. He claims that they tend to have a regional accent and speech marked by informal segmental features, such as ellision or assimilation. On the other hand, speakers from higher social classes are educated as a rule and have professional jobs.

In many cases, however, it is simply a lack of appropriate vocabulary that is to be blamed for the miscommunications we have seen to date. Before we continue, therefore, it is best to firstly define the following two words: 'error' and 'mistake'. The reason for this is that discourse or written text, even if riddled with faults, can be understood; a poorly communicated message / utterance does not necessarily entail a negative impact on meaning, and hence the question – What actually leads to a mistake?

Without being pedantic, there is a fundamental distinction between an error and a mistake. In terms of etymology, the word 'error' comes from the Latin 'errōrem', which means 'to wander or stray'. The root of the word 'mistake', throws more light on the meaning. It is from the Old Scandinavian word, 'mistaka', which means to take by accident or miscarry (mis – wrongly and taka – take). Errors, therefore, pertain to language competence. "They arise from ignorance of or ineptness in using a language (as when an EFL learner says 'He no comes today' or a native user spells receive 'recieve')." (McArthur 1998, 599).

Mistakes pertain to language performance, "where (not) one knows what to say or write but through tiredness, emotion, nervousness, or some other pressure (that) makes a slip of the tongue, leaves out a word, or mistypes a letter" (McArthur 1998, 599). And this is what Stanag 6001 is all about – balancing the mistakes and the errors.

While novel, these ideas are neither without precedent nor beyond reason. In fact, they are readily achievable and a step in the direction to real interoperability. They are inexpensive (mostly policy change at the operational level and the exploitation of residual talent) and relatively straightforward. They are also effective for military and social communications in English between members of international forces, peacekeepers and local community leaders. It is how English is taught where the issue lies. Approaches, therefore, to the usage of the four skills in a Life Threatening Situation (LTS) need to be taught, with an emphasis on listening, in a military fashion through means of simulation.

Enabling even those with a strong command of the language to recognize their limitations and capacities and to know at which point these impact and become a hindrance to effective communication is key. Equally so is the encouragement of further study in order to increase a student's Point of Effectiveness (POE) and, more importantly, to enhance their understanding of how a broad POE across the bandwidth of their own four skills or a platoon, for example, could be employed to develop a safer, more secure and quicker network of communications.

A further problem is that of different concepts as to what represents a 'professional' level of foreign language knowledge. This is compounded by cultural differences in language testing, leading to great difficulties in agreeing on whose language skills are 'good enough' for a particular post, along with some stereotyping of nations seen as presenting candidates with inferior linguistic abilities. In some countries, reliance on certificates issued several years earlier, rather than testing immediately prior to departure, exacerbates the situation.

5. CONCLUSION

With militaries across the world transitioning into expeditionary forces, the requirements for language and regional knowledge and interoperability are paramount. Despite this, language skill and regional expertise have neither been regarded as war-fighting skills nor sufficiently incorporated into operational or contingency planning. Simply put, language skills for interoperability and regional expertise have not been

valued as defense core competencies. The main reasons primarily lie in the fact that few of the staff involved in English Language Training have any real experience of the language that their students need to do their jobs or an understanding of their role in the overall NATO / PfP picture. Other obstacles on the roadmap to interoperability have been insufficient opportunities to real life situations in the target language, differences from the mother tongue, varieties of the target language, cultural differences between even close-knit nations, expectations, and teachers. To attain a military with the language skills capable of responding as needed for operations, it is first required that they understand and value the tactical, operational, and strategic asset that English has become today.

While most international research into military foreign language learning has been focused on NATO accession and PfP countries, there is now a clearcut East-West divide in this field with many older Allies reporting difficulties in identifying, training and retaining soldiers with relevant language skills for international assignments. As a result, more needs to be done if the linguistic basis for interoperability is to become an effective reality, as opposed to a hit-and-miss addition to preparations for peace-support operations and NATO postings.

More importantly, despite the importance of linguistic interoperability, little NATO-wide research has been carried out into the actual language used on missions and current shortfalls in communication. In fact, there has been more of an emphasis on embedding reporters than embedding instructors or capitalizing on combat experience. On top of this, and despite the obvious sensitivities involved, the attitude that this cannot be looked at because it is either political or culturally sensitive has not been helpful. These issues need addressing because they have a direct impact on a nation's influence within the Alliance and the Partnership for Peace programme and, therefore, the political profile of the organization. It is up to those who have only recently joined the Alliance to point this out and ride with it.

Students also need a better working knowledge of the English language in both reading and comprehension. Students must aggressively tackle the challenge to master these skills and the nuances involved. Furthermore, the Anglo-centric character of the materials we use needs to be replaced by that of a more military oriented nature. What also needs to be replaced is the intense pressure of transplanting soldiers from unique backgrounds into a common environment with such high and unrealistic expectations of effectiveness. Common goals need to be not found or 'written', but strived for, as does a common language, unit by unit – even between natives – the language and its derivatives are just too diverse for anything else.

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LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

THE CHOSEN AND THE CHOICE: RACE, RELIGION, AND THE 2012 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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ABSTRACT: The 2012 presidential campaign, like many American debates, was partly a contest over ways of fitting America into “providential history” – the classical story of a “course of empire” and the biblical account of a “chosen people.” This campaign in particular invited such analysis because both major candidates, Mitt Romney and Barack Obama, came out of communities (Mormon and African American) that have cultivated their own distinctive versions of the providential story. Reviewing the campaign and its aftermath in providentialist terms, therefore, helps reveal ways of thinking that continue to have a large influence on U.S. politics and political language.

KEYWORDS: Barack Obama; Mitt Romney; United States; U.S. Presidency; U.S. Elections; Political Campaigns; America; Prophecy; Bible; Christianity; Providential History

It went almost unnoticed amid the noisy political campaign, but about a month before he was re-elected, President Barack Obama fulfilled one of his ceremonial duties: he issued a proclamation naming one October Monday as “Columbus Day.” This annual message has become an occasion to “celebrate our heritage as a people born of many histories and traditions,” as Obama put it. Christopher Columbus, for whom the day was originally named, is still acknowledged, but no longer as America’s “discoverer” in the old Eurocentric sense. Instead he has become a kind of American archetype, an inspiring model of the nation’s “innovative spirit” and a forerunner of the many engineers, entrepreneurs, scientists and others whose explorations enable us, Obama said, to “press forward with renewed determination toward tomorrow’s new frontiers.”¹

Praise like this would have surprised Columbus himself, as would the older formulas that placed him at the beginning of America’s story – typically the first important figure discussed in schoolroom U.S. history texts. For Columbus, his own time was not the beginning but the end. Everyone knows that America was missing from Columbus’s maps; less well known is that it was also missing from his timeline. Columbus was a devotee of a medieval theory that foresaw the world ending in 1656, barely a century and a half in his future. Far from aiming for “tomorrow’s new frontiers,” he believed that humankind’s tomorrows were running short, and he saw his discoveries as helping bring history to completion. Had Columbus been right, there would not only have been no place on earth for the United States, but no time for it either.

1. Barack Obama, “Presidential Proclamation – Columbus Day, 2012,” Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, October 5, 2012, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/10/05/presidential-proclamation-columbus-day-2012>.

Columbus nonetheless is an archetype, as Obama said, just not of innovation and progress.² Instead he began a project of which Americans have never tired: the effort to fit themselves and their country into God's plan. Generations have followed him in defining their task – the point of America – as faithfully enacting that plan, seeing it through to its final stages in “this last dispensation of time.” As one prominent American put it, “few people think of the discovery of America, the Revolutionary War, and the establishment of a constitutional form of government here as being steps toward the fulfillment of the Lord's ancient covenant with Abraham. But it is a fact that they were.”³

It is not known whether Mitt Romney, Obama's Republican opponent, agreed with that specific comment. The prominent American who made it, however, was Mark E. Petersen, a leading Mormon, one of the ruling “Twelve Apostles” of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at the time that Romney was born (to other prominent Mormons) and for thirty-seven years after that. Mormonism, which came out of America, is also – more than any other religion – a set of beliefs *about* America, an attempt to identify its unique role in the cosmic or “providential history” that excited Columbus, a favorite figure among Mormons. Romney did not run on his Mormonism; some would say he ran *from* it. Even so, like most large disagreements among Americans over the centuries, Campaign 2012 was in part a debate over where and how to locate America in the cosmic scheme. Outside that context, the arguments and reactions that the election occasioned cannot be fully understood. For journalists, academics and other analysts professionally committed to a secular view of things, reviewing the campaign is therefore a good opportunity to re-engage ways of thinking whose influence on U.S. politics and political language remains large, if often silent.

Providential history begins with Providence, or more simply, and in strictly Christian terms, with God. Some providentialists, however, to avoid theological “baggage” or to borrow prestige from classical antiquity, have preferred not to get that specific. Regardless, Providence / God is the guiding force of the universe, the consciousness beyond our own that gives human history its order and plan. And there is a plan, which

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2. “Columbus and his contemporaries sought to discover and play out their historical roles in a cosmic drama they perceived as inexorably unfolding from the moment that Adam and Eve had been expelled from the Garden of Eden. . . . Columbus's readings and his own testimony indicate that his image of the world was traditional rather than innovative. He did not believe that his Enterprise of the Indies would essentially alter a geography and cosmology that had existed since antiquity; he thought that his expedition would simply fill out that picture.” Pauline Moffitt Watts, “Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's ‘Enterprise of the Indies,’” *American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (February 1985): 79, 83. According to John Leddy Phelan, “It seemed to [Columbus] that his discoveries represented the grandiose climax of Christian history.” *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 23.
 3. Mark E. Petersen, quoted in Arnold K. Garr, *Christopher Columbus: A Latter-Day Saint Perspective* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1992), <http://rsc.byu.edu/archived/christopher-columbus-latter-day-saint-perspective/chapter-1-columbus-fulfillment-book-mormo>. Of course, the providentialist view of history did not disappear from Europe; elements of it can be found in various political ideologies and movements, including National Socialism and “British Israelism.” In recent years, the Aum Shinrikyo cult in Japan has made use of similar imagery, including a comparison between America and the Beast of Revelation. In America, however, the influence of providentialism on “mainstream” thinking has been especially direct.

is worth emphasizing because most modern people as such no longer believe it. Today's historians and social scientists see a world of contingencies. Some limited patterns, with even more limited predictive power, can be found in the measurable operations of material forces: birth rates, disease vectors, currency flows, and competitions for resources. But there is no overall direction, no goal or *telos*. There is random chance. There are unguided developments. There are some conscious, collective political decisions, but these too are contingent and hard to predict. There is certainly no pre-ordained outcome, nor are there specific "peoples" around whom history has been organized or who are uniquely its subjects.

Providentialism rejects all these premises. More precisely, it never acquired them. It is the worldview of a pre-Copernican universe with the Earth at its center and the human drama as its reason for being. And that drama really is a drama – that is, a coherent story with rising and falling action, various subplots and recurring themes, and a structure that divides more or less neatly into stages, ages or, just as in theater, "acts":

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.⁴

This is the most famous of Bishop George Berkeley's 1725 "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," the lines immortalized in a later painting that now hangs in the U.S. House of Representatives. The ages to which Berkeley referred were those of the great empires of the past. Depending on who does the counting, these include the Babylonian, Persian, Roman, European (German or "Holy Roman," Spanish, and / or British), and finally American. In this theory of *translatio imperii*, the center of civilization, its "genius," moved progressively west as empires rose and fell. Eventually this movement produced "The Rising Glory of America," as the new nation's first poets called it, then continued on across the continent.⁵

Westward expansion, in other words, was a chapter in a much larger story, one reaching back across thousands of miles and years. Behind it, in the lands on which history's sun was setting, were the empires of old, the most recent of which might still be superficially powerful but had grown stagnant, decadent and corrupt. They were,

4. George Berkeley and George Newenham Wright, *The Works of George Berkeley Part Two* (Whitefish: Kessinger, 2004), 2:294.

5. "A Poem, on the Rising Glory of America" (1772), by Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, also spoke of a "Millennium" in which America would be a "new Jerusalem" and "Another Canaan." Poemhunter, 2004, <http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/a-poem-on-the-rising-glory-of-america/>. The phrase "rising Glory" also appeared in the 1771 poem "America" by Timothy Dwight, later president of Yale College. This tradition of patriotic epic poetry made heavy use of providentialist ideas and images. See Stephen J. Stein, "Transatlantic Extensions: Apocalyptic in Early New England," in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents, and Repercussions*, ed. Constantinos A. Patrides and Joseph Anthony Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 266–98. (Dwight's poem is quoted on p. 286.) Also see Daniel B. Shea, ed., "Poetry in the Early Republic," in *The Columbia Literary History of the United States*, ed. Emory Elliott et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 156–67.

if anything, over-civilized, wearing the fancy dress of a high society – but merely as leftover ornaments, the outward signs of a genius squandered. Ahead was the frontier, which the new empire would inevitably subdue. Resisting this, however, were the under-civilized, the tribes of “savages” who either had not yet acquired civilization’s genius or had somehow lost it in the unknown past. But, against history’s design, resistance was futile. As still another poet wrote in 1833, in homage to the Indian warrior Black Hawk and his recently defeated uprising on the Illinois-Iowa frontier:

*He fought for Independence too –
He struck for Freedom – with a few
Unconquered souls
But fought in vain – for ’tis decreed,
His race must fail, and yours succeed.⁶*

This poem appeared several years before the phrase “Manifest Destiny” but expresses the same fatalism. In his own savage way Black Hawk was noble, a would-be George Washington for Indians. But destiny’s decree favors the “race” that combines the best qualities of both: the vigor and drive of the frontier fighter together with the Old World’s aspiration to arts and learning.

For all its influence, this largely secular or “neoclassical” providentialism was already a late development. With its vision of history marching neatly on, it was also comparatively undramatic as cosmic dramas go. It did include some conflict – America’s empire-builders would face challenges while “taming the wilderness,” like the occasional pesky Indian revolt – but these were nothing to worry about. (Though it killed hundreds of people, mostly Indians, one of the Black Hawk War’s young militia captains, Abe Lincoln, remembered it mostly as a struggle against mosquitoes.⁷) And the succession of empires, in this vision, had already come to an end. The Enlightenment was upon us; time’s noblest offspring was the *last*. The “American era” was itself the new order of the ages, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, its Founders insisted in their elegant neoclassical Latin. There was no great climax, no final, desperate confrontation still to come. Providence had things in hand, and its way of guiding the cosmos was, by and large, cool and kindly.

God’s way, however, was another matter. Long before Bishop Berkeley and his five acts, Christian theorists had laid out providential schemes that divided history into ages, millennia, symbolic biblical “days” or successive “dispensations.” These were not merely new empires but, by some accounts, radically different orders of being. Again, the numbers varied. Joachim of Fiore, the influential twelfth-century prophet who foresaw

6. Charles F. Durant, quoted in “Black Hawk’s Arrival at N. York,” *New-London Gazette and General Advertiser*, June 26, 1833, 2. Despite his defeat, Black Hawk became a celebrity; the poem was written as he was drawing huge crowds on a tour of the eastern cities. For an account of these remarkable circumstances, see Jeff Smith, *The Presidents We Imagine: Two Centuries of White House Fictions on the Page, on the Stage, Onscreen, and Online* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 62–74. More than a century later, as a further consolation prize, Black Hawk got a modern Army attack helicopter named after him.

7. Lincoln, quoted in “Historic Diaries: Black Hawk War,” Wisconsin Historical Society, 2013, <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/diary/002725.asp>.

a new age arriving in 1260, chose the hallowed number three, naming his great epochs after the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.⁸ Hundreds of years earlier, Saint Augustine had posited six ages, with a final consummation furnishing the biblically correct number seven. And there have been many other variants. They generally agree in seeing one key moment as the world's Creation; another as Christ, or the world's redemption; and then a journey toward an ultimate state, whether in heaven or on earth, that will be cosmically, "eschatologically" different from everything before.⁹

On several other points, too, Christian stories of providential or "salvation history" broadly agree. Their colorful variations and tangled genealogies are topics of interest in their own right, but the political ideas of interest here mainly reflect the features they share, since these have had the greatest reach. They include: a FALL AND FIRST EXILE as humankind is expelled from paradise into a world of struggle. History is the chronicle of attempts to overcome this curse. It centers on A CHOSEN PEOPLE, the story's collective central "character," special recipients of God's favor – in the Old Testament the "children of Israel," and in the New Testament the Church or "body of Christ." God and the chosen people are bound together in a formal agreement or COVENANT, which also binds the people to each other and sustains them as a nation. God pledges to furnish the people with laws, to keep them his own if they remain faithful, and to provide them with A PROMISED LAND, a safe haven in which they can live free from oppression and bondage. For this, however, they are in competition with OTHER NATIONS. These non-chosen, forsaken or rejected peoples are, again, either under- or over-civilized: the "Canaanites" blocking the way to the promised land, and the outwardly impressive but fading empires that once held God's children in bondage or may seize them again. The covenant requires keeping the law and disdaining idolatry, unlike the former, but also – unlike the latter – walking humbly, disdaining luxury and oppression.

The chosen people, however, do not act just for themselves. They have a MISSION: to carry the divine plan into history. This is what makes their greater vitality a force for good, unlike the violence of mere savages or the stagnant rule of a rotting empire. They are the world's "redeemer nation." There are different views of how their "errand" is to be carried out: perhaps simply by setting an example, but usually through some overt effort to bring the good news to the benighted, whether in friendship or at the point of a sword. At any rate, the story is one of unending STRIFE. If not thwarted by outsiders, the mission could at any moment fall victim to the people's own backsliding. Exile, captivity and new wilderness sojourns recur, followed by periodic revivals and restorations. Both

8. In 2008 a false rumor swept Italy that Barack Obama had been quoting Joachim. See Sandro Magister, "There's a Strange Prophet in the White House," trans. Matthew Sherry, *Chiesa Espresso*, August 23, 2010, <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1344430?eng=y>. As Magister points out, there is considerable tension between Joachim's thinking and that of Reinhold Niebuhr, the theologian and theorist of political realism whom Obama does sometimes quote.

9. For an overview, see Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard / Belknap, 1992), esp. chap. 2. Also see Constantinos A. Patrides and Joseph Anthony Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents, and Repercussions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), esp. chaps. 1–5, 9 and 13.

the biblical story and Christian history are accounts of these struggles, together with prophets' warnings and the witness of saints to keep the people steadfast.

Finally, strife also arises from EVIL FORCES, which are not just abstractions but identifiable agents like Satan, false prophets, "Gog and Magog," the Beast or "Great Whore," and the most awful and dangerous, the Antichrist. These opponents make for some striking visions of the END TIMES, the events that will soon bring history to a close – perhaps amid final, apocalyptic struggles leading to a NEW JERUSALEM, the paradise regained.

In different combinations, these few elements produce numerous and often incompatible stories. All variants, though, place enormous weight on human decisions. Having laid down a grand design, God has called on imperfect and recalcitrant human beings to carry it through, in effect entrusting them with the fate of the cosmos. The world can still be saved, but evil is everywhere and may even be gaining strength. There is no inevitable, progressive march westward or upward. Individuals often fail, and so can nations – and time is growing short.

Those who hope to be among the "elect," therefore, must make the right choices. The challenge is to discover what these are. Much of the cosmic design is encoded in events and stories passed down in sacred writings that are no less than God's own Word. Close analysis may allow correlation of these records with the "signs of the times" to be found in more recent events. Perhaps the end is close enough to be simply waited out. For William Miller, a farmer and amateur Bible scholar from upstate New York, complicated calculations based on the book of Daniel and other puzzling passages could be merged with a chronology of empires to prove that Christ's return was imminent: it would happen no later than March 21, 1844; then, April 18; then, finally, October 22. On that date hundreds of thousands of Americans awaited the great moment. Instead they got what has been called "the Great Disappointment," although the less disappointed went on to found Seventh-Day Adventism, a faith that still teaches that in some cosmic sense Miller had been right.¹⁰ Likewise, Jehovah's Witnesses, another outgrowth of nineteenth-century speculation on the End Times, has continued adjusting its chronology as various predicted final dates have come and gone. And these are just the better-known examples of an urge that has survived for centuries despite its (thus far) unbroken record of failure. Just recently an organization called "Family Radio" apologized for wrongly pegging May 21, 2011 as the last day – "The Bible guarantees it!" said the group's billboards – then moving this to October 21 when history kept rolling on.¹¹

Prudently, perhaps, most End Times speculation omits precise dates. Still, it assumes that the end is nigh. The bestselling *Left Behind* series of novels, based on a popular

10. George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-Day Adventists*, 2nd ed. (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing, 2004), 28–30.

11. Nicola Menzie, "Family Radio Founder Harold Camping Repents, Apologizes for False Teachings," *Christian Post*, October 30, 2011, <http://www.christianpost.com/news/family-radio-founder-harold-camping-repents-apologizes-for-false-teachings-59819/>.

theory of a coming “Rapture” and “Tribulation,” imagines the great final act beginning sometime in the present day.¹² Given such beliefs, broadly termed “premillennialist” (because Christ’s return is seen as beginning, not ending, the final age), it can be hard to see what is to be done politically. History is all but finished anyway; what remains is a world irreparably broken, amenable to no human reforms but only to God’s imminent judgment. Thinking this way, some Christians over the years have simply opted out of politics.¹³ But even the strictest premillennialism suggests the importance of recognizing signs and being aware of the gathering alignment of forces. The Antichrist is among us and preparing for the final struggle. He is likely to appear in some attractive form, tempting the faithful, who can be seduced into joining his minions if they let their guards down.

Most of the providential thinking that suffuses America’s secularized or “civil religion” is not this alarmist. Nor is it blasé, convinced that America’s rising glory is “decreed” by some grand historical logic. Instead it borrows from both these possibilities, emerging into public debate at various points along the spectrum they define.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, the most common ways of applying the providential scheme identify the promised land as America and the chosen people as Americans. “God hath graciously patronized our cause, and taken us under his special care, as he did his ancient covenant people,” said one minister in 1788, just as the new government was being organized.¹⁵ Satanic forces, the Whore of Babylon, might then be the British Empire, the “Bavarian Illuminati” (for conspiracy theorists), the Papacy (for both early Protestants and later opponents of mass Catholic immigration), totalitarian dictators, the Soviet Union, or the internationalists who operate through the European Union and United Nations. (In the *Left Behind* novels, the Antichrist is a onetime UN Secretary-General.) The covenant might be explicitly equated with the Founding charters, i.e., the Declaration, Constitution and Bill of Rights, and the mission can range from the merely exemplary – building a model “city upon a hill,” in the original Puritan formulation – to actively leading other nations to righteousness or, if need be, imposing it.¹⁶ When one U.S. senator declared in 1900 that God had “marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the redemption of the world,” he was justifying the forcible

12. Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, *Left Behind: A Novel of the Earth’s Last Days*, vols. 1–16 (Carol Stream: Tyndale House, 1995–2007).

13. For a detailed discussion of premillennialism (as contrasted with “postmillennialism”) and its political implications, see Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, chap. 3.

14. Michael Lienesch, *New Order of the Ages: Time, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern American Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 23. Lienesch’s book is a detailed study of the complex interplay of secular and sacred providentialist ideas in the period of the American founding, as well as a useful guide to other literature on the subject; see 185n4. For a classic study of the role that those ideas have played in U.S. foreign policy, see Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America’s Millennial Role* (1968; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

15. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 75.

16. “City upon a hill” is the biblical phrase famously appropriated by Gov. John Winthrop at the founding of Massachusetts. Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity” (sermon, aboard ship, 1630), Religious Freedom Page, University of Virginia, <http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/charity.html>.

annexation of the Philippines.¹⁷ Similar claims, though, sometimes in the same words, can be found in the “election sermons” of eighteenth-century New England, in the nineteenth-century rhetoric of continental expansion, in twentieth-century rationales for American global dominance, and in statements of U.S. officials on recent attempts to bring democracy to the Middle East.

As the core of a shared civil religion, then, this “classic” application of the providential scheme has been impressively consistent over American history. There have also been large deviations from it, however, including two with particular relevance to Campaign 2012: Mormonism, and the African-American or Civil Rights tradition. In different but related ways, each of these sub-traditions took the basic story and inflected it through the historical experiences of a particular group – a different chosen people whose promised land was not (quite) the United States.

From its beginning, Mormonism was an attempt to identify America’s role in salvation history, to the point of specifying that the End Times’ New Jerusalem would appear in Missouri. Among other things, Mormon founder Joseph Smith was trying to solve a problem that had baffled Europeans beginning with Columbus: the identity of the so-called “Indians.” Providential history had been formulated without reference to them; unaccountably, the redemptive scheme seemed somehow to have missed two whole continents.

Smith’s solution was that Christ had appeared in the Americas too, among peoples descended from “lost tribes” of the Old Testament’s chosen people. These offshoots of the chosen had left the providential story early and, in effect, taken a very long detour. With their re-encounter, the divine drama could at last be brought to completion. “Columbus and also the Founding Fathers,” says one recent Mormon writer, “were instruments in the Lord’s hands in preparing America to become the seat of the Restoration of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in this last dispensation of time.”¹⁸ The lost-tribes hypothesis was an old one and had been applied to various groups over the centuries. But Smith’s version – written, he said, in hieroglyphics on golden plates, then buried for 1,400 years until they were revealed to him in the 1820s – filled it out in colorful detail. The Book of Mormon that Smith claimed to have translated from the plates described an ancient migration, a schism dividing the good from the evil, and centuries of warfare that the wrong side won. Amerindians were descendents of the ancient wars’ survivors, their darker skin a mark of their forebears’ apostasy. According to other nineteenth-century legends absorbed into early Mormonism, the dark skin of African-Americans was also a mark of God’s judgment, imposed in their case for failings in a spiritual “pre-existence” and requiring their exclusion from full church membership – a policy finally ended by further “revelation” in 1978.

17. U.S. Sen. Albert Beveridge, quoted in John B. Judis, “The Chosen Nation: The Influence of Religion on U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Policy Brief* 37 (March 2005): 2 and *passim*, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/2005/03/15/chosen-nation-influence-of-religion-on-u.s.-foreign-policy/1xn5>. Also see Robert Neelly Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. chap. 2, “America as a Chosen People.”

18. Quoted in Garr, *Christopher Columbus: A Latter-Day Saint Perspective*.

In embracing these mystical anthropologies of old, Mormonism in effect preserved them in amber for a century and a half while the rest of the world forgot or repudiated them. Meanwhile, it was also undergoing a complicated, changing relationship to the United States. Despite Smith's pro-American prophecies and his own candidacy for president, his death at the hands of a mob in 1844 drove his followers into what was readily seen as a biblical exile, a new sojourn in the wilderness. Already heavily traveled as a result of their Gospel-spreading missions, they declared their independence from the American "Babylon" and set out to build their new "Zion" in a promised land around the Great Salt Lake. In line with their self-understanding as the new chosen, Mormons used the biblical word *gentiles* for non-Mormons (including, oddly, Jews). Brigham Young spent his last years fighting a rearguard action against gentile values, which he believed were creeping into the church and undermining its original communitarian ideals. For him, Babylon was not so much America *per se*, which his new settlements petitioned early to rejoin, but the U.S. as the center of a rapidly expanding industrial capitalism – a powerful tempter that promised wealth to some of his Saints but could also produce the grime and immiseration that Young had seen while spreading the faith in Victorian England.¹⁹ But Young, though obviously still revered as a Mormon founder, all but completely lost those arguments. Today's Latter-Day Saints tend to be very comfortable with wealth and capitalism – puritanical not only in matters of personal conduct, but in the belief that God's blessings on the virtuous are made visible in worldly success. They are also known for hyper-patriotism. Some Mormons have taught that the U.S. Constitution was divinely inspired, but also that it will someday "hang by a thread," at which point it will be the mission of Mormons – the Redeemer Nation's redeemer nation – to take steps to save it.²⁰

By long tradition, African-Americans likewise came to analogize their plight to that of the Old Testament Israelites. They, too, were an oppressed minority, escaping the bondage that America had imposed in the past, but wandering in what for them seemed a wilderness without end. The promised land was somewhere, and at times this could be imagined concretely – for instance, as the northern climes to which many black Southerners journeyed during the "Great Migration." For the most part, however, the wilderness was not a literal place but a condition – Jim Crow segregation, a lack of freedom and full citizenship – and the promised land therefore was too. It was a future America of equality and brotherhood, not yet existing but visible on

19. Mike Davis, "The Reds Under Romney's Bed," review of *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet*, by John G. Turner, and *A History of Utah Radicalism: Startling, Socialistic, and Decidedly Revolutionary*, by John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, October 25, 2012, <http://lareviewofbooks.org/article.php?id=1036&fulltext=1>.

20. James R. Rogers, "Mitt Romney's Constitutional Theology," *First Things*, February 15, 2012, <http://www.firstthings.com/onthesquare/2012/02/mitt-romneys-constitutional-theology>. "Hanging by a thread" refers to the "White Horse Prophecy," a prediction whose authenticity is disputed and which Mitt Romney himself noted is not official LDS teaching. Unofficially, though, it has been cited by prominent Mormons and has been the basis of Mormon-inspired art – for instance John McNaughton's painting "One Nation Under God," McNaughton Fine Art Company, 2012, <http://jonmcnaughton.com/content/ZoomDetailPages/OneNationUnderGod.html>.

the historical horizon for those who, like Martin Luther King, Jr., ascended “to the mountaintop.”²¹ King’s famous “dream” was that America would finally fulfill the promise of its founding charters, which might not be hanging by a thread but had never been fully honored. He and his fellow activists, therefore, could claim a redemptive mission of their own; they were stepping forward not just to advance themselves, but to save the nation at large for the benefit of all. Like the Old Testament prophets, and often borrowing their words, King saw himself as calling a wayward people back to the course of justice to which they were bound by covenant.

Of course, both Romney and Obama were mainstream politicians. Neither was eager to highlight his links to a minority tradition outside that mainstream. Both spoke for political parties and broad coalitions that would, and do, debate essentially the same issues regardless of their candidates’ personal qualities or associations. Even so, the competing providential histories are a helpful guide to those issues, revealing much about the rhetoric used to frame them, the particular criticisms aimed at the candidates, and the conclusions that many drew from the election’s results. Whether they hoped to be or not, both Romney and Obama were exceptionally good vessels for the clashing ideas that define “red” and “blue” in contemporary America.

At its core, the Republican campaign advanced an argument that went something like this: America is the world’s greatest country, and what makes it so is a uniquely wise, time-honored Constitution that emphasizes freedom. This includes a free-market capitalist economic order that is unusually dynamic, the greatest engine of prosperity ever known, in large part because it rewards “job creators,” whether brilliant, risk-taking entrepreneurs or hard-working owners of small businesses. Whatever problems America still faces are best addressed through further application of the same principles. These have made the U.S. the world’s most successful nation, and therefore uniquely suited to lead the world. Unrestricted American action abroad is the best way to spread the blessings of liberty everywhere.

All might be lost, however, if the wrong people are elected and allowed to implement freedom-killing policies. Barack Obama, Republicans argued, apologizes for America, does not appreciate its “exceptionalism,” and whether he means to or not is encouraging its decline. He has never run a business, does not know what makes an economy dynamic, does not understand “how America works,” and instead “attacks success” in a continuing campaign of “class warfare.” By addressing problems through government “takeovers” instead of free-market solutions, he has put the nation’s finances at risk. This makes him the natural leader of those who are likewise reckless in their personal lives, who feel “entitled” and want society’s rewards without working for them – the “takers” as opposed to the “makers.”

Summarized like this, it is easy to see the underlying providentialist message. In the Republican vision, America was “exceptional” in a more profound sense than the

21. Martin Luther King, Jr., “To the Mountaintop” (speech delivered at Bishop Charles Mason Temple, Memphis, TN, April 3, 1968), in *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Global Freedom Struggle*, Stanford University, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/documentsentry/ive_been_to_the_mountaintop/.

political scientists who coined that term originally meant. It was the promised land of a chosen people who had succeeded by keeping faith with their original covenant. But it was facing a great temptation, a threatened apostasy from its founding values, and an alarmingly large part of the nation – 47 percent, Romney specified, to his later chagrin – was already in thrall to the smooth-talking tempter.²² This seductive figure has no use for either America's mission or its unique national genius. If he prevailed, America would go the way of those decadent empires of the past, the one-time centers of civilization on which the sun had already set. As the American dream receded and the U.S. lost its unquestioned global leadership, history's westward course would continue on to China – or at any rate, things would get a lot worse for the world, and especially for Americans. The election was therefore a choice with immense consequences.

Such an interpretation helps explain why Republican arguments often seemed oddly abstract. Partly this was calculated: Romney hoped to beat Obama on the strength of the unemployment rate and other indices of national suffering, and would only be disadvantaged by tying himself to particular policy positions. Partly, too, what one critic called “gauzy flag-waving” has a long history in conservative political imagery.²³ But even so, TV spots and videos like Romney's “Raising the Flag,” “The Best of America,” or “In America: Anything is Possible” seemed more like ads for a country than a candidate, as if the question before the public was not this or that policy direction but whether to “believe in America.” Arguing for hope, vision, freedom, optimism and opportunity, the Romney campaign gambled that voters already felt those values under threat, and would respond to hearing them reasserted in sentimental but sufficiently muscular ways.²⁴ Romney was also given to singing or reciting “America the Beautiful” at public appearances, perhaps thinking that this was another simple, sentimental assertion of instantly shared values. (In fact, the hymn's later verses imply a sharp critique of America's “flaw[s],” including its tolerance for “selfish gain.”²⁵) And when Obama slipped on his pronouns and told businesspeople “You didn't build that,” sounding to some as if he meant the businesses themselves, Romney and his party launched a defiant attack, making “We built it” and “You built it” the themes of numerous ads and statements as well as a substantial part of the Republican National Convention. A surprisingly large amount of campaign energy was put into critiquing a single remark, especially when the supposed insult directly touched only a small group, business

22. Mother Jones News Team, “Full Transcript of the Mitt Romney Secret Video,” *Mother Jones*, September 19, 2012, http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/09/full-transcript-mitt-romney-secret-video#13694252979711&action=collapse_widget&id=8311776.

23. Walter Shapiro, “Spooky Music, Steelworkers, and American Flags: A Brief Taxonomy of the Political Ad Wars,” *New Republic*, May 26, 2012, <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/politics/103645/campaign-ads-election-obama-romney-crossroads-commercial-television#>.

24. “Raising the Flag,” <http://youtu.be/C2Kjgfq-7PQ>, “The Best of America,” <http://youtu.be/rUcugv926Fo>, “In America: Anything is Possible,” <http://youtu.be/Oz3XgYLqCjg>, all posted by Mittromney [pseud.], on YouTube, <http://www.youtube.com/>.

25. Given Romney's affection for the song, it is ironic that the composer, Katherine Lee Bates, was an internationalist who would later break with the Republican Party to support the League of Nations. Her lyrics also imply that America needs “self-control” and that not all success is “nobleness.”

owners, who were by and large already Republicans. Obama's critics, though, seemed to think he was insulting nothing less than American genius itself. They cast "You didn't build that" as a generalized heresy, something close to an admission that he did not really believe in America.²⁶

Although a debate over free markets and collective provision is not in itself racial, it is easy to see how Obama in particular would become the focus of such a critique. This is another phenomenon best understood in light of providential ideas, and especially the role they have historically assigned to race. The story of a chosen people readily lends itself to "identity politics" – that is, to political efforts to clarify who does or does not belong among the people in question. Europeans first came to view themselves as "Europeans" or "Christendom" in contrast to a threatening Other, the Saracens or "Turks," who were not only Muslim but both under- and over-civilized: they could be imagined both as rampaging desert hordes and as the dissolute potentates of shockingly lavish Oriental courts. Modern racial theories developed much later, but by the time they did, the West could finally claim to have surpassed the cultural achievements of medieval Islam and discovered its own genius – a quality that most race-theorists associated with northern Europe. According to their once-popular accounts, cold climates produced both white skin and the hardy, can-do spirit that made it possible to build great civilizations. Less-white regions and peoples, like those of southern Europe and "the Orient," could borrow and mimic such achievements but could not create them for themselves. Amerindians lacked initiative altogether, and Africans were marked by the *absence* of genius, a result of 4,000 years of lazy, unproductive life in "the jungle." The argument, once widespread, for denying equal rights to African Americans was that the traits they had acquired from these sorry origins were passed down in the "blood," and that making blacks and whites political equals necessarily meant making them social equals, which would inevitably lead to "race-mixing" and diluted blood – draining the "white race," over time, of its civilization-making genius.

It is difficult to recall these old ideas without observing that Barack Hussein Obama is the offspring of a mixed-race marriage, and that his critics have variously charged him with being hostile to religion; possibly Muslim himself; an insufferable celebrity hipster; a grimly committed ideologue; yet lazy and vacuous, unable to create even his own soaring rhetoric, though slickly skilled at mimicking a great speaker when

26. Obama's "You didn't build that" was called "a philosophical rewriting of the American story," "a direct attack on the principle of individual responsibility, the foundation of American freedom," an example of "disrespecting the American people," the words of someone who "despises the capitalist system," and an expression of views that "raise the far more potent issue of national identity and feed the suspicion that Mr. Obama is actively hostile to American ideals and aspirations." See, respectively, Andrew Cline, "What 'You Didn't Build That' Really Means – and Why Romney Can't Explain It," *Atlantic*, August 10, 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/08/what-you-didnt-build-that-really-means-and-why-romney-cant-explain-it/260984/>; James Taranto, "You Didn't Sweat, He Did," *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444873204577535053434972374.html>; Fox News, "Romney Goes On Offense, Mark Levin Reacts," Townhall video, <http://townhall.com/video/romney-goes-on-offense-mark-levin-reacts>; and Kimberley A. Strassel, "Four Little Words: Why the Obama Campaign is Suddenly So Worried," *Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 2012, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390443931404577551344018773450.html>.

suitably teleprompted. Criticisms like these may seem mutually incompatible, but from a providentialist viewpoint they are all of a piece. As it has so often in the past, the threat to America comes from two directions, the under- and the over-civilized. Today, these are the tribal societies of the Middle East, with their instability and terrorism, and the feckless French and other appeaseniks of Europe who cosset themselves in the comforts of welfare states inflated to unsustainable levels. Obama embodies the unholy alliance of these forces, sympathizing and sharing qualities with both. An internationalist with a cosmopolitan upbringing – allegedly not even an American citizen – he is the darling of a decadent, globe-trotting coastal elite that delights in “diversity” and disdains “the real America.” If it does not quite welcome the terrorists, this elite hesitates in the face of determined enemies, weakly preferring to talk instead of fight. And it does welcome the uncontrolled immigration that will put an end to America’s unique identity. Obama and his fellow elitists do not value American exceptionalism, which is to say, they do not acknowledge America’s role in providential history. Their socialistic, Euro-style domestic agenda is also disdainful of freedom, initiative and the can-do spirit. All this points toward national decline. Obama is “the last anticolonial,” according to one provocative portrait, the ideological heir of his Marxist Kenyan father, cheering on today’s resistance fighters in their struggle to induce the United States to join Europe in surrendering its global ambitions.²⁷

Moreover, with his blurred racial identity, Obama represents the way the old curse has become a blessing – and, ominously, vice-versa. A recipient and advocate of the “special rights” accorded to contemporary minorities, he governs amid a perverse and fallen state of things in which ordinary, God-fearing Americans have become the new oppressed minority. Put more crudely, he has “a deep-seated hatred for white people or the white culture,” as a prominent Mormon commentator charged, and has left the Constitution “hanging by a thread,” just as in Mormon prophecy.²⁸ In John McNaughton’s Mormon-inspired paintings, the message is not subtle: the Constitution was a gift from Christ, and Obama, who is depicted stepping on it and burning it while soaking up the cheers of the misguided, is the Antichrist.²⁹ That the chosen people have chosen him to lead them is itself grounds for God’s looming judgment on this errant nation.

27. Dinesh D’Souza “How Obama Thinks,” *Forbes*, September 27, 2010, <http://www.forbes.com/forbes/2010/0927/politics-socialism-capitalism-private-enterprises-obama-business-problem.html>. In a similar vein, see Newt Gingrich, “How America Became a ‘Secular-Socialist Machine,’” *Washington Post*, April 23, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/22/AR2010042204207.html>. Both these articles summarize arguments that the authors later expanded into books.

28. Glenn Beck, “Glenn Beck with Sen. Hatch: ‘Constitution is Hanging by a Thread,’” *Glenn Beck*, November 4, 2008, <http://www.glennbeck.com/content/articles/article/196/17711/>; Dana Milbank, “Mormon Prophecy Behind Glenn Beck’s Message,” *Huffington Post*, October 5, 2010, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/dana-milbank/post_996_b_749750.html.

29. The paintings in question are collected in the “Patriotic” section, McNaughton Fine Art Company, 2012, <http://www.jonmcnaughton.com/patriotic/>. The “Interactive Web Page” features allow individual symbols in the paintings to be searched for detailed explanations.

Some of these reactions were predictable from the time that Americans first started seriously imagining non-white-male presidents. Repeatedly, the fear (or in some cases, the comic premise) was that such a president would govern in the interests of his or her identity group, not the people as a whole.³⁰ Obama presumably understands that the first African-American president cannot help but represent a further phase in the long Civil Rights Movement, a movement that at various times has been seen by some as deeply threatening. But, in his first presidential campaign, under the slogan “Yes, We Can,” he turned this association to his advantage, recasting the aspirations of civil-rights protesters as the mission of the whole people. Conjuring some of the enthusiasm of religious revivals, as the Civil Rights Movement had also done, he made all of America, in effect, a Civil Rights Movement. His “we” simultaneously meant his supporters (“we can win”) and the larger public (“we can make a better America”).

Obama’s more recent slogans, “Forward” and “Winning the Future,” attempted something similar – America as a winning campaign – but weakly and to less effect. More central to his 2012 message was, if not an attack on success, then a mildly prophetic plea against idolizing it. “Our long and prosperous journey as the greatest nation on earth,” Obama said, depended on “our obligations to one another, and to this larger enterprise that is America”:

We have always held certain beliefs as Americans. We believe that in order to preserve our freedoms and pursue our own happiness, we can’t just think about ourselves. We have to think about the country that made those liberties possible. We have to think about our fellow citizens with whom we share a community.³¹

When he said “You didn’t build that,” Obama may have thought he was just repeating this upbeat message with specific reference to business. But changing the phrasing made it more of a mini-jeremiad. As one astute commentator noted, Obama sounded angry and delivered the remark in “black dialect.”³² This was a dangerous inversion of his carefully crafted public persona. With his artful appropriation and re-purposing of the rhetoric of civil rights, Obama had found a way to make America’s providential imagery work in his favor. Now, suddenly, he risked turning it against himself, renewing the old stereotypes, casting himself as the barbarian standing agape at a great city he could never comprehend but only destroy. Romney and his campaign encouraged this interpretation, arguing that Obama’s “extraordinarily foreign” ideas would “change the nature of America.” Said one Romney spokesman, “I wish this president would learn how to be an American.”³³

30. See Smith, *Presidents We Imagine*, 181–98.

31. Lucas Gray, “Why Obama Now,” YouTube animation, <http://youtu.be/U9G8XREyG0Q>. For the text from which the narration is excerpted, see “Transcript of President Barack Obama’s speech on the Republican budget plan at ASNE,” *Washington Post*, April 3, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/full-transcript-barack-obama-speech-before-newspaper-editors/2012/04/03/gIQA_rZ9ctS_story.html.

32. Jonathan Chait, “The Real Reason ‘You Didn’t Build That’ Works,” *New York*, July 27, 2012, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2012/07/real-reason-you-didnt-build-that-works.html>.

33. Charlie Spiering, “Romney: Obama ‘Insulting’ Every Innovator in America from Steve Jobs to Papa John’s,” *Washington Examiner*, July 17, 2012, <http://washingtonexaminer.com/romney-obama-insulting-every-innovator-in-america-from-steve-jobs-to-papa-johns/article/2502374>; Benjy Sarlin,

In the end, having weathered that small crisis, and apparently to his opponents' surprise, Obama won the election. If providentialist ideas are helpful to understanding the campaign, they are essential for making sense of reactions in its aftermath. These were remarkably consistent. Only a few explicitly called America's current state "Egyptian-like bondage" or insisted that "God has sent a dire warning," that the people must "rise up" to "restore His kingdom" lest the republic "soon die and go the way of ancient Greece, Rome and other lost civilizations."³⁴ But even those commentators who stuck to secular language drew freely on underlying notions of a broken covenant, a chosen but apostate nation, and the loss of vitality that causes the fading of empire. The election "results demonstrate that, as a whole, the American electorate is trending very Euro-Canadian," said one analyst, who also saw "nothing very exceptional about Americans" anymore.³⁵ A chorus of others agreed. Americans "are starting to look like Europeans, and as a result they want a European form of government."³⁶ Those who opposed Obama were an "American remnant," perhaps "the last gasp of Constitutionalism and free enterprise."³⁷ Having "diverted the American experiment into an economic and political dead-end,"³⁸ Obama was changing the very character of the people, speeding up a social transformation that eroded their self-reliance.³⁹ As a result, they were choosing national decline, "in the same way that Europe has become depleted, insular and toothless."⁴⁰ For some, the election results signaled the end of "traditional America"⁴¹ or placed "the continued existence of America as we've known it in doubt."⁴² But others were more definite: "236 years of the United States gone in one single day and night."⁴³ "The America

"Sununu Unleashed: Obama Needs To 'Learn How To Be An American,'" *Talking Points Memo*, July 17, 2012, <http://2012.talkingpointsmemo.com/2012/07/sununu-unleashed-obama-needs-to-learn-how-to-be-an-american.php>. As noted there, John Sununu later partly withdrew his remark about Obama learning to be American.

34. Larry Klayman, "God Has a bigger plan!," *WND*, November 9, 2012, <http://www.wnd.com/2012/11/god-has-a-bigger-plan/>.

35. Mark Steyn, "The Edge of the Abyss," *National Review Online*, November 9, 2012, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/333116/edge-abyss-mark-steyn>.

36. Jonah Goldberg, "Becoming European," *National Review Online*, November 9, 2012, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/333038/becoming-european-jonah-goldberg>.

37. Jay Nordlinger, "Bitterfest 2012," *National Review Online*, November 8, 2012, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/332979/bitterfest-2012-jay-nordlinger>.

38. Robert R. Owens, "Who Does He Say That He Is?," *Canada Free Press*, November 29, 2012, <http://canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/51412>.

39. Yuval Levin, "The Real Debate," *Weekly Standard*, October 8, 2012, http://www.weeklystandard.com/articles/real-debate_653224.html. (This analysis, unlike the other comments quoted in this paragraph, appeared before the election.)

40. Michael Gerson, "Politics as Usual," *Washington Post*, January 15, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/michael-gerson-obamas-bankrupt-fiscal-plan/2013/01/14/d76f8a52-5e80-11e2-9940-6fc488f3ecd_story.html.

41. Bill O'Reilly, quoted in Mackenzie Weinger, "Bill O'Reilly: 'The White Establishment is Now the Minority,'" *Politico*, November 6, 2012, <http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2012/11/bill-oreilly-the-white-establishment-is-now-the-minority-148705.html>.

42. Stanley Kurtz, "On Conservative Despair," *National Review Online*, November 10, 2012, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/333161/conservative-despair-stanley-kurtz>.

43. Eric Dondero, Comments, *FSTDT*, November 6, 2012, <http://www.fstdt.com/QuoteComment.aspx?QID=90669&Page=2>.

we knew and loved is gone forever.” Quite simply, “We are no longer American. We are no longer the people that built the best country in the world.”⁴⁴

To some, reactions like these will seem overwrought. But they accurately express the meaning that elections take on when viewed as part of the providential story. Given the ways they fit that story, the candidates and issues put before Americans in 2012 were especially apt to make defeat seem world-historical and cosmic. As they spent November chastising their countrymen for choosing decline and Egyptian bondage, some on the political right sounded like Moses denouncing his “stiff-necked” people, smashing his stone tablets when he found them worshipping a golden calf. In all likelihood, those critics would later rethink their interpretations, finding ways to fit the providential scheme to whatever circumstances arose next. They might have recalled that Moses made new tablets, and the drama went on. The promised land still lay ahead.

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THE POET AS A WALT WHITMAN OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE: ON “THE BOB HOPE POEM” BY CAMPBELL MCGRATH

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ABSTRACT: This paper gives a new reading of “The Bob Hope Poem” by Campbell McGrath (b. 1962), a major younger American poet who has produced a substantial body of poetry written in the form of either short, lyric culture commentary, or, as longer fragmented poems of epic ambition that are evocative of Walt Whitman and Allen Ginsberg. The paper explores two aspects of “The Bob Hope Poem.” First, a formal and thematic analysis is provided. Then, an evaluation of the achievement and problems of the poem is made to situate McGrath in a tradition of poet commentators on American history whose work negotiates the uneasy relationship between public and private, self and community, popular and high culture.

KEYWORDS: Campbell McGrath; Walt Whitman; Allen Ginsberg; American poetry; criticism; interpretation; popular culture; Bob Hope; celebrity; commentary; voice; self

“Am I a stooge of the popular culture machine?,”¹ wonders Campbell McGrath. His ongoing poetry project is, true enough, both comic and serious, speaking in a voice that tries to make sense of the changeable landscape of urban America. The reputation of the author as a major free verse poet, whose cosmic voice draws on the Whitman-Ginsberg tradition of the poet as a self-appointed public spokesman, was established by the early 1990s. Since the beginning of his career, McGrath has produced poetry in two modes. First, and perhaps less interesting, there are the mainstream short lyric poems in free verse, characterized by the use of a private voice of the poet, ironic tone, and minimalist syntax. Second, McGrath has written long poems of epic ambition that weave in diverse elements from the past and present of the poet, a particular region of America, and voices of famous writers, celebrities, and thinkers.

An early notable example of the long poem in the second mode is “The Bob Hope Poem,” a seventy-page-long composition that forms the backbone of *Spring Comes to Chicago* (1996), the third full-fledged poetry volume by McGrath.² Its length and the presence of narrative makes it a candidate for epic poetry, yet its focus on the individual voice of the poet also justifies its inclusion in the lyric genre. Douglas Barbour considers the contemporary long poem an exercise in using the lyric voice that seeks “to escape the confines of lyric though not necessarily by abandoning all lyric possibilities.”³

1. Campbell McGrath, *Spring Comes to Chicago* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco, 1996), 46.

2. The earlier poetry volumes by McGrath include *Capitalism* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1990) and *American Noise* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1993).

3. Douglas Barbour, *Lyric / Anti-lyric: Essays on Contemporary Poetry* (Edmonton: NeWest, 2001), 7.

Furthermore, the potential of the lyric to convey an epic story of a national culture is tested in "The Bob Hope Poem."

The poem is divided into six sections, each being introduced by a description of a snowstorm in Chicago, as witnessed by the poet who spends a day at home in his apartment. Although the snowstorm passages should drive the reader into the poem, the language of these sections is pretentious, contrived, and unconvincing, as in the following quotation:

These elephantine snowflakes sashaying lazily earthward look about as
likely as three-dollar bills.
Huge and shambling, avuncular as church-goers, delicately laced as linen
doilies, fluffy as kittens or cotton swabs,
linked arm in arm in a ticker-tape parade of paper doll Rockettes or
lurching like waves of drunken longshoremen⁴

The linguistic profusion is exciting, yet meaning gets obscured by what Joel Brouwer calls "self-indulgence partly redeemed by sheer exuberance."⁵ The exuberant tone and the inclusive language that tries to incorporate everything is not, however, the only strategy that McGrath employs throughout the poem. In order to change the pace, line length, and tone, McGrath switches back and forth between the high register of descriptive passages in the Whitmanian long line, as represented by the quote above, to a plain-spoken, short-line commentary on popular culture and his own day spent indoors, assuming the comic mask of an outsider to the lowbrow reading preferences of his wife: "I've been reading about Bob Hope in *People* magazine. / It's my wife who buys it. / I swear" (10).

In the first section of the poem, "The Secret Life of Capital," the personal voice merges with the public, yet there is little sense of social criticism in McGrath's outward gesture as the tone of wry commentary seems enough. On this disengagement in the affairs being portrayed McGrath seems to differ from two other notable leftist predecessors who worked in the long poem format, Hugh MacDiarmid and Thomas McGrath (no relation).⁶ Unlike these poets, whose leftwing critique of society was an essential element of their poetry, McGrath only speaks in what Joe Moffett calls "a public voice that in the end only uses Marxism as tool for making us look closer at ourselves."⁷

Throughout the poem, McGrath juxtaposes the ironic, understated tone of the pragmatic protagonist who rambles around his apartment, trying to kill time and do something useful before it is time to meet his wife in the evening ("I wonder where / that

4. Campbell McGrath, "The Bob Hope Poem," in *Spring Comes to Chicago* (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco, 1996), 9. Hereafter cited in the text. The volume, and in particular "The Bob Hope Poem," brought McGrath enormous recognition, including generous prizes like the Kingsley Tufts Poetry Prize and the super-lavish MacArthur Foundation "genius grant" fellowship.

5. Joel Brouwer, "Accordion Music and Raw Profusion," *Parnassus: Poetry in Review* 26, no. 2 (2002): 171.

6. MacDiarmid was a Scottish Marxist author, Thomas McGrath an American poet, unjustly marginalized for his leftist views.

7. Joe Moffett, "Beyond the Postmodern Long Poem: Campbell McGrath's 'The Bob Hope Poem,'" *EAPSU Online: An Annual Journal of Critical and Creative Work* 3 (2006): 59. <http://media.tripod.lycos.com/2845573/1478338.pdf>.

old snow shovel went?” [10]) with the comic pretension of the intellectual who admits to liking popular magazines. This preference challenges his authority as a culture critic: “as if I could mitigate my guilt so easily, as if I could deny any act of will or / intention and simply discover its fortuitous presence / / there, on the rug, by my chair” (11). The edifice of the critic’s reputation is shattered, and the incongruity between the banality of the occasion and the lofty tone used by the poet becomes humorous: “The truth is I’ve been sitting here for over an hour, feet on the desk, chair / tilted back, drinking black currant tea and reading *People* / while the ubiquitous squirrels frolic and dance and the snowflakes do their / gravitational thing” (10). As soon as the poet moves from talking about his actions and thoughts to describing the snow-plagued world outside his window, his language again becomes awkward (“ubiquitous squirrels”) and vague (“their gravitational thing”) which is one of the shortcomings of the poem.⁸ As William Logan points out, McGrath has problems with pruning his catalogues of Whitmanian long-line profusion passages, as he “can’t bear to leave a single thing out.”⁹ Stanley Plumly explains that the voice of the contemporary poet, “his way of presiding over his material, whether the intention is to inspire or illuminate, whether the terms are those of a persona or one of a trinity of personal pronouns, is inevitable.”¹⁰ Whenever McGrath becomes unsure of his footing, the speaking voice succumbs to the inclusion of unnecessary, maddening, opaque language and imagery.

The real subject of the poem is a meditation on capitalism, American history and culture. To that end, McGrath utilizes a magazine story involving Bob Hope, who “is in a hot dispute about a / piece of real estate in Southern California” (11). Hope, an American celebrity who wore many hats during the century of his life – a comedian, actor, TV show host, golf tournament host, businessman – is portrayed as a ruthless real estate speculator. Though “he’s a nonagenarian, he wants that extra twenty-five million bucks / so bad he can taste it” (12). The figure of Bob Hope is, like Jay Gatsby in Francis Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby* (1925), a mirror for the expression of the author’s ambivalence in relation to success, vanity, and traditional American values such as hard work and upward social mobility. Beside the thematic grounding, the inclusion of the Hope story has a structural function in the poem as well since the story of Hope’s real estate deal and past history of his successful showbiz career provides a logical frame to the otherwise amorphous poem whose form oscillates between laconic minimalism and bombastic expansiveness. As David Haven Blake points out, the use of Bob Hope

8. The worst case of pretentious opacity and vagueness comes in the following passage from pages 36–37 of the poem: “When I look out my window, when I look not to look but to see, even the most elemental forms and objects are shaded with hermeneutical nuance, / the unsaid, the understood, subtexts half-buried by this blizzard of the incomprehensible, / a world of circumstance and utter contingency invested with a deep and apparent historical sheen.” Vague philosophizing is presented as deep meditation on the relationship of reality, vision, surface, and inner substance of things, yet the language here does not match the poet’s communicative ambition.

9. William Logan, “Valentine’s Day Massacre,” *New Criterion* 26, no. 10 (2008): 69.

10. Stanley Plumly, *Argument & Song: Sources & Silences in Poetry* (New York: Hansel, 2003), 165.

as a celebrity character in the poem serves as an anchor, providing “ironic points of cohesion to an amorphous, shifting society.”¹¹

The disgust that McGrath directs at the senseless greed of the nonagenarian Hope, a celebrity who is supposedly rich beyond any need for more business acquisitions, is used to launch a diatribe against the negative impact of money upon American culture. Money is in turn abhorred and loved as “a beautiful metaphor, a poetic analogy, / / a diagram, / a model, / a map of the stars” (14) that may give a clue to the question of how American identity is defined. If success and recognition is translated into monetary terms, it indeed “all amounts to the same thing, / which is everything / or nothing, / / depending on where you stand” (15). The first section of “The Bob Hope Poem” also sets up the pattern, which is observed in the subsequent sections, of incorporating quotations on the section theme, ranging from Marx to Thoreau, which counterpoint the poet’s rant with voices of philosophical distance and authority.¹²

In the second section, “The Triumph of Rationalism,” McGrath elaborates on the meaning of Bob Hope in the context of American history of greed: “What’s become of us, / America, / our Bob-ness, our Self-Hope?” (25). The symbolic potential of the surname, i.e., Hope, is not lost upon McGrath who connects the aging businessman to a range of thoughts on the past and future of American capitalism. And an uneasy future it is, reflected in the poet wondering about the viability of American cult of the material, along with what Brouwer calls “the orderly chaos that characterizes American culture,”¹³ which emerges as the real theme of the poem.

The greatest charm of McGrath’s voice seems its inclusiveness, an ability to provide a master narrative while at the same time deconstructing that narrative.¹⁴ His poem deals with both the private woes and meditations of the poet himself as well as with the more public concern about America’s history and future. This strategy is best utilized in the third section, “Commodity Fetishism in the White City.” The focus on Chicago provides McGrath with a framework to move back and forth between ironic self-deprecation of the narcissistic poet who takes the discourse of navel-gazing to extremes (“Let’s see now: leftover / Chinese / or liverwurst and swiss?” [29]) and the public voice of the poet who is worried by the impossibility to arrive at a unifying interpretation of his native city:

How can I reconcile my affection with my anger, my need to criticize with
my desire to praise?
If there’s only one Chicago, which is it: Thorstein Veblen’s or Milton
Friedman’s, Gene Debs’ or Mayor Daley’s,
the White City, the Grey City, the black city abandoned to sift through the
ashes? (42)

11. David Haven Blake, “Campbell McGrath and the Spectacle Society,” *Michigan Quarterly Review* 41, no. 2 (2002): 249.

12. The individual quotations used by McGrath, although too diverse to be quoted in full here, all relate to the subject of money and how it defines what humans perceive as human and cultural in their world view.

13. Brouwer, “Accordion Music and Raw Profusion,” 176.

14. See Brouwer, “Accordion Music and Raw Profusion,” 178.

When Carl Sandburg pondered, in the 1910s, the cultural meaning of Chicago in his eponymous poem celebrating the city, he could still draw on Whitmanian optimism about the viability, progress, and enviable vigour of the metropolis of the Midwest: "Come and show me another city with lifted head singing so proud to be alive and coarse and strong and cunning."¹⁵ McGrath, writing in the 1990s, is more pessimistic about the future of urban development. His way to deal with the predicament of late twentieth-century Chicago is by humorous undercutting through the example of a castle made of sand, the short-lived White City, a utopian model built as the center of The Chicago World's Fair of 1893. McGrath compares its cultural importance to that of American fast-food and entertainment icons:

If the 7-11 is a minnow, and Wal-Mart a bluefin tuna, the White City was
Moby Dick.
If the 7-11 is a slot machine, and Wal-Mart a bingo parlor, the White City
was Las Vegas. (38)

The link between popular entertainment and a great American novel is a typical strategy that McGrath employs to sustain his ambition to be "a spectator, a voyeur, and a knowing but ardent participant in the American simulacrum."¹⁶

In the fourth section, "Road to Utopia," the highbrow and lowbrow interpretations of American culture again merge as McGrath explores the story of a 1940s film starring Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, and Dorothy Lamour. the film was one of the several "Road to" romantic music adventure comedies that the trio made. Bringing up the subject of (Bob) Hope again, McGrath asks the fundamental question about the meaning of Hope's celebrity to the masses: "What is it people see in Bob Hope? Or saw? Or found reflected? Or hoped to find?" (43). From the cinematic utopias of the 1940s Hope-Crosby-Lamour films McGrath jumps to a mock-prophetic passage in which he muses, observing the approach of the mailman, on the possibility of receiving mail that would catapult his literary career toward stardom comparable with Bob Hope: "Imagine what stamped benediction, what metered mark of grace he might be bringing me today: / / good word from Hollywood about my screenplay; / a Guggenheim, a genius grant; / an NEA!" (45). McGrath extends the outrageous fantasy to picture himself in the privileged position of Hope, as the next celebrity (a writer, in his case) covered by the press: "Isn't that my picture / on the cover / of *People* magazine! / / But wait. / Hold on a minute. What would I do if it all came true?" (46). The solemn preacher and the playful jester converge in McGrath's attempt to make both tonal extremes meet: "I am a veritable / Walt Whitman / of ambivalence" (46). This is a central assertion in the poem – he treats the subject of Hope's celebrity with a mixture of fascination, repulsion, envy, and irony. Moreover, throughout the poem, McGrath seems to succumb to the self-delusion of speaking for the whole of culture, which W. H. Auden warned against, claiming that the American poet plays with fire as he "feels that the whole responsibility for contemporary poetry has fallen upon his shoulders, that he is a

15. Carl Sandburg, "Chicago," *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* 3, no. 6 (1914): 192.

16. Blake, "Campbell McGrath and the Spectacle Society," 252.

literary aristocracy of one.”¹⁷ As a poet-narcissist by necessity as well as by choice, McGrath dons the mask of a typical epitome of the twentieth-century urban intellectual who “seeks neither individual self-aggrandizement nor spiritual transcendence but peace of mind, under conditions that increasingly militate against it.”¹⁸ American poetry has always been a proudly democratic field, and McGrath gives the reader a wink, putting his ambivalent attitude about the poem’s explanation of America straight, for, despite all the ironic undercutting of the materialist dream mythology he admits that “utopianism / is an / American tradition” (46) that may include the socialist theories of Marx as well as the business acumen of Bob Hope in a single, multivocal narrative.

The weakest part of the poem, considering the thematic layout, seems to be the fifth section which juxtaposes passages on the cargo cults of the Pacific with the ineffable ways in which the American “system” of society, business, and culture seems to work. Still, the ironic detachment helps McGrath to find a way out of being swamped by his subject as he wonders how “to encompass such / magnitude when even this single city block denies me?” (58). The most convincing part of this section is the story of the son and his father watching once

the Marx Brothers on our black-and-white TV, my
introduction to the zeitgeist and the language that would claim me,

the razzledazzle of the multicultural demotic,
the sacred vernacular of the absurd (64)

McGrath again assumes the ambivalent attitude to products of American popular culture – on the one hand, the Marx Brothers comedies provide a link to the precious time spent with his father, on the other hand, these films are no longer part of McGrath’s adult, literary consciousness, and the only way to express this double-faced state is to undercut his intellectualism with the “razzle-dazzle,” or ostentatious showing, of language.

The elegiac closure of the poem is supplied in the final, sixth section. A day in the life of the poet draws to a close as he finally finds the old snow shovel and wields it “like a sword, like a staff, / like a sign” (76) of late diligence. The wisecracking sensibility shines in the haiku commentary on what happens on the street below: “Look now – joggers! / In this snow! Serious sickness, / or just fucked up?” (69). The snowstorm is finally treated with metaphysical precision of language and logic that rectifies the opacity of the previous sections: “If no man is an island, who’s to say an island is?” (70). The linguistic exuberance hits the mark when McGrath considers the Earth to resemble a “cog in the solar archipelago, the sun a snowflake in the blizzard of the galaxy” (70). The focal point is a prescient elegy for Bob Hope, the venerated figure whom the poet imagines to have “gone to fetch his eternal reward, / retired at last to vaudeville Valhalla, that heavenly Pro-Am, that never-ending celebrity roast in the sky” (73), equating Hope the man with hope the generic American feeling, shared by the poet

17. W. H. Auden, “American Poetry,” in *The Dyer’s Hand and Other Essays* (London: Faber, 1987), 366.

18. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: Norton, 1991), 13.

and his fellow Americans. The presumption of the lasting legacy of Bob Hope, the “mad jester of cultural hegemony” (73) who represents the core American values such as hard work, thrift, sociability, and business drive, is, ultimately, contained in the final line of the poem, notable for its use of a double entendre: “Hope springs eternal” (77).

Although “The Bob Hope Poem” has been linked to earlier sweeping poetic statements about American culture by Walt Whitman, Allen Ginsberg, and Jack Kerouac,¹⁹ a major problem of the poem is the way McGrath undermines the tone of his voice. When he jokes about being a postmodern Chicago-based Whitman, it is not the large, all-encompassing, voice of the prophet speaking on behalf of American culture and people that he employs. Rather, McGrath tries to present his reading of America as “a world predestined for oblivion and loss,” yet it is a world that is “alive with the promise of transformation and renewal” (77). By carefully juxtaposing myths of American history with icons of American popular culture and the everyday realities of urban middle-class life, McGrath keeps the poem together by asking the reader to participate in his effort to call American culture an eclectic system which “revolves around faith” in its achievement in the context of the highbrow / lowbrow foundations of American society and culture.²⁰

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19. See Brouwer, “Accordion Music and Raw Profusion,” 171.

20. The highbrow / lowbrow terminology, a product of the paradigm shift in culture studies since the 1980s, was notably applied to American history and culture by Lawrence Levine. See his *Highbrow / Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

MODERN ACTS OF PASSING: HOW STEREOTYPES AND “OTHERING” MAKE AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN YEARN FOR “LIGHTNESS” IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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ABSTRACT: Even in the twenty-first century, which is often labeled as “post-racial,” some African American women use bleaching creams to lighten their skin and try to approximate white European beauty standards. This article looks at the social significance of this practice, seeing it as a modern act of racial passing. The author suggests that common derogatory Black female stereotypes, which define Black women as the “Other,” are responsible for a “yearning for lightness.” This, in turn, can be equated with racial passing in the twentieth century. After analyzing some of the most common stereotypes of Black women that are still perpetuated by the mainstream media today, the author uses Lorraine O’Grady’s metaphor of comparing the female body to the obverse and reverse of a coin in order to explain why light skin is still seen as “social capital” and the desired ideal for female beauty.

KEYWORDS: racial passing; skin color; Black female stereotypes; beauty standards; skin bleaching

She should have been a boy, then color of skin wouldn’t have mattered so much.
– Wallace Thurman, *The Blacker the Berry* (1929)

I don’t wanna be dark an [sic] big – make me pretty God – make me light and pretty!
– Dael Orlandersmith, “Yellowman” (2004)

Is light skin still the “right” skin? While the epigraphs above are both statements by fictional African American female characters struggling with dark skin, the ramifications for real-life dark-skinned Black¹ women in the United States seem to be just as serious. Black girls to this day often realize early on that their skin color might one day decide their fate, be it whom they are able to marry or for which kind of job

1. The words *Black* and *African American* are used synonymously here. The term *Black* is capitalized when it refers to the racial group, the term *white*, however, is intentionally spelled with a lower-case “w.” This is done because the term *white*, when referring to people, has always been considered the human “norm,” and continues to be used for the group of people that is considered as “unmarked” in majority-white Western societies. My intention is not to offend any white readers, but to simply draw attention to that social imbalance by lower-casing the term. See also Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997); Frances E. Kendall, *Understanding White Privilege: Creating Pathways to Authentic Relationships across Race* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

they are considered suitable.² Skin color, more than any other physical feature, often is the determining factor in success or failure, especially for Black women. According to sociologist Verna Keith, “[c]olorism affects African Americans of both genders, but the complexion hierarchy is more central in the lives of women.”³ Because light skin and long hair are synonymous with being a beautiful female, those who do not fit these descriptions are considered less desirable and less beautiful, both “in the racist white imagination and in the colonized black mindset.”⁴ This “racist white imagination” has also created a series of demeaning stereotypes related to dark skin. Being subjected to these stereotypes, something that comes with being “Othered” by society, promotes “yearning for lightness” by many Black women.⁵ Thus, they often use skin lightening products and other cosmetics to approximate a white beauty ideal. This “yearning” can be seen as a modern act of racial passing, as it is motivated by similar reasons.

TWO SIDES OF A COIN: BLACK FEMININITY AS THE “OTHER”

Black women were defined as less valuable and the ultimate “Other” from the moment they first came to North America on slave ships. Seventeenth-century Anglo-Americans brought ideas with them to the New World that later evolved into the “cult of true womanhood,” the glorification of white women as symbols of purity and femininity. They were put on pedestals to represent the ideal (and only) definition of beauty. For this image to work, however, the white supremacist society had to identify a binary opposite, which came to be the Black woman. As psychologists William Grier and Price M. Cobbs once put it,

In this country, the standard is the blond, blue-eyed, white-skinned girl with regular features. Since communication media spread this ideal to every inhabitant of the land via television, newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures, there is not much room for deviation. The girl who is black . . . is, in fact, the antithesis of American beauty. However beautiful she might be in a different setting with different standards, in this country she is ugly.⁶

The Black woman thus was the antithesis to what the Caribbean-American writer Audre Lorde coined as the “mythical norm” and was characterized as savage, loose, amoral,

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2. For studies on skin color privilege see, for example, Ronald E. Hall, *An Historical Analysis of Skin Color Discrimination in America: Victimism among Victim Group Populations* (New York: Springer, 2009); Cedric Herring, Verna M. Keith, and Hayward Derrick Horton, eds., *Skin Deep: How Race and Complexion Matter in the “Color-Blind” Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Margaret L. Hunter, *Race, Gender, and the Politics of Skin Tone* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
 3. Verna M. Keith, “A Colorstruck World: Skin Tone, Achievement, and Self-Esteem among African American Women,” in *Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters*, ed. Evelyn Nakano Glenn (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 26.
 4. bell hooks, “Black Beauty and Black Power: Internalized Racism,” in *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), 127.
 5. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Yearning for Lightness: Transnational Circuits in the Marketing and Consumption of Skin Lighteners,” *Gender & Society* 22, no. 3 (2008): 281–302.
 6. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage* (New York: BasicBooks, 1992), 40–41. While this quote is – admittedly – dated and beauty ideals may have become a bit more inclusive overall, the essence of what Grier and Cobbs stated remains true: Save for a few “exotic” exceptions, beauty standards in American society, which continue to be perpetuated by the media, remain largely defined by white and light skin.

and ugly. In other words, the Black woman was positioned on the opposite end of this norm, which Lorde described as “white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, christian, and financially secure.”⁷ Artist Lorraine O’Grady compares this to the obverse and reverse of a coin, each side standing for a different representation of “woman”:

The female body in the West is not a unitary sign. Rather, like a coin, it has an obverse and a reverse: on the one side, it is white; on the other, not-white or, prototypically, black. The two bodies cannot be separated, nor can one body be understood in isolation from the other in the West’s metaphoric construction of “woman.” White is what woman is; not-white (and the stereotypes not-white gathers in) is what she better not be.⁸

What O’Grady suggests here is that Black and white female bodies cannot be viewed separately, and – as is the nature of binary systems – only acquire meaning in relation to each other. Patricia Hill Collins comes to a similar conclusion when she contends that “standards of female beauty have no meaning without the visible presence of Black women and others who fail to measure up.”⁹

Because of the clear hierarchy that emerges here, the issue can be likened to what Jacques Derrida described as non-neutral binary oppositions. As Derrida suggests and Stuart Hall paraphrases, one pole is usually dominant, “creating a relation of power between the poles of a binary opposition.”¹⁰ This dominant pole does not only define itself but is also entitled to objectify the inferior pole, in this case the Black female body: “As subjects, people have the right to define their own reality, establish their own identities, name their history. As objects, one’s reality is defined by others, one’s identity created by others, one’s history named only in ways that define one’s relationship to those who are subject.”¹¹ Black women’s identities have most often been determined by others, and their status as human beings has been denied. This is why it is even more difficult for them to acquire a positive and self-defined sense of identity. While white women are objectified and subject to a male gaze in a patriarchal society, women of color are confronted with double objectification based on their being female *and* Black, with factors such as class or sexual orientation often playing vital roles as well. What has alternately been referred to in academic circles as “double jeopardy,”¹² “multiple jeopardy”¹³ or “intersectionality”¹⁴ highlights the intricate complexities of Black female

7. Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg: Crossing Press, 1984), 116. Lorde specifically talks about the Black lesbian, who is completely opposed to this “mythical norm,” but heterosexual Black women are seen in a similar position that categorizes them as the “Other.”

8. Lorraine O’Grady, “Olympia’s Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity,” in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (New York: Routledge, 2003), 174.

9. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 194.

10. Stuart Hall, “The Spectacle of the Other,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: SAGE in association with the Open University, 1997), 235.

11. bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 42–43.

12. Frances Beale, “Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female,” in *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (New York: New American Library, 1970), 109–22.

13. Deborah K. King, “Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology,” *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1988): 42–72.

14. Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99.

identities and the multiple oppressions the Black woman is exposed to in a white supremacist, capitalist, and patriarchal society.

Within the “kaleidoscope of not-white females,” as O’Grady claims, Black women, as a result of their skin color and features, as well as their roots in the country as enslaved peoples, are located at the “outermost reaches of ‘otherness.’”¹⁵ They thereby assume “all the roles of the not-white body.”¹⁶ Thus, the “Othering” of Black female bodies not only elevates the social rank of white women but also legitimizes the oppression and subjugation of Black women, as Hill Collins asserts: “Maintaining images of U.S. Black women as the Other provides ideological justification for race, gender, and class oppression.”¹⁷ As such, Black women are seen fit to be exploited – economically, sexually, and socially – based on the mere fact that they are seen as “Other.”

THE BLACK WOMAN AS A STEREOTYPE

Also inherent in this “Othering” is the creation of a myriad of harmful controlling images or “gendered racist stereotypes” that came to define the Black woman.¹⁸ From the self-sacrificing, asexual Mammy, who worked as a maid in white households and often took on the role of raising white children; to the domineering, emasculating Matriarch; to the sassy, abusive Welfare Queen; to the promiscuous, hypersexual Jezebel – no matter how Black women have been portrayed in the media, they are often perceived as stock characters. In order to understand the significance of these stereotypes for Black women, even though Hill Collins rightly claims that only they themselves can “‘feel the iron’ that enters Black women’s souls,”¹⁹ one has to first explain these stock images, most of which are still prevalent today.

One of the oldest stereotypes, and according to Michele Wallace “a hated figure in black history,” is the “Mammy,” or “Aunt Jemima.”²⁰ She may be described as “an asexual woman, a surrogate mother in blackface” who is entirely devoted to the development of a white family.²¹ This controlling image emerged in the antebellum South, when Black women were performing domestic work in their masters’ households. Even though slavery was officially abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, the image of the “Mammy” persevered during the Jim Crow era and beyond, not in the least because of the many Black women that worked in white households. When reduced to a stereotype, this becomes problematic, as it reveals the low value society places on a Black woman who is expected to be an obedient and self-sacrificing domestic servant. As such, she takes care of a white family while putting all her needs second. The most well-known representation is probably that of Hattie McDaniel’s character in *Gone with*

15. O’Grady, “Olympia’s Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity,” 174–75.

16. *Ibid.*, 175.

17. Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 70.

18. Charisse Jones and Kumea Shorter-Gooden, *Shifting: The Double Lives of Black Women in America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 3.

19. Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 35.

20. Michele Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Dial Press, 1979), 21.

21. Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 74.

the Wind (1939). Yet some seven decades later, the 2011 movie adaptation of Kathryn Stockett's best selling novel *The Help* (2009) suggests that the "Mammy" as a stereotype still thrives. Another popular version of the "Mammy" is Aunt Jemima, the trademark of Quaker Oats instant breakfast foods. While she has received numerous "makeovers" since the brand's invention in 1889, and now wears pearl earrings and a perm instead of a head rag, the negative connotations of the name persist.

Contrary to this nurturing mother-like figure in white households, Black women are also portrayed as "Matriarchs," "Sapphires," or "Amazons," because they often assume – voluntarily or not – a dominant role in their own families. Of course there may be real-life reasons that force Black women to maintain a strong position in their households, such as the lack of a husband or partner, or the fact that their male companions cannot find work, thereby making the mother the sole breadwinner of the family.²² hooks further asserts that the picture of the "Matriarch" goes all the way back to slavery when Black women often had to perform predominantly "male" work.²³ Nevertheless, the stereotype of the "Matriarch" usually depicts Black women as being "aggressive," "domineering," and "unfeminine." Even worse, it is commonly believed that matriarchs oppress and therefore "emasculate" Black men in their families.²⁴ A current example from television is Tyler Perry's Madea, a satiric character of a large Black woman portrayed by Perry in drag, who reigns over her family with a sense of authority that often includes using verbal and physical violence.

A more general variation of the matriarch is that of the stereotype of the "Angry Black Woman." This controlling image is often used as shorthand for strong women who do not seem to let themselves be dominated by men and by society in general. Rather than taken as a good character trait, their independence and strong sense of self-value are turned into something negative by portraying them as angry. A prime example is Michelle Obama, who has been repeatedly labeled as such by conservative media. A recent book on the Obamas by *The New York Times* reporter Jodi Kantor even prompted Michelle Obama to publicly denounce these allegations that had been part of the public discourse of her since the day her husband started his first presidential campaign.²⁵

Another popular media image is the Black "Welfare Mother" who would rather have one child after another and collect the state's welfare money than go to work. This stereotype was made popular by the Reagan administration with a narrative of a Cadillac-driving "Welfare Queen."²⁶ Reagan first told this story while he unsuccessfully ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976. Despite the fact that he

22. See Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," 146.

23. bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), 71.

24. Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 78.

25. *Huffington Post*. "Michelle Obama Tired of 'Angry Black Woman' Stereotype," January 11, 2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/01/11/michelle-obama-tired-of-angry-black-woman-stereotype_n_1198786.html.

26. The story was used to defend cutbacks to the social welfare program, which disproportionately affected people of color.

never referred to the woman as Black, the common assumption was that this social welfare fraud must be committed by an African American. It stuck in the (white) public consciousness, thus giving birth to the stereotype of the Black “Welfare Queen,” which still haunts U.S. politics to this day.²⁷ Instead of acknowledging the prevailing significance of race as a social construct, and racism as institutionalized and endemic to people of color, the political establishment blamed failures of individual people on entire racial groups.

Although the “Mammy,” the “Matriarch,” and the “Welfare Queen” are still prominent, they are not as widely known stereotypes as the sexually-promiscuous Black woman, labeled “Jezebel.”²⁸ The conventional white assumption is that Black women have an excessive sexual appetite and are willing to live out this libidinal drive freely.²⁹ hooks maintains that the roots for the stereotype of the “Jezebel” also lie in slavery: “White women and men justified the sexual exploitation of enslaved black women by arguing that they were the initiators of sexual relationships with men. From such thinking emerged the stereotype of black women as sexual savages, and in sexist terms a sexual savage, a non-human, an animal cannot be raped.”³⁰ This quote clearly explains that Black women in times of slavery were often considered no more than seductive animals. As hooks maintains, this image has long existed among white and Black men and is still commonly used to sexually exploit and abuse Black women.³¹ Today, there is a backlash with the image of the “Jezebel” being reincarnated in hip hop videos in which Black women are continually called “bitches” and “hos,” which are both sexist and racist ways of debasing Black femininity and objectifying Black women’s bodies.

STEREOTYPES AND SKIN COLOR

These stereotypes are also closely linked to shades of skin color. Generally speaking, the darker the woman is, the more easily she falls into one of the predominant derogatory categories that emphasize her as “Other.” The “Mammy,” for example, has always been publicly personified by dark-skinned women. Actress Hattie McDaniel and her representation of this stock character in *Gone with the Wind* (1939) is a case in point. Donald Bogle asserts that “[a] dark black actress was considered for no role but that of a mammy or an aunt jemima.”³² Even Aibileen Clark, the twenty-first century version of a “Mammy” from *The Help* (2011), is portrayed by Viola Davis, a rather dark-skinned actress. The “Matriarch” is generally supposed to be of darker complexion too,³³ as are

27. See, for example, John Blake, “Return of the ‘Welfare Queen,’” *CNN International Edition*, January 23, 2013.

28. See Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 81–84.

29. *Ibid.*

30. hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman*, 52.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*, 4th ed. (New York: Continuum, 2001), 15.

33. See bell hooks, “Black Beauty and Black Power,” 127; Marita Golden, *Don’t Play in the Sun: One Woman’s Journey through the Color Complex* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 76–78.

the “Angry Black Woman” and the “Welfare Queen.” The only exceptions are the oversexualized “Jezebel” or the “Hip Hop Ho” in current music videos, who are more often light-skinned. This “Hip Hop Whore” is often objectified in a demeaning way. At the same time, however, she represents an eroticized symbol of desirability and exoticism, which all the other stereotypes do not. Rappers such as Kanye West and Lil Wayne have praised light skin and straight hair as the gold standard in their lyrics, which ultimately shows that light skin is still “the right skin.”³⁴

As bell hooks states, “[d]ark skin is stereotypically coded in the racist, sexist, and/or colonized imagination as masculine.”³⁵ This is why Black men might benefit from their darker skin color, while dark-skinned Black women lose feminine – and thus womanly – qualities. The flipside, however, can also bear negative consequences for Black men. When they are light-skinned, Black men are likely to suffer from charges of not being “manly enough” because they are not “Black enough.” This again exemplifies that colorism cuts both ways, and – although mostly treated as an issue for women – has effects on African Americans regardless of gender. Taking this analysis one step further asserts that light-skinned Black men are required to wage yet another battle over their masculinity in a society that has, historically speaking, both metaphorically and literally emasculated the Black male body.

As for the Black female body, Black women disproportionately suffer from colorism – a form of intra-racial prejudice based on shades of skin color – because the United States is a sexist society that puts a higher value on women’s bodies than on their minds and actions.³⁶ This, claims psychologist Rita Freedman, is because “beauty is asymmetrically assigned to the feminine role, [and] women are defined as much by their looks as by their deeds.”³⁷ Light skin privilege often goes beyond being considered beautiful; it may also exert influence on career paths and the ability to choose a (marriage) partner. Therefore, skin color has been alternately labeled as “social capital”³⁸ or “symbolic capital.”³⁹ A few prominent examples, Beyoncé, Rihanna, Mariah Carey, and Alicia Keys, suggest that lighter shades of skin lead directly to greater success in the music industry and music video business. In addition, light skin favoritism continues to be apparent in Hollywood. Many successful Black female actresses in “Tinseltown” are light-skinned, with Halle Berry, Vanessa Williams, and Zoe Saldana being just three names on a long list. That so few positive images of really dark skinned Black women are seen in the movies, on television, and on magazine covers also contributes

34. See, for example, VaNatta S. Ford, “Color Blocked: A Rhetorical Analysis of Colorism and Its Impact on Rap Lyrics in Hip Hop Music from 2005 to 2010,” PhD diss., Howard University, Washington, DC, 2011.

35. hooks, “Black Beauty,” 129.

36. See Hunter, *Race, Gender, and the Politics of Skin Tone*, 69.

37. *Ibid.*, 23.

38. Margaret L. Hunter, “‘If You’re Light You’re Alright’: Light Skin Color as Social Capital for Women of Color,” *Gender and Society* 16, no. 2 (2002): 175–93.

39. Glenn, “Yearning for Lightness,” 282.

to dark-skinned women's marginalized status. At the same time, it reveals the media's enormous influence in determining a female beauty aesthetic.

What follows is that the pressure to chase after the beauty myth is more intense for Black women. A limited set of physical variations of what is considered beautiful and desirable leads to ever-increasing pressure to meet conventional beauty standards.⁴⁰ Cornel West blames the "ever-expanding market culture that puts everything and everyone up for sale."⁴¹ Along similar lines, Evelyn Nakano Glenn maintains that the increased use of skin lightening products to chemically reduce the amount of melanin in one's skin "cannot be seen as simply a legacy of colonialism but rather [as] a consequence of the penetration of multinational capital and Western consumer culture."⁴² Instead of a decline, Glenn predicts an increase in skin bleaching on a global scale as long as these forces of capitalism continue to grow.⁴³

YEARNING TO "PASS"

Glenn calls this rejection of Black women's visibly *Black* appearance by attempting to lighten their skin a "yearning for lightness."⁴⁴ This can be viewed as a modern act of racial passing. Black women try to pass for white by wanting to change their physical appearance. Intrinsically, racial passing in Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929), a prototypical novel on that issue, is not very different from what is happening today. What Clare Kendry, the protagonist of Larsen's novel, did on an everyday basis and Irene Redfield, her childhood friend and antagonist, engaged in from time to time were acts of identity denial.⁴⁵ In a related sense, applying skin bleach, wearing blue or green contact lenses, and excessive use of hair straightening products, are similar acts of such denial in a modern context. Of course, the reasons for "passing" today may be different than in the past. For Larsen's biracial women protagonists, racial passing in the 1920s was mainly an act to acquire certain social benefits, first and foremost a secure social status. For today's Black woman, who would like to approximate herself to the dominant beauty ideal and thus be able to pass for white or at least a lighter version of herself, this can be seen as an act of self-protection against the aforementioned derogatory (gendered) stereotypes. Additionally, it may be an attempt to reap the benefits that white society still grants those it considers its own. Obviously, one needs to be careful with generalizations, and many Black women today see the use of the afore-mentioned cosmetics simply as a fashion statement. At the same time, there is no denying the fact that the white mainstream American society is still biased towards lighter shades of skin color, a notion that inevitably also manifests itself among people of color.

40. See Jones and Shorter-Gooden, *Shifting: The Double Lives of Black Women in America*, 177.

41. Cornel West, *Race Matters*, 2nd Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), xvi.

42. Glenn, "Yearning for Lightness," 286.

43. Drawing on studies from such diverse regions as the Philippines, India, East Asia, Latin America, African America, and even Europe, Glenn speaks of a "global skin-lightening trade" (283).

44. Glenn, "Yearning for Lightness," 298.

45. See Nella Larsen, *Passing* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1929).

Upon taking into consideration Valerie Smith's model of locating passing "within the discourse of intersectionality,"⁴⁶ it becomes clear that passing may be equally motivated by class, race, and gender considerations, both then and now. Passing in the so-called "post-racial" twenty-first century, therefore, seems to be a strategy to avoid being viewed as merely the "Other" and to take advantage of white privilege – or in this case – privilege based on light(er) skin. Black women try to pass for O'Grady's obverse of the coin, that is, for the white side of the female body in Western society, and the cosmetics and hair care industry is more than willing to offer its "cures."

Whether directly, by featuring only light-skinned Black women and digitally altering the physical appearance of those who do not quite fit the "norm," or indirectly, by printing advertisements for bleaching creams and hair straightening products, the media plays a vital role in feeding into the idea that beauty can be commodified. One example of how those two intersect is the 2008 controversy over the L'Oreal ad for Féria hair color. This advertisement featured the singer Beyoncé with reddish-blond hair, and, as many critics later claimed, digitally lightened skin. If the ad that was published in *Essence*, *Elle*, and *Allure* magazines is compared to other pictures of Beyoncé, her skin color appears much lighter and almost matches her colored hair. In a statement subsequently issued by L'Oreal Paris, the cosmetics giant obviously denied all accusations of digital bleaching.⁴⁷ Yet, it seems difficult to buy their official response that this photograph was merely the result of extreme lighting and what in advertising is known as "creative touch-ups," rather than an intentional move to lighten her skin. But even if one accepts this version of reality, the picture nonetheless sends a specific message to which L'Oreal could hardly have been oblivious. The point is that apparently there is something about lighter skin that makes women more attractive and beautiful in advertisements, just as they are considered more attractive when wrinkles or excess body fat are digitally removed from their bodies. This message seems even more pronounced in *Essence* magazine, which exclusively targets African American women. *Essence*, until this day, features cosmetic products for "dark spot removers" or "skin tone correctors" – two twenty-first century euphemisms for skin bleaching and skin lightening products. Beyoncé is certainly considered an icon of beauty, perhaps even a role model for the Black women reading this magazine. If the image of an African American female celebrity like her is digitally altered in a way so that her skin is made

46. Valerie Smith, *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 37.

47. More recent examples that show the global dimensions of digital skin bleaching in magazines involve two Indian actresses. Bollywood star and former Miss World Aishwarya Rai Bachchan even considered legal action against *ELLE* India, following disputes over a 2010 cover on which she was featured several shades lighter than her natural self (Simon Cable, "Race Row over Fashion Bible Elle's Cover Shoot after Bollywood Actress' Skin Is 'Whitened,'" *Mail Online*, December 24, 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1341257/Race-row-fashion-bible-Elles-cover-shoot-Bollywood-actress-skin-whitened.html#ixzz1kMpYbo7L>). Similar accusations surfaced against L'Oreal in 2011 for allegedly airbrushing pictures of Indian actress and *Slumdog Millionaire* star Freida Pinto to make her skin look lighter (Maysa Rawi, "Is It Worth It? Freida Pinto's Skin Looks Lighter in New L'Oreal Campaign," *Mail Online*, September 27, 2011, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2041982/Freida-Pintos-skin-looks-lighter-new-L'Oreal-campaign.html#ixzz1kMm9XqP7>).

lighter, this once again speaks to what is acceptable in a society and what is attributed as having more value.

CONCLUSION

Black women who are “yearning for lightness” in the twenty-first century by trying to approximate their skin color to that of white or other light-skinned women may be considered to be performing modern acts of racial passing. Reasons to do so are the awareness that light(er) skin continues to grant them more success in the United States, and the fact that they will not be perceived as an “Other” based on derogatory Black female stereotypes often connected to dark skin. Light(er) skin will likely “save” them from being perceived as “Mammies,” “Matriarchs,” and other derogatory stereotypes and instead earn them labels such as *beautiful* and *feminine*. America’s continued obsession with white and light-skinned female beauty may thus serve as one explanation why some Black women still try to pass for white by changing their physical appearance. By doing so, they may be trying – to expand O’Grady’s metaphor of female beauty as two sides of a coin – to turn the coin, hoping to be perceived on the side that society considers beautiful. Ultimately, while the cultural and historical context is different, racial passing as seen in Nella Larsen’s novel *Passing* (1929) is still practiced today. Until the United States becomes more accepting of non-white beauty ideals, and does not just extend existing privileges to the group closest to those who are white, “yearning for lightness” will continue to be an issue for Black women and other women of color in the twenty-first century.

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SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TAMPA BAY AREA DURING RECONSTRUCTION

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ABSTRACT: After the U.S. Civil War, plentiful and varied natural resources, combined with a sizeable, multicultural population influx, led to the increased development of the lumber, fishing, citrus and cattle industries in the Tampa Bay area, on the Gulf coast of Florida. These industries all had the Cuban market in common, but different segments of society concentrated on different industries, with varying outcomes. White native Tampans, with a few notable exceptions, made the fewest economic gains during the era, which to some degree leveled the playing field going into the Gilded Age, thereby making the Tampa Bay area relatively unique within the former Confederacy.

KEYWORDS: Tampa; Florida; Havana; Cuba; Reconstruction; Hispanics; Crackers; blacks; freedpeople; homesteaders; lumber; fishing; citrus; cattle; James McKay, Sr.; Jacob Summerlin; Panic of 1873

Although not greatly battle scarred, the U.S. Civil War (1861–1865) left Tampa a shadow of what it was in the 1850s. As with other Confederate port towns, Gen. Winfield Scott’s “Anaconda Plan” had successfully strangled much of the life out of Tampa. Blockade runners had lessened but could not eliminate the want and suffering of locals. Furthermore, the Confederate defeat had left Florida with “worthless” script, sizeable debt, a broke citizenry, and an abysmal credit rating that made loans almost impossible to secure.¹ A scarcity of goods and a transportation system in disarray worsened matters.² These factors, combined with the fact that many residents had sought safety in the hinterland during the war, abandoning Tampa to its fate,³ left the town in a “dilapidated condition” at war’s end. The courthouse, noted one resident, was once the pride of many Tampans but was in 1865 “unkept and sagging.”⁴ Another resident recalled that “Tampa was a hard-looking place. . . . Houses were in bad order. . . . Streets and lots were grown up mostly with weeds. . . . The outlook certainly was not very encouraging.”⁵ Even so, residents of the Tampa Bay area, generally hardscrabble, frontier-tempered and accustomed to challenges, persevered, aided in doing so by

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1. Joe Knetsch and Nick Wynne, *Florida in the Spanish American War* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011), 15; “Confederacy,” 1–2, Lesley Collection, Box 2, University of South Florida Special Collections.
 2. Canter Brown, Jr., “The International Ocean Telegraph,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (1989): 140.
 3. Tampa Pix, “The Final Battle for Fort Brooke, Tampa,” 2013, <http://www.tampapix.com/fortbrooke.htm>.
 4. “Confederacy,” 1–2.
 5. Canter Brown, Jr., and Barbara Gray Brown, *God Was With Us: An Early History of St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church in Tampa, Florida* (Tampa: St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church, 2004), 18–19. See also Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., “Rejoicing in Their Freedom’: The Development of Tampa’s African-American Community in the Post-Civil War Generation,” *Sunland Tribune* 27 (2001): 5.

a post-war population influx of freedpeople, Hispanics, Northerners, Southerners, Midwesterners, Crackers and European immigrants. As a result of this influx, the area became home to a truly polyglot society, which took full advantage of the end of the Union blockade and grabbed an economic lifeline extended to it from the Caribbean. This lifeline, a Havana market clamoring for Tampa Bay area natural resources such as lumber, fish, citrus and cattle, ensured survival for most and prosperity for some. Atypical for the South, the various inhabitants of the Tampa Bay area coalesced into a society that set racial, ethnic, nationality and class differences aside in favor of economic revitalization.⁶ One federal official in December 1865 recognized as much, noting an “industriousness” altogether different from that in northern Florida and “more in keeping with . . . New England business sense.”⁷ Even so, an examination of the different industries that developed in the Tampa Bay area during the Reconstruction era (1865–1877) reveals that certain groups established niches in certain industries. As a result, some groups fared better economically than others. White native Tampons, perhaps too set in their ways, tended to make the least gains, allowing other groups to close the socioeconomic gap. For this reason, by the end of Reconstruction the Tampa Bay area was one of the most egalitarian and laissez faire locations in Florida, if not throughout the former Confederacy.

One of the most readily available and valuable natural resources, and likewise one of the first to be profited from, was the lumber that could be derived from the cedar stands, cypress groves, pine forests and live oaks throughout the Tampa Bay area. Tampa’s lumber industry required plenty of both skilled and unskilled labor. As a result, men of all races and backgrounds were able to find work, making \$20 to \$30 per month.⁸ An army officer in December 1865 found the situation for freedpeople better than expected, their economic survival guaranteed by the strong need for labor.⁹ Some were even able to land skilled jobs in the sawmills, and at equal pay. In 1865, Europe, Cuba and Brazil were paying top dollar for Florida lumber.¹⁰ Soon after the war, F. H. Ederington of Brooksville established a lumber yard and shipped cedar to New York, where German buyers paid in gold. In the last five months of 1865, Ederington’s revenues amounted to almost \$23,000 in gold coin, an incredible sum at that time.¹¹ Ederington may have been one of the first and most successful of Tampa’s lumbermen, but he was not alone. Tampa

6. Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women’s Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s–1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 27.

7. P. K. Yonge Library, “George F. Thompson: A Tour of Central Florida and the Lower West Coast, Dec. 1865 through Jan. 1866,” transcribed by James Cusick, 2000, <http://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/pkyonge/thompson/gftdiary.html>.

8. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974), 137; Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida: Land of Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 299.

9. Rivers and Brown, Jr., “Rejoicing in Their Freedom,” 6.

10. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 137.

11. S. H. Blackman to F. H. Ederington, 17 November 1865, University of South Florida Library, Florida Studies Center, Special Collections; “Memorandum Remittances & Invoices of Goods Sent to F. H. Ederington Esqr. Brooksville, Fla,” University of South Florida Library, Florida Studies Center, Special Collections.

merchant Samuel Swann informed a business acquaintance in 1865 that as soon as the war was over, lumbermen were searching out ships to carry cargoes to both New York and Havana.¹² In 1866, a customs agent noted the presence of thirty-three saw mills in the Tampa Bay area, producing an estimated half a million feet per week, almost all of which, he reported, was going to the Caribbean or to Mexico, with at least fifty vessels servicing the operation.¹³ Among Tampa's lumbermen were two Jewish carpetbaggers, Isidore Blumenthal and Gustave Lewinson, who opened a cedar mill catering to the German market.¹⁴ Tampa sheriff John T. Lesley also got in on the game early. He built a sawmill, but instead of exporting his product, he parlayed his connections into a position as Tampa's main lumber retailer.¹⁵ Most of the Tampa sawmills lined the banks of the Hillsborough River,¹⁶ and as one visitor to Tampa noted, "morning, noon and night the ear is saluted by the merry whistle of the engines not of the Rail Road trains, for the cars have not yet arrived, but of the Tampa Saw Mills."¹⁷

Unfortunately for Tampa's prospects, and at no fault of the area or its residents, the early promise of the Tampa sawmills went unfulfilled. The majority of Tampa lumber was being sold to Cuba, but an insurrection in Cuba in 1868 led to a crash in the Cuban construction industry, greatly reducing that island's demand for lumber.¹⁸ Then, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and the subsequent naval blockade closed the door on the German cedar market.¹⁹ Lewinson and Blumenthal quickly switched operations to cotton-ginning, pine lumber, and sugar cane processing, but were not as successful in these pursuits. The explosion of their sawmill boiler in May 1871 only worsened their prospects.²⁰ In 1872, Lesley, seeing the handwriting on the wall, sold his lumber mill and entered the cattle business.²¹ He did so just in time, for the nationwide economic Panic of 1873 served as another nail in the local lumber industry's coffin.²² The Lewinson and Blumenthal lumber mill did not survive the summer. Instead, they opened general stores in the area's interior, catering to cattlemen. The lumber industry rebounded slightly in 1874, thanks to the Lovering brothers of New Jersey, who started a mill that cut cedar strips that were then shipped to New York for the production of pencils.²³ Yet

12. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 118–19.

13. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Smuggling along the Gulf Coast of Florida During Reconstruction," *Sunland Tribune* 5, no. 1 (1979): 14–18.

14. Canter Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction* (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2000), 144–45; Canter Brown, Jr., ed., *Reminiscences of Judge Charles E. Harrison* (Tampa: Tampa Bay History Center, 1997), 24.

15. Tampa Pix, "The Final Battle for Fort Brooke, Tampa."

16. Lucy D. Jones, "Tampa's Lafayette Street Bridge: Building a New South City" (master's thesis, University of South Florida, 2006), 10–13.

17. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 117–18.

18. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 122–24.

19. Jones, "Tampa's Lafayette Street Bridge," 10–13; Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 144–45; Brown, Jr., and Brown, *God Was With Us*, 24.

20. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 146–47.

21. Tampa Pix, "The Final Battle for Fort Brooke, Tampa."

22. Shofner offers a dissenting opinion that the Tampa lumber industry did not suffer during the Panic of 1873. See *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 137.

23. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 144–45, 170, 174–77.

overall, despite promising beginnings, the Tampa Bay area lumber business proved a disappointment during the Reconstruction era, and with its near demise, a promising mercantile connection with New York was largely lost.

The Tampa Bay area had hosted a fishing industry for centuries, and after the war, the fishermen, mostly Hispanic, picked up right where they left off, regularly traversing back and forth between Tampa and Havana.²⁴ In the early years of Reconstruction, Tampa was, on one account, a “little fishing village,” with “Spaniards” peddling strings of fish on sandy street corners.²⁵ Another source documents the Spanish and Cuban fishermen who lived along the banks of Spanishtown Creek, west of the business center, fishing in the mornings and caring for their nets in the afternoons.²⁶ But these locals were ‘small fish’ compared to the major seafood operations running south of Tampa. In fall 1865, Freedmen’s Bureau inspector George F. Thompson explored the southern reaches of the Bay area and documented a lively and profitable Cuban fishing industry. For instance, on the keys in Charlotte Harbor, he found “congregated several parties engaged in taking fish,”²⁷ one of them being a “fishing enterprise under Manuel Gonzales a Spaniard from Key West. In two months time he with 11 men had taken and cured 800 Quintales of fish. (Mullet). He leaves tomorrow for Havana with his cargo.”²⁸ Likewise, a Connecticut fishing company had set up camp south of Tampa at “Punta Rosa, and employed eighteen men, and although they had been there but five or six weeks, had succeeded in taking and curing upwards of 1,800 quintals of fish, which in the Havana market brought between six and seven dollars per quintal in gold.” Thompson reported that all of the Charlotte Harbor fishing *ranchos* he visited “confin[ed] themselves almost exclusively, to taking such fish as they would find sale for in Havana.”²⁹

In contrast with the Hispanic settlers of the Tampa Bay area, most of whom made their living on or by the sea, the black residents seem to have confined themselves largely to farming the land, and with good reason: the federal government gave them ample opportunity to do so. Historian Eric Foner argues that former slaves were given “nothing but freedom,”³⁰ but a few areas of the former Confederacy proved exceptional, central and southwestern Florida among them. In June 1866, the U.S. Congress passed the Southern Homestead Act, which made public lands in five former Confederate states available for homesteading on the conditions that the homesteader live on the land for five years and farm a portion of the land. The Freedmen’s Bureau assisted illiterate

24. Shofner, “Smuggling along the Gulf Coast of Florida During Reconstruction,” 14–18.

25. Brown, Jr., ed., *Reminiscences of Judge Charles E. Harrison*, 12.

26. Jones, “Tampa’s Lafayette Street Bridge,” 10–13.

27. George F. Thompson, “Observations in Tropical Florida,” *The Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 19, 1867, <http://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/pkyonge/thompson/tts1.html>.

28. P. K. Yonge Library, “George F. Thompson”; a quintal is a historic unit of measurement that equals 100 *libras* or about 46 kgs.

29. Thompson, “Observations in Tropical Florida.”

30. See Eric Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

freedpeople in completing the applications. Of the five states, Florida had the most land to offer. For a nominal fee (less than ten cents an acre), blacks and Union veterans were immediately eligible to claim up to one hundred and sixty acres of land, while former Confederates had to wait a year to apply.³¹ For this reason, the choicest lands often went to blacks and Unionists.³² The editor of Tampa's *Florida Peninsular* lamented what he called the "Negroe Homestead Bill," and for good reason: Florida blacks now had the opportunity to own valuable land and work for themselves.³³ They proved enthusiastic to do so. Florida blacks homesteaded over twenty-two thousand acres in October 1866 alone,³⁴ and the black population of Florida quickly and dramatically increased, spurred by the possibility of land ownership.³⁵

Freedman Andy Moore's experience was not atypical. In 1862, his owner relocated him, his wife and daughter, and twenty-two other slaves from Virginia to the Tampa Bay area. There, the slaves were dispersed to assist families whose men were off fighting for the Confederacy.³⁶ When emancipation came, Moore's owner "refused to contribute" to the "future welfare" of Moore and his family, so Moore squatted on public land and began farming. In 1869, he filed a formal homestead claim, and seven years later he received legal title to eighty acres. By 1882, he had "some 30 bearing [citrus] trees, makes some 400 to 500 bushels of corn, raises his own meat, and is independent generally."³⁷ Like Moore, blacks throughout the Tampa Bay area began farming to support themselves, growing "right smart" crops like cotton, sugarcane, potatoes, sweet potatoes, corn and other vegetables and then transporting them to urban centers where they sold or bartered them.³⁸

Those homesteaders who had the foresight to grow citrus fared better than others. Prior to the Civil War, there were only a few sizeable citrus groves in the Tampa Bay area,³⁹ yet postbellum newcomers to Tampa, likely seeing the mature and prolific orange trees surrounding William Hooker's downtown Orange Grove Hotel, were quick to recognize the economic potential of owning their own trees. Tampa Bay area homesteaders, mostly blacks and Northerners, were among the first to embrace

31. Ralph Leon Peek, "Lawlessness and the Restoration of Order in Florida, 1868-1871" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1964), 35-36; Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 119; Wallace Martin Nelson, "The Economic Development of Florida, 1870-1930" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1962), 115.

32. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 119.

33. Jeff Cannon, "Early Hernando County History: The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands - 'The Freedmen's Bureau,'" 2006, <http://fivay.org/freedmen.html>.

34. Peek, "Lawlessness and the Restoration of Order in Florida," 35-36.

35. F. Bruce Rosen, ed., "A Plan to Homestead Freedmen in Florida in 1866," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (April 1965): 381, n7, n9.

36. Canter Brown, Jr., "'Bartow is the Place for Our People to Go': Race and the Course of Life in Southern Polk County, 1865-1905," booklet, University of South Florida Library Special Collections, Tampa Floridiana Collection, 2000, 1-3.

37. Brown, Jr., "'Bartow is the Place for Our People to Go,'" 3-4.

38. P. K. Yonge Library, "George F. Thompson"; Brown, Jr., "'Bartow is the Place for Our People to Go,'" 4.

39. Thompson, "Observations in Tropical Florida."

the “citrus culture.”⁴⁰ Examples abound. By 1867, freedman John Mathews, who had homesteaded on the east bank of the Hillsborough River, had eighty orange trees under cultivation. His neighbors, Benjamin and Fortune Taylor had planted seventy orange trees.⁴¹ The Donaldsons, freedpeople from Alabama, followed a white family to the Bay area in 1868 to work as their domestics. They saved some money, homesteaded a piece of land and established a forty-acre citrus grove that ultimately gave them financial security.⁴² In February 1869, Michigander Chauncey Wesley Wells arrived in Tampa with just twenty dollars to his name. In March, he filed a homestead claim in Tampa. He then painted houses and earned enough money to establish a six-acre orange grove on his property. A decade later, largely due to his investment in citrus, his estate was valued at \$8,000.⁴³ In 1873, Northerner David Nix settled near Tampa. Later that year, his estate was valued at \$50. The next year, he invested in his own grove, and by 1879 his estate was valued at \$10,000.⁴⁴ Such examples highlight the money making potential of the citrus industry.

In an 1874 letter, a Swedish immigrant to central Florida documented exactly how this potential became reality: “You can put 60–75 trees on an acre. A wild, grafted tree bears fruit in four or five years, and when fully grown it yields 1000–2000 oranges per year. Old, large trees can give up to 10,000. You can understand how lucrative this is, since oranges are paid 2 cents each, and shipped to New York 5 cents. After deduction of costs (ploughing, fertilizing and packaging of the fruit) your profit from 100 trees is \$1000–2000, and that is quite a bit of wealth.” The Swede put his theory into practice and made thousands of dollars, which he then speculated with and lost.⁴⁵

The immense wealth, however, was not being shared by all segments of society. Whereas freedpeople, Northerners, European immigrants and later Midwesterners were quick to profit off of the citrus industry, white native Tampans mostly missed out. By 1873, many northern and midwestern newspapers were noting “Tampa Bay’s citrus successes.” These reports led to an orange gold rush in the mid-1870s, mainly from Nebraska, Michigan and Indiana.⁴⁶ Wealthy Alabamians also took part, establishing a

40. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69; Brown, Jr., “Bartow is the Place for Our People to Go,” 4. In December 1876, famed American poet Sidney Lanier visited the Orange Grove Hotel and described it in detail: “Presently we turned a corner and were agreeably surprised to find ourselves in front of a large three-story house with old nooks and corners, clean and comfortable in appearance and surrounded by orange trees in full fruit. We have a large room in the second story, opening upon a generous balcony fifty feet long, into which stretch the liberal arms of a fine orange tree holding out their fruitage to our very lips.” See La Salle Corbell Pickett, *Literary Hearthstones of Dixie* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1912), 58.

41. Rivers and Brown, Jr., “Rejoicing in Their Freedom,” 11.

42. Douglas L. Fleming, “Toward Integration: The Course of Race Relations in St. Petersburg, 1868 to 1963” (master’s thesis, University of South Florida, 1973), 4.

43. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69; Chauncey Wesley Wells, *Day Book: A Daily Journal*, ed. Julius J. Gordon and Myra Caroline Sims (Tampa: privately printed, 2002), 4–10, 179.

44. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69.

45. Rebecca Weiss, *A Florida Pioneer: The Adventurous Life of Josef Henschen, Swedish Immigrant in the 1870s* (Raleigh: Lulu Press, 2006), 93.

46. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69, 182–88.

citrus enclave in what is now Clearwater. As a result, in a five-week period in late 1875, 657,000 oranges left Tampa's wharf, bound for New York, Savannah, and Havana.⁴⁷ White native Tampans watched all of this. They also had citrus trees of all types on their properties,⁴⁸ for subsistence and pleasure, but most never got into the business. Instead they grew increasingly worried, frustrated and even jealous as their new neighbors gained wealth and then left town, mostly for the interior portions of the state where good, cheap land was readily available.⁴⁹ Furthermore, places like Clearwater and Manatee became competing mercantile centers, catering successfully to wealthy rural citrus growers.⁵⁰ By 1874, the freedpeople who had homesteaded and planted citrus on their property were beginning, under the conditions of the homesteading act, to claim clear title to their land, which by then contained mature citrus trees. Content with what they had achieved, they tended to stay put. As the northern, midwestern and foreign-born whites moved to the interior in search of greater opportunities, the percentage of Tampa's black population rose, and blacks increased in influence.⁵¹

Nor did the cattle industry, by far the Tampa Bay area's most successful and profitable industry during the Reconstruction era, distribute wealth equitably. After the Civil War, the Tampa Bay area cattle barons, James McKay, Sr. and Jacob Summerlin, picked up right where they left off, reestablishing the Cuban cattle trade. McKay went first to Havana and then to New York, where he met with merchants willing to partner with him in a Tampa to Havana cattle enterprise. With their backing, McKay purchased and refitted a steamer and sailed it to Punta Gorda, south of Tampa, from where, in late 1865, he and Summerlin were able to transport 722 head of cattle ("beeves") to the Havana market.⁵² Through January 1866, he used the steamer to transport passengers and cattle between Tampa, Key West and Havana.⁵³ Then McKay leased the steamer to the government for the rest of the year,⁵⁴ an apparent strategic move on the parts of McKay and Summerlin to fatten and herd cattle and get the infrastructure and manpower in place for future large-scale deliveries.

As businessmen, McKay and Summerlin complimented each other nicely. By 1867, McKay owned a cattle wharf in Manatee (modern-day Bradenton, south of Tampa) and a second steamship on which he also transported beeves to Havana.⁵⁵ He also had

47. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 182–88. See Historic Tampa-Hillsborough County Preservation Board, "The Cultural Resources of the Unincorporated Portions of Hillsborough County: An Inventory of the Built Environment" (Tampa: Historic Tampa-Hillsborough County Preservation Board, 1980), 10–11. Thanks to Robert Hutchings, Gary Mormino, and Nick Linville for sharing some of their knowledge of the Florida citrus industry with me.

48. R. E. C. Stearns, "Rambles in Florida," *American Naturalist* 3, no. 8 (October 1869): 399–405; F. Trench Townshend, *Wild Life in Florida, with a Visit to Cuba* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1875), 47.

49. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 190–95.

50. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69.

51. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 166–69, 174–77, 180–81.

52. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 98–100; "Confederacy," 6.

53. P. K. Yonge Library, "George F. Thompson."

54. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 118–19.

55. Brown, Jr., ed., *Reminiscences of Judge Charles E. Harrison*, 8.

the Havana business connections. While McKay was in charge of loading, transport, delivery and sale, Summerlin was in charge of raising, herding and driving beeves to the McKay wharves. Summerlin was sometimes referred to as the “King of Crackers,” and in his business, he preferred to deal mostly with his own kind, which was, what one newspaper correspondent called, “a *sui generis* class” of cowboy, riding “nimble ponies” and carrying “repeating rifles,” with “ammunition strapped across their shoulders.” Florida Crackers, many of whom inhabited the rural peninsula both before and during the war, migrated to southwestern Florida in large numbers soon after the war.⁵⁶ One customs agent estimated that eight hundred families had moved to the Manatee area in 1867 alone.⁵⁷ That same year, Summerlin reportedly hired “the major part of the men living within a radius of fifty miles” to herd, drive and load.⁵⁸ Little wonder, for Summerlin owned a conservatively estimated 15,000 head of cattle in December 1865, valued at \$75,000. The Crackers were more than willing to work for Summerlin, because he treated them fairly and paid them in Spanish gold.⁵⁹ Thus, by 1867, McKay and Summerlin seemingly had every aspect of the enterprise well in hand, and their future prospects looked bright.

As with the promising Tampa lumber industry, international events soon negatively intervened. A highly profitable 1867, during which McKay and Summerlin shipped 7,089 cattle to Havana, was followed by a disappointing 1868, during which cattle exports dropped to 3,000,⁶⁰ the result of the start of a failed revolution in Cuba, now referred to as the Ten Years’ War. That summer, Cuban officials, hoping to raise revenues for the war, imposed a \$7 import fee on each head of cattle, which made Florida beef cost prohibitive for most Cubans. Sales dropped accordingly. McKay and Summerlin sought out other markets, such as Charleston and Savannah, but to little avail. They still managed to ship about 3,000 beeves to Havana again in 1869, but supply was far outdistancing demand.⁶¹ Then in late 1869, the Cuban insurrection spread to the cattle producing regions of the island, hampering production. Facing a military meat shortage, Cuban officials quickly dropped the import fee, setting the stage for an invasion of Florida beeves on the island.⁶²

For the remainder of the Reconstruction era in central and southwestern Florida, cattle was king. In 1870, Cuban buyers were paying \$10 to \$14 per head for Florida

56. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., and J. Mark Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin: King of the Crackers* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2004), 66; Julius J. Gordon, “The Missions of Tampa: Excerpts from the Diary of Father Clavreul, 1866–1873,” *Tampa Bay History* 13, no. 2 (1991): 64; Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 119.

57. Shofner, “Smuggling along the Gulf Coast of Florida During Reconstruction,” 14–18.

58. Thompson, “Observations in Tropical Florida.”

59. Akerman, Jr., and Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin*, 66–67.

60. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 117–18; Akerman, Jr., and Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin*, 69. For a record of McKay’s cattle transactions between May 1867 and February 1868, see James McKay, “Receipt Book, 1850–1868,” University of South Florida, Florida Studies Center, Special Collections.

61. Akerman, Jr., and Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin*, 69; Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 123, 152.

62. Akerman, Jr., and Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin*, 69; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 136.

cattle, and McKay and Summerlin, among others, were ready and very able to supply them.⁶³ Over 7,000 beeves went to Cuba that year.⁶⁴ “Raising stock” soon became the principle activity in the interior portions of the peninsula,⁶⁵ and Punta Rassa and Tampa became principle loading points. In 1871, Francis A. Hendry reportedly owned 25,000 head, while Summerlin owned 20,000 and Tampan John A. Henderson led a consortium, including McKay, that owned 10,000 head.⁶⁶ Tampans John T. Lesley, who had recently escaped the failing lumber industry, and William B. Henderson also partnered to make large cattle shipments to Havana.⁶⁷ In 1871, the number of beeves sent to Cuba doubled to 14,000.⁶⁸ Existing records from Punta Rassa alone between August 1871 and July 1872 document eighteen ships making a combined 142 trips to Cuba, carrying in all 18,349 cattle valued at \$302,000, for an average price of \$16.45 a head.⁶⁹ With that much at stake (in steak), there may be some truth to the report that Lesley kept a washtub full of gold doubloons in his bedroom.⁷⁰ In 1872, over 21,000 beeves were shipped, and in return, notes historian Canter Brown, Jr., “Spanish gold seemed to pour into southwest Florida.”⁷¹ And while other industries suffered from the financial Panic of 1873, the Havana cattle trade most certainly did not. Summerlin himself reportedly estimated in September 1873 that 5,500 head were being shipped monthly from Punta Rassa, Tampa and Manatee.⁷² According to the estimates of Hendry, Punta Rassa alone shipped 10,000 head of cattle per year to Havana between 1873 and 1878, receiving on average \$14 per head.⁷³ And, historian Stetson Kennedy estimates that during the 1870s, 165,000 beeves were shipped from the Tampa Bay area to Cuba, for an average price of about \$15/head in Spanish gold. In addition, he notes that wild Florida bulls were sold at premium rates to Spain and Latin America for bull-fighting.⁷⁴

Such great successes, coming at a time when other industries suffered through the Panic, created opportunities for the Cracker cowmen and those who serviced them. Many of Tampa’s white elite watched helplessly as downtown businesses closed up or relocated to nearby Cracker towns such as Bartow and Fort Meade, which in

63. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 136.

64. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152.

65. Brown, Jr., “Bartow is the Place for Our People to Go,” 4.

66. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 136; Shofner, “Smuggling along the Gulf Coast of Florida During Reconstruction,” 14–18.

67. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 153.

68. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152; see also Canter Brown, Jr., *Fort Meade, 1849–1900* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 56.

69. Shofner, “Smuggling along the Gulf Coast of Florida During Reconstruction,” 14–18; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 136.

70. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 153. A doubloon, or a Spanish \$20 gold piece, was worth about \$16 in American gold at the time. See Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152.

71. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152–54.

72. Akerman, Jr., and Akerman, *Jacob Summerlin*, 85.

73. Michael Reneer and James M. Denham, “Letter from Okeechobee: Editorial of Gabriel Cunning,” *Polk County Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2007): 1.

74. Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (Tallahassee: Florida A&M University Press, 1989), 215.

turn became thriving commercial and residential centers in their own rights.⁷⁵ One contemporary source described Fort Meade as a “typical frontier town” where men died “with their boots on.”⁷⁶ True, but many of them also died wealthy, in boots made locally, with local leather. Frederick Varn opened a tannery and shoe shop near Fort Meade in 1870. Soon his operation was “a great success,” making four hundred pairs of shoes and boots a week, as well as harnesses and saddlery. He also shipped “a large amount of leather.”⁷⁷ Lewinson and Blumenthal, who had ridden the Tampa lumber business up and then down, next opened general stores at Bartow and Fort Meade, giving cattlemen sufficient retail outlets to keep them from traveling to Tampa for shopping and trade. Their departure from Tampa, part of a steady “drain . . . into the interior,”⁷⁸ opened the door for cattlemen, rich in Spanish gold doubloons, to purchase Tampa property at discounted prices.⁷⁹ Another German Jewish merchant, Charles Slager, moved to Tampa around 1870 and found success by gearing his business “to servicing the stores of the cattle frontier.”⁸⁰

At the end of Reconstruction, Tampa, by one account “more than a village but less than a town,”⁸¹ had not grown in population,⁸² lending credence to a treasury agent’s dire 1875 prediction about the town’s future.⁸³ Yet, the overall population of the Bay area had dramatically increased, and this population was multicultural to the point that one 1878 visitor remembered the locals as mostly non-white.⁸⁴ This multicultural populace conquered (by historian Frederick Jackson Turner’s definition) the Tampa Bay area frontier,⁸⁵ in part because of the development of a frontier “local solidarity” that favored economic development over racial and ethnic differences,⁸⁶ and in part because they made use of Tampa’s abundant natural resources and close proximity to Cuba by developing lumber, fishing, citrus and cattle industries that provided a measure of hope during Reconstruction and would serve them well in the future. Even so, and possibly reflecting the limits of multiculturalism at that time, certain groups within the populace did develop niches in certain industries: Hispanics made their living on and by the sea; blacks generally farmed, grew citrus, and worked with lumber; Crackers found success in the cattle industry; Jews worked in lumber before turning to mercantilism;

75. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152–54, 174–77.

76. Brown, Jr., ed., *Reminiscences of Judge Charles E. Harrison*, 58, 60.

77. Brown, Jr., *Fort Meade, 1849–1900*, 57.

78. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 144–45.

79. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 174–77.

80. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 152–54.

81. Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 180–81.

82. Rivers and Brown, Jr., “Rejoicing in Their Freedom,” 11.

83. Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 45.

84. Rivers and Brown, Jr., “Rejoicing in Their Freedom,” 11.

85. See Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1921); Hanna, *Florida: Land of Change*, 309.

86. Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 104; see Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction*, 134–35.

Northerners dabbled in fishing but for the most part settled on citrus as their avenue to wealth, and they were joined in the citrus industry by Midwesterners and European immigrants; white native Tampans, with a few notable exceptions such as cattlemen McKay, Lesley and the Hendersons, confined themselves to the lumber industry and traditional businesses and, as a result, missed out on many of the opportunities the Tampa Bay area had to offer during Reconstruction. This failure to some degree leveled the playing field, leaving the area surprisingly egalitarian and laissez faire as it entered the Gilded Age.

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THE HOUSE OF THE HEAD VERSUS THE HOUSE OF THE HEART IN JAMES FENIMORE COOPER'S *THE PIONEERS*

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ABSTRACT: This paper argues that the house of Judge Temple in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* is turned into a testing ground of the popular sentimental notions of head and heart, standing for the dichotomy between reason and feeling. In the emerging middle-class culture these notions are given a more rigid meaning and designation that Cooper's novels contest and challenge and to which they refuse to assign a stable, fixed location in terms of gender, class or race, even though he cannot free them completely of their affinity with those categories.

KEYWORDS: James Fenimore Cooper; *The Pioneers*; Judge Temple; sentimentalism; picturesque; head; heart; location

In the eighteenth century, the head and heart were popular metaphors for reason (rationality) and feeling. Feeling is not a mere emotional reaction but a strategy of cognition. Even though every sane person must have both, the two agencies were most frequently encoded in gender terms – men were supposed to rely on reason, women on feelings. This popular division also found its way into James Fenimore Cooper's novels. In *The Pioneers* (1823),¹ Cooper's third novel, the clash between the head and the heart seems to take the form of a family quarrel between a father and his daughter. My study demonstrates that in Cooper's fiction such a neat division along gender lines does not exist and the relationship between the heart and the head needs a careful reexamination across the gender line and should involve categories of class and age.

In eighteenth-century literature, the medieval dispute between the soul and body was replaced by the dispute between reason and feeling, which took the metaphorical form of the head and the heart. One of the first writers to use this distinction was Lord Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics*.² In the Scottish philosophical school, the concept of "feeling" came to be understood as "feeling for others," as sympathy.³ As Gregg Crane points out, the Scottish philosophers Adam Smith and David Hume "extended the moral sense concept by characterizing sympathy as an activity of the imagination,

1. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers, or the Sources of the Susquehanna: A Descriptive Tale*, in *The Leatherstocking Tales I*, ed. Lance Schachterle and Kenneth M. Andersen (New York: Library of America, 1985), 13. Hereafter cited in the text.

2. "Our Poet therefore seems not so immoderate in his Censure; if we consider it is the Heart, rather than the Head, he takes to task." Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Douglas Den Uyl (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2001), 1:67.

3. See John Mullan, "Sensibility and Literary Criticism," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 4 *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 428.

which enables us to go beyond our person and understand another's suffering."⁴ In sentimentalism sympathy and empathy became the key markers of humanity.

In popular melodrama, the heart always stood above cold reason; "the heart chose more wisely than the head."⁵ But the popular belief that the heart, identified with the voice of nature, cannot be wrong, is of course a misinterpretation of Lord Shaftesbury's conception of the heart because Shaftesbury argues that the heart has a discerning ability to recognize right and wrong but this ability does not guarantee the right choice. Only in "disinterested Cases" can it make the right choice.⁶

In *The Pioneers*, the agencies of the head and the heart are found in one body, and this in itself is already a challenge to the conventional and widely distributed gender roles. At the same time, one of the two agencies may prevail in a character's conduct and it is possible to divide the characters into the party of the head and the party of the heart. Cooper's novel, however, does not form the two parties on the basis of gender. His dividing line cuts across gender as well as class. While Judge Temple, the "head" of the settlement, may appear as the voice of reason, there are many male characters in the village who rely on their heart rather than on their head, for good or for bad. The party of the heart tends to include the characters of the social margins, as well as of the gentlemanly class. For example, among the characters from the social margins who tend to use their heart rather than reason are Natty Bumppo, an old hunter, Chingachgook, an old Mohican and Delaware chief, and Benjamin Pump, a good-natured English sailor; the gentlemanly class in this party is represented by Oliver Edwards, an upper-class young gentleman, but most of the villagers who are depicted in the scenes of mass fishing or pigeon-shooting can also be included as being motivated by a rationale but getting carried away and participating in a mass slaughter of animals as if they were their personal enemies.

In Cooper's novels, the discursive stereotype of gender is never fully reproduced. There are several reasons for this. First, the tendency of Cooper's writing is to go beyond the cultural stereotype and create characters according to the contemporary theory of literary characters; second, he grew up in a republican culture shaped by the Enlightenment ethos, which assigned a much more active role to women than the middle-class culture of the following decades. As regards the first reason, a contemporary theory believed that characters in literature are of interest if their conception contains some interesting contradiction and variety:

Novels are pictures of life; and the characters presented in them must have that diversity and even contrariety of feeling, motive, and conduct, that inconsequence of thought and action, which we

4. Gregg Crane, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 105.

5. David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture 1800–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 212.

6. "However false or corrupt it be within itself, it finds the difference, as to Beauty and Comeliness, between one *Heart* and another, one *Turn of Affection*, one *Behaviour*, one *Sentiment* and another; and accordingly, in all disinterested Cases, must approve in some measure of what is natural and honest, and disapprove what is dishonest and corrupt." Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, "An Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit," in *Characteristics*, 2:17.

daily witness among our friends, or we do not acknowledge the fidelity of the imitation. If we may borrow a phrase from the painter's vocabulary, the picturesqueness of the effect depends wholly on the art, with which this compound of dissimilar ingredients is effected. It is only with such imperfect beings that we can sympathize, or take any interest in their concerns.⁷

Other interesting explanations for Cooper's challenges to the dominant cultural stereotypes are provided by McWilliams. He noticed that the older American sentimental novels written by women upheld strictly separated gender roles, while Cooper, as more recent criticism agrees, often challenges the stereotypes.⁸ McWilliams suggests that Cooper uses some of his active female characters to present some controversial ideas: "... the later male novelist expresses subversive political ideas more safely through the presumably less authoritative voices of women." The second reason given by McWilliams for why Cooper expands the range of the female gender is the existence of such women in Cooper's life: "... the more literate and better-educated women of Cooper's day had become more outspoken about political matters."⁹

Wegener thinks Cooper's conception of relatively active and independent women characters is influenced by the new, more democratic ideals of womanhood: [Cooper] "appears to focus on a new kind of woman, one better qualified to raise democratic daughters and sons than the stereotypical mother of the cult of domesticity."¹⁰ While this is very true, I should add that such an ideal of the new woman is of an older date – it appeared in the early Republic, when the ideal of a republican woman (and that means not just mothers but also daughters, as is evident from Cooper's early novels) had been shaped by the discourse of the Age of Enlightenment on equality and the importance of education.¹¹

In sum, there is a marked tendency in Cooper's novels to challenge or foreground cultural stereotypes; in Cooper's novels the clash between the head and the heart does not assume strictly defined gender lines; it cuts across gender, class, and race. The head and the heart are two cognitive agencies that may or may not be in disagreement and the dominance of a respective agency depends on the particular context and type of character. This becomes evident in the dispute between Judge Temple and his only daughter Elizabeth when they are returning from the trial of old Natty Bumppo. At first sight the conflict between Judge Temple and Elizabeth looks like a typical conflict between the man's head (reason) and the woman's heart (feeling). Their major dispute is over Judge Temple's court decision to arrest the old hunter Natty Bumppo and put him

7. Anonymous, "Cooper's Novels and Travels," *North American Review* 46, no. 98 (January 1838): 3.

8. See Signe O. Wegener, *James Fenimore Cooper versus the Cult of Domesticity: Progressive Themes of Femininity and Family in the Novels* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2005), 168–69.

9. John P. McWilliams, "'More Than a Woman's Enterprise': Cooper's Revolutionary Heroines and the Source of Liberty," in *A Historical Guide to James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. Leland S. Person (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63–64.

10. Wegener, *Cooper versus the Cult of Domesticity*, 40.

11. Dana D. Nelson speaks of "the shift from republican motherhood to true womanhood, whereby women's sphere was reduced from the national scene to the domestic sphere . . ." Dana D. Nelson, "Cooper's Leatherstocking Conversations: Identity, Friendship, and Democracy in the New Nation," in *A Historical Guide to James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. Leland S. Person (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 128.

in prison because he used physical violence against the representatives of law and order who wanted to search his log cabin in order to find some evidence for the suspicion that Natty is hiding silver that he secretly and illegally mines on Judge Temple's land.

Judge Temple departs from the court with his daughter (who did not stay at home but attended the court procedure) and commissions Elizabeth to employ the agency of her heart and comfort Natty's "wounded spirit," suffering in prison, but he warns her not to discuss "the nature of punishment" because "the sanctity of the laws must be respected" (388). Elizabeth responds in an emotive manner:

"Surely, sir," cried the impatient Elizabeth, "those laws, that condemn a man like the Leatherstocking to so severe a punishment, for an offence that even I must think very venial, cannot be perfect in themselves." (388)

Judge Temple reasons with her and points out that laws and restraints are necessary, and those who enforce the laws must also be protected. His final point is that the law must be impartial and even the fact that Natty saved her life cannot help him avoid punishment for his transgression of the law:

"Thou talkest of what thou dost not understand, Elizabeth," returned her father. "Society cannot exist without wholesome restraints. Those restraints cannot be inflicted, without security and respect to the persons of those who administer them; and would sound ill indeed, to report that a judge had extended favour to a convicted criminal, because he had saved the life of his child." (388)

But Elizabeth is not at all intimidated by this display of patriarchal authority underlined by his rhetorical use of archaic Biblical/legal English, knowledge and desire for impartial justice. She retorts that she sees the man behind the office and implies that the man is of low character, referring to the well-known fact that Natty was provoked to violence by Hiram, the sheriff's deputy.

"I see – I see the difficulty of your situation, dear sir," cried the daughter; "but in appreciating the offence of poor Natty, I cannot separate the minister of the law from the man." (388)

Judge Temple has no other choice but to take out the heavy weapons: gender lines and the authority of fatherhood. All that in a single short patronizing sentence, placing women next to children, and making Elizabeth small and ignorant: "There thou talkest as a woman, child;" but when he tries to repeat his argument about the need to protect the man in office, his daughter cuts him short, and creatively opens another perspective.

"It is immaterial whether it be one or the other," interrupted Miss Temple, with a logic that contained more feeling than reason; "I know Natty to be innocent, and thinking so, I must think all wrong who oppress him."

"His judge among the number! Thy father, Elizabeth?"

"Nay, nay – nay, do not put such questions to me; give me my commission, father, and let me proceed to execute it." (388–89)

Unfortunately for Elizabeth, the new perspective, the new argument, is less logical and more in the line imposed upon her by Judge Temple; it is as if his strategy had begun to work and managed to push Elizabeth into her proper gender role, which relies on intuition rather than on reason, as the authorial narrator does not neglect to point out. McWilliams argues that this scene demonstrates a more conservative shift to a new

conception of gender roles, to a stricter separation and division of the roles.¹² Elizabeth displays impatience and emotions such as anger, she shouts, and interrupts her father, signs usually attributed to women in social intercourse, while Judge Temple is calm and tries to reason. In some respect McWilliams is right because the reader can notice that when Elizabeth employs reason, she addresses her father as “sir.” When she is pushed into a corner and reduced to the role of a capricious child, she addresses him as “father.” But even Judge Temple does not deny his daughter the privilege of reason and does not reduce her to a pure heart. He only complains that she does not properly separate the two agencies: “Thou hast reason, Bess, and much of it too, but thy heart lies too near thy head” (*Pioneers*, 389).

The outcome of the scene need not be interpreted as a victory of male reason over the woman’s heart. In fact, Elizabeth proves to be very resourceful in her argument and uses her reason very effectively. She interrupts her father when he begins to patronize her and cannot come up with a new argument and only repeats what he had said before. And it is she who creatively opens a new perspective, a new start, even though a sort of sophistic assumption – Natty is innocent and therefore those people who put him in prison have done him wrong. How does Judge Temple respond to this change of strategy? Instead of employing reason, he brings the debate down to a personal matter of trust – whether she includes him among those who oppress Natty. At this point it is Elizabeth who again uses her reason and refuses to be drawn into further discussion because the debate has lost its meaning as it was reduced to the emotional level of the heart, her trust in her father. It is rather unfair of Judge Temple to deliver such a blow. What could she say? Yes, you do oppress Natty and I cannot trust you?

Both Elizabeth and Judge Temple use their heads and hearts. The conflict within Judge Temple’s mind is also conceived in terms of a struggle between public and private concerns, as is evident from the following example: “One of the chief concerns of Marmaduke was to reconcile the even conduct of a magistrate, with the course of his feelings dictated to the criminals” (454). Judge Temple reasons that laws must be observed and the servants of the law protected, but his heart makes him seek ways to alleviate Natty’s punishment: imprisonment and a fine. He gives Elizabeth money to pay the fine and, when Natty saves Elizabeth’s life for the second time, Judge Temple arranges the Governor’s pardon for Natty so quickly that during his second stay in prison Natty spends only a day there, well looked after.¹³

Contrary to the discursive assumptions, and contrary to the cultural stereotypes, the division between the head and the heart in Cooper’s writing does not take place along gender lines, nor even along class or racial lines, although a tendency to the prevalence of one or the other agency, an inclination to a stereotype, is discernible. But it is only a tendency; women, representatives of other races, young people, lower-class people, and people from the social margins tend to have their heart rather too close to their head,

12. McWilliams, “‘More Than a Woman’s Enterprise,’” 87.

13. See Cooper, *Pioneers*, 454.

for good or bad, in Cooper's novels, but they are seldom denied the ability to use their head, to reason or calculate, again for good or bad, because neither heart nor head can secure the right decision, because if the heart is to make the right decision, it must be, as Lord Shaftesbury put it, in that "disinterested" state. This does not mean to be free from emotion but free from self-centered concerns, and to be capable of a genuinely altruistic, caring attitude. This is possible through sentimental sympathy and empathy, the ability to change perspectives, and see the world, at least for a moment, from the position of the other. This is most evident in Natty Bumppo. His simple log cabin becomes a refuge for homeless people such as the old Delaware chief Chingachgook, the senile English army officer Major Effingham, and his impoverished grandson Oliver Edward. For a time the log cabin must have been a crowded place. But charity is not the main criterion of the agency of the heart. The heart, let us remember, is understood here as an affective gnoseological (cognitive) agency, a form of intuitive, instinctive cognition. In Cooper's fictional world the agency of the heart is most clearly expressed through the romantic chivalric value of loyalty. And as such, it can be right, as well as wrong. So Natty hides old Major Effingham, who is in fact a loyalist and an enemy of America, because he does not want to show the local inhabitants such a pitiable ruin of the man and warrior that Major Effingham used to be in the past. He wants to spare him ridicule and scorn. This considerate attitude proves misguided because instead of living in the primitive conditions of Natty's log cabin Major Effingham could have lived in the luxury of Judge Temple's house, had Natty revealed the identity of Major Effingham. In some other cases he uses his head better than all the inhabitants of the village of Templeton, when he criticizes the settlers for their wasteful manners.¹⁴

The evidence that the heart sits close to the head in young people, regardless of their class, is Oliver Edward Effingham, the mysterious young gentleman in disguise. Like Judge Temple, he can also be a man of feeling, a person moved by his heart, as is evident in the scene in which Elizabeth offers the three foresters, Natty, Chingachgook and Oliver, money to shoot for her during the turkey-shooting competition, because she overhears their conversation in which she learns about their lack of money. They are so poor that they can afford only two shots during the competition and have no money for their registration. Oliver responds to her offer in an impulsive, abrupt manner, asking a moralistic rhetorical question: "Is this a sport for a lady!" exclaimed the young hunter, with an emphasis that could not well be mistaken, and with a rapidity that showed he spoke without consulting any thing but feeling" (187). Once again the reader should not miss the consistency of Cooper's conceptual framework – feeling is a synonym for the heart. Oliver's sententious exclamation spontaneously expresses a discursive assumption, a stereotype of the female gender, which has its source in "feeling" rather than in reason and which Elizabeth, using her head (reason) undermines with a quick retort: "Why not, sir? If it be inhuman, the sin is not confined to one sex only. But I have my humour as well as others" (187). Her argument is a great example of Cooper's

14. See Cooper, *Pioneers*, 12.

application of egalitarian discourse, with its origin in the Enlightenment validation of equality. Elizabeth quite obviously resists the tendency to elevate women to the status of a fragile, angelic being that has to be locked up in the cloistered walls of the home in order to maintain her moral and spiritual purity, and this tendency gives her liveliness and picturesque variety.

In Cooper's novels, the dispute between the head and heart, metonymic substitutes for reason (rational judgment) and feeling (emotive response), a very popular distinction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is not conceived along strictly defined gender, class, or racial lines. The line actually cuts across these categories. The two (cognitive) agencies of the mind should be understood as complementary. Neither of them is fully reliable, and each can lead to faulty judgment, misconception and misguided action. Although Cooper relies on some discursive forms of sentimentalism (sympathy, empathy and altruism) and on the ethos of the Age of Enlightenment (a stress on fundamental equality), he is resistant to the new middle-class discourse of morals (rather than manners) that leads to the notion of equal but separate spheres of gender, race and religion. Cooper is an inheritor of the republican heritage of the American Revolution, and his creative mind liked to subvert the existing stereotypes, also because he was attracted to the picturesque ideal of a literary character that requires some incongruity and variety in the rigid and fixed typology.

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THE PERFORMATIVE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GERTRUDE STEIN AND ALICE B. TOKLAS

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the use of style and formal experiments in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* as a tool of diverting the attention of the critics and publishers from the romantic relationship between Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas. Due to their ethnic origin and sexual orientation, the collective autobiography foregrounds multiple authorial voice and name-dropping. Moreover, the lesbian relationship is treated matter-of-factly and often described as a heterosexual marriage. Yet, the notion of gender is more complex and is presented as fluid and unclear, undermining the traditional views both on masculine and feminine behaviour and female autobiography.

KEYWORDS: Gertrude Stein; female autobiography; narrative voice; gender performance; female masculinity

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) indisputably belongs among canonical modernist writers, appreciated mainly by feminist critics. However, it is often her public persona that is privileged over her writing. In analyses, attention is paid mainly to form, except, perhaps, for *Three Lives* (1909) where ethnicity has also been discussed.

Even though Stein brought Cubist perspective into writing, the book that eventually brought her fame was *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933). Considering the fact that it was not written in her characteristic style, which was meant to reflect her self-proclaimed genius, the whole situation could be ironic for Stein: to be eventually appreciated for something that so largely differed from the whole body of her writing. *The Autobiography* only showed her as a genius, not proved her so. The question remains why she published a text so ostensibly undermining her experimental approach to literature.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

The most discussed issue of *The Autobiography* is the question of authorship. Numerous critics have tried to untangle the complex mix of narrative strategies applied in this text. Regarding the title, the book seems to be written by Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967). Moreover, at the time of its publication Stein refused to have her name printed on the cover. Instead there was a Man Ray photograph of Toklas opposite the title page.¹ The sentences are simple, the narrator does not use the typical “Steinese” and depicts all

1. See Anna Linzie, *The True Story of Alice B. Toklas: A Study of Three Autobiographies* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 57.

characters and events plainly, drawing heavily upon domestic metaphors, as in the following example where Toklas describes the work of Pablo Picasso:

He used his distorted drawing as a dissonance is used in music or as vinegar or lemons are used in cooking or egg shells in coffee to clarify. I do inevitably take my comparisons from the kitchen because I like food and cooking and know something about it. However this was the idea.²

Only at the end does Stein reveal who actually wrote the text (not who authored it): "About six weeks ago Gertrude Stein said, it does not look to me as if you were ever going to write that autobiography. You know what I am going to do. I am going to write it for you. I am going to write it as simply as Defoe did the autobiography of Robinson Crusoe. And she has and this is it" (*TAABT*, 252). Stein thus compares herself to Defoe and places herself and partly Toklas into the role of Robinson Crusoe. For the purposes of the autobiography they become fictional characters isolated on a desert island, creating their own world. Even though Stein acknowledges Toklas as her partner, she (or rather she-husband, as she keeps presenting herself throughout the text), gives her the role of the wife who possibly dictated the text or inspired it. But as Toklas was a woman who only talked, she, a great writer, had to write it for her.

Simply put, Stein, as a self-proclaimed genius, needed someone to acknowledge it. That is why Toklas is granted the talent of recognizing a genius when she sees one. Without her, people could and did overlook Stein's genius, as for a long time she could not find a publisher. Moreover, Toklas and her domestic ways of seeing things provided Stein with a new narrative perspective. It was this seemingly common and simpler vision of life that gave Gertrude what she desired: critical recognition and fame.

That, however, does not mean that Toklas is backgrounded or viewed as inferior as is often suggested by feminist critics who accuse Stein of being a ventriloquist, stealing Toklas's voice and manipulating it for her own needs, making her look domestic and unappreciative of modern art just to provide contrast with the higher understanding and sensitivity of creative and artistic Stein. According to Carolyn Barros,

To return to the ventriloquist image, Alice sits on Gertrude's lap, and Gertrude makes Alice pause in her story to say something that Stein wants her to say she said in the past. We have no way of knowing whether Alice is being quoted literally or if Stein is relating what Alice might have said. Either way, Alice and Alice quoting herself are vocal constructs Stein employs to speak herself.³

Yet, the whole issue is rather more complex, as Barros admits: "Contemporaries who knew Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas may have recognized Miss Toklas's conversational style in *The Autobiography*. Today's readers have no such recollections upon which to draw."⁴ This, however, implies that degree of mutual influence cannot be safely determined, taking into consideration the fact that Toklas was a great storyteller and had a sense of detail as Stein related in "Ada," a love portrait of Toklas.⁵ This

2. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 41. Hereafter cited in the text as *TAABT*.

3. Carolyn A. Barros, "Getting Modern: *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*," *Biography* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 181.

4. Barros, "Getting Modern," 178.

5. See Gertrude Stein, "Ada," in *Gertrude Stein: Writings 1903–1932* (New York: Library of America, 1998), 275–77.

confusion and the reader's inability to clearly distinguish their voices led to sweeping criticism: "Since Alice's and Gertrude's voices blur into each other, and since Stein frustrates our ability to distinguish them by omitting all indicative quotation marks, what the voices perform together is a cacophonous version of Gertrude Stein."⁶ Even though the voices merge and blur, the result is far from being a cacophony of Stein, but rather the symphony of Gertrude and Alice. *The Autobiography* is written by a couple, even though technically Toklas was only doing the editing and revisions. It was their collective experience written and corrected by both of them, masking the love background by non-straight textual complexity: an identity that starts as "I" but involves "another she," merging at times into "we."

Moreover, the title originally proposed was "my twenty-five years with Gertrude Stein" (TAABT, 14), which reveals the span of their relationship that is to be celebrated as the central theme of the text. Their voices and attitudes that are so distinct at the beginning eventually merge as their relationship progresses. In the end it is hardly recognizable who speaks for whom and whose style is presented, as it became theirs. Here lies the main formal innovation to the genre of autobiography, which had been until then written by a single author, not by partners. This notion then considerably influences the interpretation of the last remark Stein makes about writing the book herself. After twenty-five years of romantic involvement, the sentence that originally seemed almost a sexist insult and definitely down-grading of Toklas turns out into familiar teasing of an old couple.

TOWARDS A LESBIAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Certain aspects of the lives of Stein and Toklas are presented so often that they become accepted as facts without further questioning, and as there seem to be few to no traces of these issues in Stein's work, they are often dismissed: their Jewish ethnicity and sexual orientation. As Julia Watson observed:

Although canonical lesbian texts such as Gertrude Stein's *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* had long been in print, they remained texts of privileged white women, whose major identification was with male expatriate writers and the cult of genius. (In fact, in the 1970s Stein's writings were not yet being read as lesbian texts – not surprisingly, given Stein's own equivocation about homophobia and her "ventriloquist" silencing of Alice in the text.⁷

In the 1930s, taking into consideration the place, Paris, where Stein and Toklas lived, it was almost impossible for two Jewish lesbians living in Europe to write openly about their private lives.

Even though most critics agree that an open treatment of their same-sex relationship was problematic, Stein came up with literary strategies that were diverting attention from the romance both to the unusual form and name-dropping. She makes her life

6. Barros, "Getting Modern," 184.

7. See Julia Watson, "Unspeakable Differences: The Politics of Gender in Lesbian and Heterosexual Women's Autobiographies," in *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader*, ed. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 400.

with Toklas look like a common heterosexual marriage. She, or rather they, unsure of the reactions to their relationship, perform the dominant heterosexual norm and heterosexualize the text from the outside. The seeming adoption of the prescribed roles is, for them and the readers who would understand, a tool for survival. As Marty Roth observes:

Because homosexuality has lacked a sanctioned discourse of its own, the “homosexual text” has had to conceal itself within the folds of a dominant discourse and conceal itself so skilfully that it could forestall any insinuation of its presence while still revealing itself through mantling.⁸

The autobiography reveals their relationship to an English-speaking readership, though hiding it from their Paris surroundings. By this they could serve as a model of potential identification for other lesbian women or couples, as these women needed a positive example. According to Roman Trušník, these texts can even be life-saving as “[t]hese . . . people may search for positive images in media . . . in peer groups, from their elders, and many other sources.”⁹ Even though lesbian relationships were not punishable by law, the silence and sense of deviance and severe social and economic consequences were sufficiently threatening.

Moreover, most female writing was considered marginal and largely autobiographical, dealing mainly with romance or the domestic sphere. The female autobiography – compared to autobiographies written by white, heterosexual men – had a negative connotation. By openly and ostensibly presenting the domestic side, Stein and Toklas challenged the stereotypes, by seemingly conforming to them and subverting them at once. It is thus not Toklas who is being downplayed but the housewife stereotype which is performed and exaggerated:

I myself have had no liking for violence and have always enjoyed the pleasures of needlework and gardening. I am fond of paintings, furniture, tapestry, houses and flowers and even vegetables and fruit-trees. I like a view but I like to sit with my back turned to it. (TAABT, 3–4)

On the other hand, they are not undervaluing the common, everyday experience, such as cooking, and they observe certain rituals. In the following passage, the nourishing care of Toklas is combined and intertwined with the textual care provided by Stein:

I called Gertrude Stein to come in from the atelier for supper. She came in much excited and would not sit down. Here I want to show you something, she said. No I said it has to be eaten hot. . . . In spite of my protests and the food cooling I had to read. I can still see the little tiny pages of the note-book written forward and back. It was the portrait called Ada, the first in *Geography and Plays*. I began it and I thought she was making fun of me and I protested, she says I protest now about my autobiography. Finally I read it all and was terribly pleased with it. And then we ate our supper. (TAABT, 113–14)

Being aware of the potentially hostile reactions to their relationship, they mainly present its social side, leaving out or coding any confessional features. They are

8. Marty Roth, “Homosexual Expression and Homophobic Censorship: The Situation of the Text,” in *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality*, ed. David Bergman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1993), 268.

9. Roman Trušník, “Young Adult Literature as a Tool for Survival: Alex Sanchez’s *Rainbow Boys Series*,” in *Theories and Practices: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Anglophone Studies, September 7–8, 2011*, ed. Roman Trušník, Katarína Nemčoková, and Gregory Jason Bell (Zlín: Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, 2012), 256.

performing as a respectable couple, desexualized and partly heterosexualized for the public eye by their labor division. By only hinting at privacy and disapproving of changing partners, Toklas and Stein come out as a stable and monogamous couple whose relationship is more rewarding and representative than the heterosexual ones around them.

As a result, the text then serves as a celebration of personalities (which is a very common trait in female autobiographies). The social-feminine aspect is also strengthened by portrait writing and observations made by them both. *The Autobiography* includes the lives and experiences of other women, their changes of fortune and partners, whom they keep supporting. Yet, the main difference is that the wives of the geniuses are portrayed as women, as living beings, whereas the men are artists. There is more depth to the representation of female characters to whom they were both more attached (with the only exception being Picasso and Stein, but even they do not discuss relationships or private matters).

By trying to avoid the confessional character of the autobiography, including the emotions and inner motivations, which would disrupt her cover, Stein attempts at explicating her struggle with language which could be more revealing than intended. As if trying to defy the gender-infected language and the referential side of it by flat, surface description, close to the iceberg metaphor associated mainly with Ernest Hemingway's fiction, she is partly revealing the private content but only to searching readers who are able and willing to deal with the deconstruction of genre, narrative identity and impersonalized style, which points to the complex structures of the unsaid. Stein used English, the only language she had, and by constant repetition and emptying the meaning she created a new one, in which she was allowed to describe her private life in such a way that it was for most readers unrecognizable and inaccessible, and therefore acceptable.

PERFORMING HETEROSEXUALITY AND GENDER

The plain style of *The Autobiography* together with the unclear authorial and narrative voice diverted the attention of the critics to the form rather than the theme: the romance between Stein and Toklas.

At the turn of the twentieth century, scientists and psychiatrists deemed people of different races or sexual orientation as deviant and primitive. Sander Gilman points to the connection between racial sexuality and pathology, which was the consequence of the so-called "scientific" exploration of race, examining "those 'excesses' which are called 'lesbian love.'"¹⁰ That could be another reason why Stein never publicly declared her ethnicity or orientation, as she would be deemed as deviant and racially inferior, even when she was a white Jewish American with German ancestry. Moreover, similar assertions were made by Jewish Austrian philosopher and psychiatrist, and a closeted

10. Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine and Literature," in *Race, Culture and Difference*, ed. James Donald and Ali Rattansi (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 181.

homosexual, Otto Weininger (1880–1903) in his influential *Sex and Character* (1903), a study of female masculinity that determined women to be both mentally and physically inferior:

Whilst woman has no consciousness of genius, except as manifested in one particular person, who imposes his personality on her, man has a deep capacity for realizing it . . . genius is linked with manhood, it represents an ideal masculinity in the highest form. Woman has no direct consciousness of it; she borrows a kind of imperfect consciousness from man. Woman, in short, has an unconscious life, man a conscious life, and the genius the most conscious life.¹¹

It was perhaps in opposition and polemics with Weininger that Stein dwelled so much upon the notion of genius. Considering the fact that his views were widely accepted (a draft of the essay was read by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and later became a target of feminist critics and writers, e.g., Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), Stein must have been familiar with his writings and perhaps considered public masculine behavior as one of the options how to enter the world of geniuses. Stein presents herself as more masculine and puts herself into the position of the husband, but as the text progresses, she is enjoying the company of women and does not dwell on the separate meetings with men, even leaving Toklas to deal with them. The oppositions between masculine and feminine and inside-outside eventually fade away, supplemented by a fluid scale.

Both Stein and Toklas are presented as both masculine and feminine. Toklas is feminized by talking to the wives of the geniuses, yet she is often dismissive of the typical woman talk about perfumes or clothes. On the other hand, she is willing to learn how to pass as a French woman in Paris from Picasso's partner Fernande Olivier, and acquires several female strategies of attracting attention. When Toklas and Olivier are walking down the street with their new extravagant hats, they are somehow bound in shared experience of performed femininity.

Stein adopts a masculine role and habits as something of a costume or a pen name. She thus creates an artistic persona in contrast to her inner feminine self, as the outer, social self should produce respectability and even the genius aura. As she is wearing female clothes underneath and more masculine ones on the outside, her personality corresponds with this split. Sometimes she mixes the two, wearing a skirt and male shirt and short hair which undermines and questions (or at least then it did) her femininity. According to Judith Butler,

[t]he replication of heterosexual constructs in non-heterosexual constructs in non-heterosexual frames brings into relief the utterly constructed status of so-called heterosexual original. Thus gay is to straight not as a copy is to original, but, rather, as copy is to copy. The parodic repetition of "the original," . . . reveals the original to be nothing other than a parody of the idea of the natural and original.¹²

Both Stein and Toklas as characters in the text undermine traditionally-conceived gender roles and take on multiple gender identities. Stein thus tries to impersonate a man and Toklas to impersonate a woman, even though she has strong masculine

11. Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character: An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, ed. Daniel Steuer and Laura Marcus, trans. Ladislaus Löb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 68.

12. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 31.

traits, while they are both women. Stein thus turns into a woman performing as a woman and husband at once. In this text she performs multiple roles, being at once the woman narrator, the “traditional” husband and the seemingly submissive Toklas, who as the wife is seen as more feminine and fragile. Stein thus differentiates and shifts among her biological identity of a woman, masculine-husband gender identity and the gender performance of a homely wife on behalf of Toklas. The text is therefore on one hand traditional and patriarchal in the sense of presenting Toklas as inadequate to the task of writing the autobiography of a genius, and subversive, by Stein playing both traditionally masculine and feminine roles, and at the same time treating them ironically and distancing herself from them.

She, as a representative of three minorities, a woman, a lesbian and a Jew, thus creates a symbolic public identity that can be freely displayed without being untrue to herself. To be acceptable to the dominant culture and discourse, she does not present her partnership with Toklas into opposition to heterosexual relationships around her, but rather as one of them. In contact with others, Stein and Toklas maintain the customary relationship power division and escape being labeled deviant, unnatural or other. By not presenting themselves as different and alienated, or comparing themselves to others (or only favorably), they are calling attention only to the virtues of their relationship, such as stability, understanding, faithfulness and mutual respect. As such, they manage to prove their relationship normal and even model-like.

Stein and Toklas made full use of the genre of autobiography and its formal features, such as the emphasis on the truthful and realistic account of the author’s life, even though Stein keeps hinting at the artistic side of the autobiography, not its absolute truthfulness. As the genre should be revealing rather than hiding, the critics and readers tend to see the narrator as the author. Stein is thus creating her and Toklas’s image by writing. The text becomes their outer self that is presentable to the wider public. And even though it is partly a game that cannot possibly establish the real identity of the author(s), it is viewed as such.

Unlike most representatives of minorities who simply recognize their marginality and invisibility, Stein and Toklas are using it for their own purposes: to firmly establish their personae and public identities without omitting (though partly covering) their private lives.

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JAMES PURDY'S *THE NEPHEW* – A GAY NOVEL WITHOUT GAY CHARACTERS: A FEW REMARKS ON THE USE OF THEMATIC CRITICISM

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ABSTRACT: Based on an analysis of James Purdy's novel *The Nephew* (1960), the paper attempts to formulate a reliable criterion for the identification of the works of gay literature. Even though none of the characters in the novel proves to be gay, the novel can be classified as a gay novel because homosexuality features as what Boris Tomashevsky called a *bound motif* and cannot be safely removed. However, as Purdy's novel illustrates, the presence of other motifs may resonate with other common themes and issues in gay literature as well as in the experience of gays, which shows that, unless forced, the borders of gay literature should not be delineated by an answer to a simple yes-no question.

KEYWORDS: American literature; gay literature; homosexuality; homotextuality; homothematics; literary gaydar; James Purdy; *The Nephew*

A general scientific problem is drawing limits and borders and distinguishing categories; in literary studies, this might be felt mainly by those who carry out research into literatures of ethnic groups and / or minorities. Yet, the question whether a work belongs to, for example, African American or Jewish American literature, seems to arise only rarely, as the attribution is routinely and without further questioning based on the ethnicity of the author. However, there is no such overt criterion at our disposal in the case of gay and lesbian literature, as the sexual orientation of the author is often unknown. This paper utilizes James Purdy's novel *The Nephew* (1960) to bring some light into this shady area, and it attempts to determine whether a novel in which, as it turns out, no character is gay, written by an author about whose sexuality little was known at the time of publication, can be called a gay novel. I will argue that it can, but the inclusion of a work into gay literature should be taken as a matter of degree rather than an answer to a simple yes-no question.

James Purdy (1914–2009) ranks among those American authors who are almost unknown to the general public but who have a strong cult following. *The Nephew* is one of the author's realistic novels, very different from his later campy and transgressive fiction. The protagonist of the novel is not the eponymous character, but his aunt, Alma Mason, a single, retired fifth-grade teacher who lives with her elder brother Boyd Mason, a widower. They both take care of their nephew Cliff, who was suddenly orphaned at age fourteen. The events of the novel take place during the Korean War: Cliff enlisted before he had to and is in Korea; later, a letter comes from the government reporting him as missing in action. Alma, aware but unwilling to admit openly that

this might mean that Cliff was really dead, decides to write his memorial and starts collecting information about her nephew. During the process, as an intricate web of relations unfolds before her, it transpires that not only does she know very little about her nephew but she also knows very little about people in the community of Rainbow Center. The events of the novel seem to lead to the conclusion that Cliff might have been a homosexual as he associated with two men, Willard Baker and Vernon Miller, who were “known” in the community to be homosexual. When Cliff is confirmed dead, Alma stops writing her memorial. Moreover, it turns out that none of the three men suspected of being homosexual were so.

As homosexuality is explicitly mentioned in the novel, at first glance there seems to be little doubt if Purdy’s novel can be called a *gay novel*. This common-sense approach has its limits, though, and has been problematized by the current cultural production: a number of contemporary books, movies, and TV series include lesbian / gay / bisexual / transgender / queer (LGBTQ) minor characters in order to attract wider audiences, but most of these works would hardly be classified under the heading of *gay*. Even though insisting on categories such as *gay literature* may seem outdated nowadays as this purportedly encourages pigeonholing, it does have its practical value. Scholars researching homosexuality in literature, especially literary historians, will testify that they do need a clear criterion for deciding whether a particular work should be included in their research or not. An example of a failure to delineate the area of one’s interest properly can readily be found in Robert Drake’s work *The Gay Canon: Great Books Every Gay Man Should Read* (1998). According to Drake, a “gay book is a book that addresses issues of same-sex love, or a book written by an author who enjoys his same gender for sexual fulfillment and / or relief. Starting with such a definition, it then follows that content is not prerequisite, nor is sexual orientation. Gay books may be written by straight people, and vice versa.”¹ The “vice versa” at the end of the quote makes it clear that for Drake, a gay author may write a non-gay book, which is in contradiction with the first part of the quote. A definition of gay literature thus requires a more precise approach.

Czech literary scholar Martin C. Putna identified five main methodological approaches to the study of homosexuality in literature: *psychoanalysis*, *apologetic biographism* (creating lists of famous gay authors regardless of the quality of their literary production), *homothematics* (inclusion of texts based on the presence of gay themes, again sometimes at the cost of literary quality), *homotextuality* (an approach exploring the way gay motifs are coded into the text, using concepts such as *masks* and *signals*, in the context of *homosexual constellation* of the text), and *personalism* (an approach including also biographical information about the authors in the analysis). Putna then summed up the dilemmas posed by these approaches in the basic question of “person, or text.”²

1. Robert Drake, *The Gay Canon: Great Books Every Gay Man Should Read* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), xvi.

2. See Martin C. Putna, “Úvod metodologický: Evropské a americké vědy o homosexualitě a kultuře,” in *Homosexualita v dějinách české kultury*, ed. Martin C. Putna (Praha: Academia, 2011), 23–36.

In my own research I have subscribed to the preference of “text” over “person,”³ as it seems the only viable solution to the question: biographical information is often absent, incomplete, or misleading, and the issue of homosexuality has been addressed by many authors who self-identify as straight. This is why the authors’ sexualities should be, in my opinion, excluded from consideration. This leaves out both apologetic biographism and personalism, and I certainly do not want to expand the armies of literary scholars who (ab/mis)use psychoanalysis, which they often misunderstand, as a means of their analysis.

Homotextuality, using terms like *mask*, *signal*, or *homosexual constellation*, often relies on the (presumed) sexuality of the author for cues in the texts as well. This approach thus may just turn into a posh version of the I-know-it-when-I-see-it method, which may work but is hardly acceptable as a scholarly method. Indeed, this approach in many cases seems to be just a formalized version of the *literary gaydar*. *Gaydar* (a portmanteau of *gay* and *radar*) is a presumed ability of a person to recognize gays based on various *signals*; *literary gaydar*, a term that seems absent in critical discourse, yet used by literary fans, may be an equivalent sensibility to the “gayness” of a text.⁴ However, this method is applicable primarily to analyses of older texts, as the need to search for and uncover signals in a text presumes that homosexuality is not mentioned explicitly in the text.

Homothematics, or plainly, a thematic approach, thus remains as the most plausible approach. Gay literature may therefore be defined as the set of those works which feature homosexuality as a theme or a motif. Yet this approach also has its problems. First and foremost, even though the term *theme* and the related *motif* are household terms in literary scholarship, their exact definition may be rather unclear, as Werner Sollors demonstrated in his edited volume, *The Return of Thematic Criticism* (1993). As a starting point for a more detailed discussion by scholars, Sollors compiled an eighteen-page overview of the definitions of *theme*,⁵ which is followed by some three hundred pages of theoretical discussion with no definite conclusion.

For the lack of a generally agreed-upon concept of theme, I turn to Boris Tomashevsky’s classic study, “Thematics.” The basic definition of *theme* Tomashevsky

3. See, e.g., Roman Trušník, *Podoby amerického homosexuálního románu po roce 1945* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2011). However, my thinking covers primarily the situation of the post-World War II world when the concept of homosexuality was widely known. The situation was certainly different in the nineteenth century and before.

4. In July 2013, Google returned over 200 hits to the query of “literary gaydar,” pointing mostly to blogs and online discussions, while the Web of Science, JStor, Proquest, and EBSCO find no uses of the term. To my knowledge, the first traceable use of the term *literary gaydar* can be found in Marc David Schachter’s paper “A Collection of Gay Male Fiction: An Essay and a Bibliography” (1994). In the text, inaccessible to the general audience now, Schachter understood *literary gaydar* as his “uncanny ability to find books with gay male content” in his teenage years (email to the author, July 21, 2013). Yet, as he confirms, his *gaydar* relied on paratextual information, such as the spines, covers, or blurbs, rather than the actual texts, which is the basis of homotextual approach.

5. See Werner Sollors, ed. *The Return of Thematic Criticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1–18.

provides is not very helpful: theme is “what is being said in a work.”⁶ Moreover, theme is a concept that works on different levels: “The work as a whole may have a theme, and at the same time each part of a work may have its own theme. The development of a work is a process of diversification unified by a single theme.”⁷ What seems more helpful is the idea of motif, the “theme of an irreducible part of a work . . . ; each sentence, in fact, has its own motif.”⁸ Tomashevsky further distinguishes two main types of motifs based on whether they can be omitted when retelling the story: “what may be *omitted* without destroying the coherence of the narrative and and what may not be omitted without disturbing the connections among events. The motifs which cannot be omitted are *bound motifs*; those which may be omitted without disturbing the whole casual-chronological course of events are *free motifs*.”⁹ However, Tomashevsky’s understanding of theme and motif places his thinking into the realm of what is nowadays called *narratology*, as he points out that it “should be noted that the meaning of ‘motif,’ as used in historical poetics – in comparative studies of migratory plots . . . – differs radically from its meaning here, although they are usually considered identical.”¹⁰

When these terms, as defined above, are applied to Purdy’s *The Nephew*, it is obvious that the term *theme* is rather cumbersome due to its uncertain scope; however, it is significant that homosexuality is hardly *the* theme of the novel – its theme is rather a misinformed woman’s quest into the heart of a community. The real protagonist is indeed Alma; Cliff himself, in spite of being the eponymous character, is never present in person, only through letters, memories, and rumours. However, the suspicion that the three men might be homosexual brings homosexuality into the novel in the form of *a* theme, or, to be more exact, a motif. While the current cultural production with LGBTQ characters here and there makes it clear that any presence of a gay character is not sufficient grounds for the inclusion of a work into gay literature, Tomashevsky’s distinction between bound and free motifs, i.e., between necessary elements and those that may be omitted, provides solid ground for a decision.

When Cliff’s life in Rainbow Center is explored and examined, it is revealed that he associated closely with Willard Baker, a son of the late doctor of the community, and Vernon Miller, his youthful companion. These men enjoyed a bad reputation, as the words of one character reveal: “Everybody in town knows that Willard Baker and Vernon Miller are homosexuals. . . . And I imagine Cliff must have known it too, living next to them.”¹¹ This sentiment, shared by most characters, contributed strongly to the

6. Boris Tomashevsky, “Thematics,” in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, trans. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 63.

7. Tomashevsky, “Thematics,” 67.

8. Tomashevsky, “Thematics,” 67.

9. Tomashevsky, “Thematics,” 68. This distinction into free and bound motifs was echoed in, e.g., Seymour Chatman’s distinction between *kernels* (bound motifs) and *satellites* (free motifs). See Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 53–56.

10. Tomashevsky, “Thematics,” 67.

11. James Purdy, *The Nephew* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960), 141. Hereafter cited in the text.

men's reputation and subsequently to their ostracized status in the community. However, when Alma learned of the suspicion and shared it with her brother Boyd, he expressed his doubts: "I don't think there is anything to that story. . . . Vernon Miller was a boy Willard practically adopted out of the children's home. Besides, he's engaged to get married" (180). These doubts were confirmed when Vernon became engaged to Alma's friend, Faye Laird, a college French instructor, near the end of the story.

The suspicion of the men's homosexuality can be considered a bound motif, as without it, the causal relationships between the following events would be broken. The motif of homosexuality cannot be removed, as a free motif could be, because the web of relationships, suspicions, and animosities, on which much action and dialogue are based, would collapse. Even if the two men enjoyed their ill repute for another reason, it would change the plot line dealing with the relationship of Faye and Vernon. When Vernon confirms to Alma that Cliff was not homosexual, either, no gay character remains in the novel. However, the specter of homosexuality remains present and cannot be removed, which certainly moves the novel into the scope of the historians of gay literature. So if a clear-cut criterion is required, the presence of homosexuality as a *bound motif* may serve as a reliable one.

Yet, when one's literary gaydar is employed, the novel actually resonates even more than one would expect. This can be accounted for by the use of thematic criticism as well: the novel also contains other themes and motifs that are common not only in other gay novels but in the experience of most gays and lesbians.

Much of this is associated with the destructive suspicion Willard and Vernon raise in the small-town community, regardless of the true nature of their relationship. Actually, the relationship between them is the one of a mentor and protégé, and such relationships are common in gay literature; well-developed examples can be found in the relationship between Phillip and Tim in James Barr's *Quatrefoil* (1950) or between Malone and Sutherland in Andrew Holleran's *Dancer from the Dance* (1978).

Cliff himself obviously did not fit in (a common experience of young gays and lesbians), and he tried to leave the small town at all costs. The unhappiness of a young man and his attempt to leave a small town is, once again, commonplace in gay fiction. Examples can readily be found in fiction of the period, for example, in David's running away in James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* (1956) or Eric's escape from Alabama in Baldwin's *Another Country* (1962). Even the motif of memories or a memorial for a lost relative or lover is not uncommon in gay fiction; good examples can be found in Christopher Isherwood's *A Single Man* (1964) or Christopher Coe's *I Look Divine* (1987).

James Purdy's *The Nephew* thus proves to be a good testing ground for the criteria of gay literature. If the question of a novel belonging to gay literature is enforced as a simple yes-no question, the presence or absence of homosexuality in the form of a bound motif provides a reliable answer. Indeed, judging the novel by the mere presence of gay motifs, this novel undoubtedly belongs to gay literature, in spite of the fact that the eponymous character is not gay, and it turns out that there is actually no gay character in the novel at all. The mere suspicion of homosexuality, moreover explicitly

expressed in the text and other characters acting upon it, is a motif meeting the criterion. Purdy's novel also shows that the presence of other motifs and themes that are not gay *per se*, yet strongly resonate with the experience of gays and, in the form of leitmotifs, appear in much gay literature, may make the book even "more gay" than it would seem at the first sight. This, once again, can be taken as proof of literature's ability to capture the human condition regardless of borders and categories.

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A VOICE FROM THE PAST: THE LEGACY OF FAMILY HISTORY IN REBECCA GOLDSTEIN'S *MAZEL*

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with Rebecca Goldstein's novel *Mazel* (1995), which follows three generations of a Jewish family, embodied by its female members. Against the backdrop of their fates, Goldstein portrays the dynamics of Jewish life in the Diaspora. The protagonist's initial revolt against the sleepy and stifling atmosphere of the shtetl where she grew up and her enchantment by modernity in the cosmopolitan milieu of Warsaw does not imply a total rejection of Jewish identity, as can be seen in her artistic career in a Yiddish theater, which pays tribute to her late sister and her creativity in the shtetl. Yet, the protagonist fails to understand her granddaughter's embrace of Orthodox Judaism in America, a step that can be interpreted as a return to the family's roots and a victory for continuity. The reconciliatory tone of the novel's ending is relativized by Goldstein's feminist view of the protagonist's family history.

KEYWORDS: Jewish American fiction; Rebecca Goldstein; memory; shtetl; Yiddish theater; Jewish enlightenment; orthodoxy; feminism; continuity

Writings of the new generation of Jewish American writers show a renewal of interest in Jewish spiritual life and its collective identity. This is typical of a new wave of Jewish writers in America whose fiction turns inward – it speaks from the inside of Jewish life, with its culture, traditions, history and religion. As Sylvia Barack Fishman asserts, “[t]he exploration of intensely Jewish subject matter is now evident both in the works of relatively new authors and in the return to internally Jewish concerns by some established authors.”¹

One of the authors who have confirmed this tendency in recent decades is Rebecca Goldstein (b. 1950). Her first novel was *The Mind Body Problem* (1983), followed by *The Late-Summer Passion of a Woman of Mind* (1989), *The Dark Sister* (1993), and a collection of short stories, *Strange Attractors* (1993), in which three key characters of her subsequent novel *Mazel* (1995) appear – Sasha, her daughter Chloe and her granddaughter Phoebe. After the success of *Mazel*, Goldstein published the novel *Properties of Light* (2000). Her most recent book is *36 Arguments for the Existence of God: A Work of Fiction* (2010). She is also the author of biographies of mathematician Kurt Gödel and the Jewish philosopher Spinoza.

Mazel is one of many Jewish works emphasizing the importance of memory. Memory connects the present with the past and becomes an undeniable formative part of individual as well as collective identity. It constitutes the awareness of

1. Sylvia Barack Fishman, “American Jewish Fiction Turns Inward, 1960–1990,” *American Jewish Year Book* 91 (1991): 36.

continuity. Since Jewish history is marked by discontinuities, caused by such historical manifestations of anti-Semitism as pogroms and the Holocaust and their consequences in the form of numerous exoduses of Jews to exile, the role of memory comes even more strongly to the fore in Jewish writings. In many cases memory concerns places that literally ceased to exist or relates to communities that have vanished.

Although Goldstein in her novel concentrates on the delineation of three generations of the Sonnenberg family,² she skillfully merges individual / personal and collective / historical memories of the somewhat dark Jewish experience. The author's focus is on the representative of the first generation of the family, Sorel, who later on becomes a successful actress at a Yiddish theater in Warsaw and adopts a new name, Sasha. Her daughter Chloe and granddaughter Phoebe appear only at the beginning and the end of the novel, and unlike Sasha, their experience is not shaped by Europe but by America. Because of its discontinuities, Goldstein's story is fragmented and contains several temporal and spatial settings – a Galician village in the 1920s, prewar Warsaw, but episodically also Vilnius and other places during the Yiddish theater tour, and an American town in New Jersey after World War II. According to Janet Burstein, "narratives of return . . . fracture chronology and disregard contextual boundaries, moving in several directions at once: backward through memory, and forward into new relationships to the past; outward into collective history and politics, and inward into the deep reaches of personal experience."³ This tendency – so characteristic of postmodern literature – can be observed in many works by contemporary Jewish American writers, e.g., Jonathan Safran Foer, Dara Horn, Gary Shteyngart and others. Although Goldstein's protagonist does not return to the place of her origin literally, metaphorically she has never left her homeland, for it occupies a substantial part of her mind even though she does not perceive the Upper West Side (where she resides) as *galut* (exile). As the narrator says, "Sasha has decided, from the very start, that somehow or other she was a born New Yorker."⁴

The earliest history of the Sonnenberg family is rendered through Goldstein's imaginative recreation of the shtetl Shluftchev in eastern Poland, a remote small village with its provincial milieu, where Sasha / Sorel grew up with her large family.⁵ As Andrew Furman notes, the shtetl's sleepy atmosphere and its backwardness is underlined by the name of the place; the meaning of the Yiddish word "shluf" is "sleep."⁶ In the middle of the shtetl, where one would expect a wooden synagogue, Goldstein places a stinking puddle, which functions as a metaphor for the dark past of the village.

2. Goldstein's novel symmetrically draws on the number three: besides following the three generations of the Sonnenberg family, it has three different main settings and Sorel / Sasha has three sisters.

3. Janet Handler Burstein, *Telling the Little Secrets. American Jewish Writing since the 1980s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 82.

4. Rebecca Goldstein, *Mazel* (1995; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 7. Hereafter cited in the text.

5. The novel's second section, set in the shtetl, has features of rite-of-passage fiction. This genre is thoroughly examined in Šárka Bubíková, *Úvod do studia dětství v americké literatuře* (Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2009).

6. Andrew Furman, *Contemporary Jewish American Writers and the Multicultural Dilemma: Return of the Exiled* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 96.

The protagonist's oldest sister, Fraydel, in her abundant fantasy, sees in the puddle the Evil Eye staring up at the villagers, and claims that "all the memories of Shluftchev had sunk into its bottom, the overwhelming majority of which were of a sort to give off just such a smell" (63).

As a feminist writer, Goldstein injects a marked gender aspect into her narrative. While the claustrophobic world of the Shluftchev shtetl is a world of traditions and relative safety for the majority of its self-contained Jewish community, for Sorel and Fraydel it represents limitations and suffering. It is a site of deprivation. They perceive its patriarchal society, where the roles of women have been strictly circumscribed, as an obstacle impeding their freedom – something which they value more than established rules and norms. These two young rebels do not want to submit to the restrictions which bind their mother Leiba, who dares to sing only at midnight because it was forbidden for women to be heard by men outside of the family. Thus Goldstein symbolically presents women in the shtetl as silenced, forbidden voices. From a woman's perspective it is a place of exclusion.

Fraydel revolts against the limited role of women in the shtetl, which confines them only to housework and places them in a marginal position. Moreover, she is attracted to the secular forces that the Orthodox community of her milieu regards as paganism. It is her resistance against the settled patterns that impresses Sorel, alias Sasha. She emotionally clings to her wild, unrestrained and restless sister, admiring her strong individuality. At the same time, she is aware of Fraydel's fragility and vulnerability. Even her mother Leiba knows that "she was a soul without a skin. Everything assaulted her" (125). For Fraydel, Shluftchev, with its isolated community, is a small world. She longs for the freedom that she finds in her rich imagination, nurtured by books occasionally borrowed from a book-peddler. These books, however, are not considered proper books by the religious community, which views them as works of paganism and believes that because of their secular content they should have never been written. Moreover, the villagers are firmly convinced that education is reserved only for men, not for women. Actually, the Sonnenberg family follows this hierarchy; while Sorel's father and her brothers devote almost their entire time to Talmudic studies, her mother is responsible for all practical matters and takes over the role of breadwinner.

Sorel is the only person in Shluftchev who understands her mysterious sister, and therefore she is permitted to enter into Fraydel's otherwise impenetrable and enigmatic world of fantasy. She is fascinated by her sister's made-up stories, whose originality shows a great artistic talent. As the narrator says, "[i]n her [Fraydel's] head there were so many stories, stories she had read, stories she had invented, that it was a wonder she could keep them all straight" (68). However, the rest of the community, including the family members, view Fraydel as being different, a stranger in her own group. Fraydel is seen as the Other, and therefore the villagers tend to ostracize her. Among children she is subjected to bullying and stigmatization. For them she is simply a crazy girl, "Fraydel, Fraydel, Da meshuggena maydel" (56). Thus she is made to live on the margins of her own group, which itself is perceived as the Other.

"Otherness" is usually discussed in connection with the question of prejudices and racism. Goldstein symbolically conveys the process of othering in the passage in which Fraydel, in her desire for freedom, decides to flee from the shtetl to join the gypsies, those "others, different from the other others" (100). She is attracted to them by their mobility and their entire nomadic life style. Her encounter with a group of gypsy children is a sort of entry to a strange, exotic world, so different from the small place of confinements. As Sorel does not want to lose her sister, she takes the decision to join her in her plan for an escape. Yet she feels certain prejudices against this ethnic group, stemming from stereotyping. When she asks Fraydel whether the gypsies really kidnap little children, she hears an answer: "No more than we murder little children before Pesach and use their blood for matzohs" (119). Juxtaposing two historically discriminated against ethnic groups, Goldstein points out the same mechanisms of stereotyping and roots of racism. After all, the historical analogies of both marginal Others were proved during the Holocaust.

From the point of view of class, ethnicity and gender in relation to the dominant society, Fraydel can be classified as the multiple Other; nevertheless, due to the relative autonomy of the shtetl, Goldstein underscores the aspect of gender. Othering on the basis of class loses its relevance here, since class differences in these communities were minimal. As far as ethnic aspects are concerned, the author's intention was not to depict violent events like pogroms, World War II and the Holocaust directly – they remain in the background of the novel's action – nevertheless, she briefly refers to the gentiles' plans for one pogrom against the male citizens of Shluftchev.

Even though Fraydel's plan to escape from the shtetl fails, her non-conformity dooms her to a tragic end. She rejects an arranged marriage, choosing death instead. Similarly to Shakespeare's Ophelia, Edna Pontellier in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening*, or Virginia Woolf in real life, she drowns herself. For Sorel, this is the most painful moment in her life. She is deeply moved by the loss of her beloved sister because she knows that they were the closest people to each other, sharing a desire for freedom and everything marvelous and strange, and united by their contempt for the narrowness of the shtetl with its binding strictures and its ordinariness. Fraydel's story is a story of aborted creativity. Her artistic potential was prematurely wasted by the restraints that the shtetl imposed on her. Levinson rightly points out that "[i]t is the traditional religion's insistence upon study for boys and marriage for girls that she [Sorel] blames for the death of her beloved and brilliant sister Fraydel."⁷

Goldstein's imaginary recreation of the shtetl includes not only family life and the position of women in a patriarchal society, but also the religious traditions, rituals, education and superstitions of its inhabitants. Similarly to Isaac B. Singer's stories, her shtetl is peopled with imps and dybbuks. Even though her novel has a distinctly Jewish character, her addressee is also (or particularly) the non-Jewish reader. There are not

7. Melanie Levinson, "'Wayfinding': (Re)Constructing Jewish Identity in *Mazel* and *Lovingkindness*," in *Connections and Collisions: Identities in Contemporary Jewish-American Women's Writing*, ed. Lois E. Rubin (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 115.

many books in Jewish American fiction that depict Jewish holidays and rites so vividly and are so naturally incorporated into the plot. In the chapter “Counting the Omer,” related to the forty-nine-day period between the Passover and the Feast of Weeks, the author, within the year cycle, describes the Days of Awe starting with Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), Succoth, Chanukah (the Festival of Lights), Purim (the Feast of Lots), the Feast of Matzohs, Pesach (Passover) and Shavuot (the Feast of Weeks). Moreover, her book is full of Yiddish expressions that are usually explained by means of English equivalents.

The legacy of Fraydel’s creativity, intractability and hunger for freedom is fully revived in the character of Sasha / Sorel in Warsaw, where her family moves before World War II. If Shluftchev was a petty sleepy town full of constraints, then Warsaw, with its cosmopolitan atmosphere and variety of possibilities, poses a challenge for her: “Possibilities! As if the walls of a room suddenly and swiftly moved back, melted away, vistas in every direction” (162). She is enchanted by the modernity of the city and its energy, excited by new discoveries and inventions. However, she does not want to be just a passive observer of all the changes and makes a firm resolution to become an active participant in the advancement of society, to move away from the margin to which she was confined in the past. When a part of the Jewish urban community, she is, like many Jews of her generation, deeply affected by the spirit of the Enlightenment. Goldstein expresses this figuratively: “Sorel wasn’t alone in being drunk on her vision of the light from beyond the sky. All of Warsaw seemed to be wildly teetering . . . reeling . . . tilting at large and improbable angles” (201). The lure of Western culture is irresistible, and thus the protagonist is metaphorically running toward “the glowing western sky” (201).

Naturally not all urban Jews accepted all these changes with enthusiasm. The older generation approached them with suspicion, rejecting their children’s behavior. As the narrator says, “[a]ll across the former Pale were Jewish parents having their Jewish hearts broken, as sons and daughters broke away from the old ways, made a blind run for the light” (201). In this respect, Sorel’s parents are relatively tolerant; they do not interfere in her life although internally they do not approve of her assimilation with the mainstream society. Her father Nachum considers his daughter’s fascination with Warsaw’s secular cultural life to be a manifestation of Hellenistic corruption. On the other hand, it would be a misinterpretation to describe the protagonist as a total assimilationist, since the question of Jewish identity remains of importance for her.

The spirit of the Jewish Enlightenment, the modernist “Haskalah,” is materialized here particularly in the vibrant Yiddish theater which completely captivates the protagonist. The discovery of her dramatic gift signifies a continuation of the artistic creativity initiated by her sister Fraydel. Her late sister’s legacy best manifests itself at the audition for an actress at the Bilbul Art Theater. Sorel, whom her aunt sees as a future Sarah Bernhardt and predicts that she will “take center stage” (209), starts reciting the monologue of Ophelia from Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, but all of a sudden a different voice comes out of her mouth, the voice of Fraydel: she abandons the dramatist’s tragedy and

spontaneously retells her sister's macabre tale about a girl who leaves her unwanted betrothed to dance with death. Her unexpected switch to the tale which she heard from her sister on the Sabbath implies her identification with her sister and her attempt to share the memory of her sister with others. It is also possible to interpret this as a demonstration of her Jewish identity: "She had heard Fraydel, as if she had been there, whispering up against her ear, a voice like no other come from out of the lonely wind. And now it was gone, perhaps forever, so that she wanted to scream out: Fraydel!" (243). Her performance makes an enormous impression on the whole theater troupe, which decides to stage a dramatic adaptation of Sorel's / Fraydel's tale under the name "The Bridegroom." The performances featuring Sorel, renamed Sasha, are a great success with the audience, so the Bilbul actors' troupe sets out on a tour to various cities and towns in Eastern Europe. However, the triumphal career of the *mishpocheh* of the Yiddish theater artists is forcibly ended by the outbreak of World War II.

Through the character of Sasha, Goldstein pays tribute not only to her sister Fraydel but to the Yiddish theater *per se*. As a matter of fact, the author devotes a whole chapter to the history of the Yiddish theater and its renowned representatives, though it has rather a didactic character. Goldstein illustrates the rather melodramatic nature of most Yiddish plays by giving an example of the Jewish version of Shakespeare's play entitled *The Jewish King Lear*, which pictures the revolt of the youngest daughter against the traditional patriarchal hierarchy of a Jewish family in which a woman is ascribed a stereotyped status of an obedient family member. Again the author's feminist approach to Jewishness is obvious here, reinforced by the apparent parallelism with the experience of the "women warriors" Fraydel and Sasha. Using Dominick LaCapra's (and Freud's) terminology, Sasha's performance of her sister's story at the audition can be understood as an act of mourning, of acting-out, which is, in LaCapra's words "with respect to traumatic losses . . . a necessary condition of working through."⁸ According to him, "[p]ossession by the past may never be fully overcome or transcended and working through may at best enable some distance or critical perspective that is acquired with extreme difficulty and not achieved once and for all."⁹ The centrality of the traumatic loss and absence of Fraydel in Sasha's life is fully revealed in her confession to Maurice, her future husband. It is no coincidence that it is this moment of confession that brings them closer and initiates their relationship.

Goldstein's novel reflects the atmosphere of artistic and intellectual circles in prewar Jewish Warsaw in the manner of Isaac Bashevis Singer. After all, this prominent writer is even incorporated into the plot as an episodic character, when Sasha sees him walking down the street and overhears his conversation with some woman. The milieu of the Warsaw artists embodying *mishpocheh* is portrayed in its diversity, manifested in endless discussions about the essence of Jewishness and art. They mirror the conflict between the idea of Jewish particularism, based on its uniqueness and represented

8. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 70.

9. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, 70.

by the Bilbul Art Theater director Hershel Blau, and universalism, advocated by the composer Jascha Saunders, an “angry young man,” considering Jewishness to be an anachronism. He wrongly defines Jewish identity on the basis of hatred for the enemy. All in all, “Goldstein represents the world of Yiddishkeit as always already a multicultural space”¹⁰ and not as a monolithic Jewish culture.

The whole novel is framed by the present, set in the fictitious American town of Lipton, the “Jerusalem of New Jersey,” inhabited by an enclosed Orthodox community with its rigid rules and hierarchy. The town’s name alludes to a real model suburban town in New Jersey, Teaneck, known for its large concentration of Modern Orthodox Jews. Assimilated Sasha and her daughter Chloe come to this petty town due to Phoebe, Sasha’s granddaughter, who is to marry Jason Kantor – a member of a Jewish Modern Orthodox family. From the very beginning, Sasha feels revulsion at this place, considering Lipton to be a shtetl transplanted to America. Wittily, she refers to the – in her view archaic – world of the Lipton community, with its settled habits and rituals, as the “reshtetlization of America” (354), and her anti-nostalgic view of the shtetl which she deserted so eagerly prevents her from understanding Phoebe’s decision to marry into a Modern Orthodox family. For her it is a step back to what she calls “old ways.” Her granddaughter’s return to Judaism, *t’shuva*, spiritual turning, is even less comprehensible for her in the light of the social status her descendants have achieved in America; totally assimilated Chloe, for whom “being Jewish . . . seemed to be nothing more than an incidental feature in both her own and her daughter’s biographies” (335), is a classics professor at Columbia University, and Phoebe is a professor of mathematics at nearby Princeton University. Neither does Chloe understand her daughter, and although she is intuitively drawn to Jewish life, “[t]o her that world was far more distant and inaccessible than the world of the ancient Greeks” (336). It is exotic, if not esoteric, territory, about which, due to her mother’s silence, she knows nothing.

Having been drawn into the preparations for Phoebe’s wedding, Sasha becomes a dissenter, conflicting with the Kantor family and the whole Orthodox community. As a child of the Jewish Enlightenment, she fails to comprehend the adherence of modern Jews to the traditional observance of Jewish laws. Goldstein repeatedly highlights the gender aspect, depicting Sasha’s aversion to the patriarchal community of the Orthodox Jews, discriminating and marginalizing women, which reminds her of the old shtetls in Galicia. For this reason she calls Lipton “Shluftchev . . . with a designer label” (333). Goldstein’s eccentric and non-conformist protagonist cannot understand why her granddaughter returns to the old patterns against which she and Fraydel rebelled. Thus she feels it is her duty to rebel anew in Lipton. She loves to provoke, and she does so vehemently, because “everything Sasha *says*, everything Sasha *does*, is with emphasis” (22, Goldstein’s italics). Her revolt culminates during the ritual *aufruf*, the last Sabbath ceremony before the wedding, in which the bride is not allowed to participate in order to prevent her from seeing her groom. The Lipton community is consternated when she,

10. Helene Meyers, “On Homelands and Home-Making: Rebecca Goldstein’s *Mazel*,” *Journal of Modern Literature* 33, no. 3 (Spring 2010): 135.

“a woman born to hold center stage” (43), violates the ceremonial customs by wearing trousers. In their eyes, it is a desecration of the Sabbath. For the Kantor family she is “more like a rebellious teen-ager than a woman in her seventies” (323). Actually, in one episode the radical protagonist joins the student revolt at Columbia University, unlike Chloe who remains indifferent to the protest movement. Yet the final scene, in which Sasha, Chloe and Phoebe are dancing together at the wedding, can be interpreted as the protagonist’s reconciliation with the Kantor family and mutual recognition. It is the expression of an emotional bond among all three women despite their differences, conditioned by different generational experiences. However, the reconciliatory tone of the novel’s ending is relativized by Goldstein’s feminist view of the protagonist’s family history.

Goldstein’s *Mazel* is a novel about the victory of continuity. This continuity is embodied by Sasha’s granddaughter Phoebe, who connects America with the shtetl of her ancestors. She represents the third generation that returns to the roots of Jewishness and corresponds to the new wave of Jewish American writers. To a certain extent she impersonates Fraydel; the author mentions some similar traits on several occasions. Similarly to this tragic character, Phoebe is also noticeably introverted and mysterious, and her “brilliant restlessness parallels Fraydel’s.”¹¹ Sasha also sees her granddaughter, in her vulnerability, as “a soul without a skin” (17), and feels an urge to protect her from the harshness of this world. Even by her physical resemblance she seems to be a reincarnation of Fraydel. The continuity is underlined by the selection of Phoebe’s Hebrew name for the *ketuba*, a Jewish prenuptial contract forming an integral part of a traditional Jewish marriage, when Sasha proposes the name Fraydel. Meyers argues that “paradoxically, a wedding contract comes to symbolize a line of Jewish female continuity that gender oppression, suicide, and the world-destroying effects of the Shoah have disrupted but not severed.”¹² Moreover, the family continuity is reinforced by the name of Phoebe’s new-born son Mayer Kantor; this relates to Sasha’s late husband Maurice, whose original name was also Mayer.

Last but not least, Goldstein’s novel is also about the victory of *mazel*, luck in Yiddish, in its rivalry with *saychel*, or brains, representing reason. The folktale describing their contention and introducing each section of the book forms another frame of the novel. *Mazel*, this “sly saboteur of cosmic coziness, subversive as the unholy laughter” (34) comes unexpectedly, and loves the sudden twists that permeate Goldstein’s story. It is an unpredictable, accidental element, based on the principle of randomness. In *mazel* the author finds a parallel to Hume’s criticism of causality, encapsulated in the sentence from his *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*: “All events seem entirely loose and separate. One event follows another, but we never can observe any tie between them. They seem *conjoined*, but never *connected*.”¹³ This does not mean that Goldstein,

11. Meyers, “On Homelands,” 134.

12. Helene Meyers, “The Death and Life of a Jewish Judith Shakespeare: Rebecca Goldstein’s *Mazel*,” *Shofar* 25, no. 3 (2007): 67.

13. David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748; Indianapolis: Hackett, 1993), 49.

through Sasha and the other characters, ignores the importance of reason, hence suppressing rationalism. The reader knows that it is not only good luck that stands behind seeming happenstance. After all, an old Yiddish proverb says: “*Ven mazel kumt, shtelt im a shtul*. When *mazel* comes, pull up a chair for it” (292).

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KILLING KINGS IN CANADA: THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY IN WILLIAM DEMPSEY VALGARDSON'S "BLOODFLOWERS"

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ABSTRACT: Canadian short story writer, William Dempsey Valgardson, may not belong among the best-known authors, but his short stories are highly regarded as valuable contributions to the canon of Canadian literature. This paper focuses on Valgardson's flagship short story, "Bloodflowers," and demonstrates the author's usage of the universal mythological pattern of human sacrifice via carefully chosen imagery and symbolism. The basis for critical analysis of the mythological pattern will be James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, which serves as a source of information on a variety of human sacrifice patterns that can be found in Valgardson's story. The result of the analysis should be a demonstration of how such a general myth resurfaces in the Canadian environment, confirming Carl Gustav Jung's theory of collective unconscious, which is based on the belief that almost all cultures share the same primordial images on which their mythologies are based.

KEYWORDS: William Dempsey Valgardson; mythology; myth; Carl Gustav Jung; community; collective unconscious; sacrifice; divine king; James George Frazer

"The collective unconscious – so far as we can say anything about it at all – appears to consist of mythological motifs or primordial images, for which reason the myths of all nations are its real exponents. In fact, the whole of mythology could be taken as a sort of projection of the collective unconscious."¹ This is how Carl Gustav Jung described the element that in his opinion unites civilizations worldwide – the collective unconscious. Psychologist and renowned mythologist, Joseph Campbell, in his 1949 monograph *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*,² subscribes to the point of view that every culture seems to be the heir of a certain collection of myths that resurface in various environments in more or less the same, or very similar, form.

This paper deals with the work of a lesser known Canadian author, who nevertheless belongs among the finest short story writers in Canadian literature – William Dempsey Valgardson. It demonstrates how Valgardson uses the universal mythological pattern of human sacrifice, and how he embeds it in his short story via carefully chosen imagery and symbolism and therefore makes a general myth resurface in the Canadian environment. A basis for critical consideration of the mythological pattern in Valgardson's work is James George Frazer's extensive anthropological study, *The Golden*

1. Carl Gustav Jung, *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, trans. R. F. C. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 152.

2. See Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Bough (1890), which surveys and cross-references myths and ritualistic practices from all over the world in a successful attempt to describe “mankind’s cultural odyssey.”³ Frazer’s vast research proves the validity of Jung’s theory, as certain primordial practices, which serve as the basis for the creation of a mythological apparatus of each culture, resurface in practically identical, or very similar forms in various places throughout the world, even on different continents.

A primary source in the analysis is Valgardson’s much anthologized short story, “Bloodflowers,” which also gave title to his first short story collection published in 1973. By providing a tentative selection from various rituals described in Frazer’s masterpiece that bear a resemblance to the one in Valgardson’s short story, this paper will illustrate how Valgardson uses a blend of various myths for the sake of his story, and, in accordance with Jung’s theory of mythic universalia, creates a short story that demonstrates a resurfacing of these universalia in the Canadian environment.

William Dempsey Valgardson is an author of Icelandic descent, which proves very influential when analyzing his works. He was brought up in Gimli, a fishing village on Lake Winnipeg in northern Manitoba. The village was formerly known as New Iceland,⁴ which shows the traces of the dominant role of Icelandic heritage in the area. Therefore, assumedly Valgardson was, at a certain point, exposed to the legends and mythology of northern Europe. As David Jackel notes, Valgardson’s Icelandic origin, together with life in a small community, influenced his writing, providing him not only with settings and themes but also with a “dark” vision of human life.⁵ When it comes to his short stories, Valgardson portrays almost exclusively people whose lives are formed by isolation, hard conditions and the brutal effects of northern climates; therefore, the mood can hardly be optimistic.

The short story “Bloodflowers” is no exception. It is set on barren, rocky Black Island on the coast of Newfoundland, and Labrador and presents an isolated community whose life is a record of hardships and strainings, wholly depending on nature’s whims. The island is described as a place where nothing grows – except for lichen and peculiar little red flowers that give the story its name.⁶ As there is practically no fertile soil, people on the island depend on fishing and imports. In the story, Valgardson’s notorious dark vision is enhanced by an occurrence of a universal mythological pattern found in countless cultures all over the world – the ritualistic practice of human sacrifice in order to protect the members of a community.

The first notion of mythology and the ritualistic way of life of the villagers appears very early in the story. When the main protagonist, a teacher named Danny, arrives to the island, his landlady, Mrs. Poorwilly, mentions the expected death of another member

3. M. F. Ashley Montagu, back cover of James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

4. See David Jackel, “W.D. Valgardson” in *Canadian Writers since 1960*, ed. W.H. New (Detroit: Gale Research, 1987), 355.

5. See Jackel, “W.D. Valgardson,” 355.

6. See William Dempsey Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” in *Bloodflowers* (Ottawa: Oberon, 1973), 6.

of the community by saying, “he’ll be the second,”⁷ which hints at the existence of an expected order of things based on a ritualized way of life in the Black Island community. One of the most important rules, which is associated with the natural state of things, as villagers perceive it, is the pattern of threes. Mrs. Poorwilly claims that misfortune always comes in threes and that trouble never stops unless it is on something made of threes.⁸ Also natural phenomena are subject to beliefs – when the sunrise is red, there will be a storm that evening,⁹ as well as the way to find a drowned fisherman: the villagers bring a rooster on a boat and “when they cross the body, the rooster will crow.”¹⁰

A clearly mythological reference comes from Danny himself, when he remembers a specific ritual he read about some time ago and tells Mrs. Poorwilly about it – “Europeans, long time ago, used to ward off evil by choosing a villager to be king for a year. Then so the bad luck of the old year would be done with, they killed him in the spring [. . .] They gave him anything he wanted. A woman, food, gifts, everything, since it was only for a year. Then when the first flowers bloomed, they killed him.”¹¹ Consequently, this is exactly what happens to Danny. When four villagers die instead of the three, thus breaking the expected pattern, Danny notices the change in villagers’ behavior towards him. He is given a local girl to live with, people keep bringing him food for which he is not allowed to pay, they shower him with gifts he did not ask for and they do not let him work. Feeling uneasy, Danny wants to visit the mainland but when he attempts to do so, he comes to know that the people from the Black Island community will not allow it; instead, they feed him lies about no ships and no planes coming and also about weather preventing the radio from working.

The actual killing of Danny, the king for a year, is not part of the story, although there is little doubt that it will eventually take place – thanks to the mythological reference Danny makes. If ancient Europeans chose a villager to be the king for a year, treated him the same way the Black Island community treats Danny and killed him when vegetation started to bloom, it can be assumed that Danny will be killed as well, at a time when vegetation appears. The story ends with Danny holding a fresh new leaf in his hand and an “image of thousands and thousands of bloodflowers spilling into his mind.”¹² The reference to the leaf and bloodflowers relates to the first blooming of flowers in Danny’s description of the ancient European ritual. Thus, clearly before long Danny will meet his fate of being a human sacrifice.

Bloodflowers serve not only as a reference to vegetation. They are also a powerful symbol that supports the interpretation that Danny indeed is to be sacrificed. In addition to that, bloodflowers as a symbol are connected to a remnant from Valgardson’s Icelandic cultural heritage. In the tenth chapter of the Icelandic *Eyrbyggja Saga* (in

7. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 7.

8. See Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 8.

9. See Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 6.

10. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 14.

11. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 9.

12. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 22.

English *The Saga of the Ere-Dwellers*) from the thirteenth century, there is a reference to sacrificing humans on a stone: "There is yet to be seen the Doom-ring, where men were doomed to the sacrifice. In that ring stands the stone of Thor over which those men were broken who were sacrificed, and the colour of the blood on that stone is yet to be seen."¹³ The *Eyrbyggja Saga* therefore provides an image of a bloody stone on which humans were sacrificed. When Danny sees bloodflowers for the first time, he notices that they are "growing from a crack in the rock"¹⁴ and that the "patches of red filled the cracks"¹⁵ on the rocks, which evokes an image of a bloodied stone, corresponding with the stone of Thor from the *Eyrbyggja Saga* and the way human sacrifice is described in it. The bloodflowers therefore form a clear link between the Icelandic ritual of human sacrifice and Danny, a potential offering.

When looking at the rituals, part of which was sacrificing a human, as described by Sir James George Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, three types employ such a practice. The first type partially corresponds with what Valgardson himself provided via Danny as reflector, when he remembers reading about the king for a year. The ritual Frazer depicts is called the killing of the divine king. However, there are certain discrepancies between the ritual Frazer described and the one of which Danny himself became an unwilling representative.

Frazer states that tribal peoples, for example the Shilluk of the White Nile, believed that the safety and welfare of their people, their cattle and corn depended on one of the god-men or a human incarnation of divinity, which usually meant their king. Whenever the king showed signs of ill-health or failing strength, Shilluk put him to death, so his failing health would not negatively affect the well-being of other members of community or their cattle.¹⁶ Other peoples, for example in Southern India or Scandinavia, took the practice of killing the divine king even further and put him to death at the end of a fixed term, so there was no chance of him growing ill and frail.¹⁷ This wide range of tribal peoples that serve as examples of this very similar ritualistic practice also once again confirm Jung's theory of collective unconscious. When this ritual is applied to Danny, he, the teacher, can be considered the only male person of authority (as the short story does not mention any other traditional authority person such as a priest, doctor or mayor). It is then possible to identify him as a representation of a king. The isolated community on Black Island therefore may see in Danny the incarnation of divinity, and they may apply to him the rules of when and under what circumstances such a person should be killed.

13. William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, trans., *The Saga of the Ere-Dwellers*, Icelandic Saga Database. http://sagadb.org/eyrbyggja_saga.en; according to *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, "Doom-ring" is a term for a stone circle marking the limits of an ancient Norse court of justice (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/doom%20ring>).

14. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 6.

15. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 7.

16. See James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 311–12.

17. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 319, 324.

A significant discrepancy arises when the reason for the slaughter of a king figure is considered. The decay of the divine king was feared because tribal peoples believed it would inevitably lead to the decay of cattle and corn. But, it is not the well-being of crops or domestic animals about which people on Black Island are concerned. Danny's sacrifice is connected with a flaw in the natural order. As Mrs. Poorwilly, a shamanic female figure, states – "trouble come in threes,"¹⁸ so there always should be three misfortunes in succession. When three members of the community die from old age, illness and drowning in the sea, "the tension in the community eases,"¹⁹ as members of the community expect the misfortunes to end. That would be the natural state of things. But then the wife of the dead fisherman commits suicide soon after her husband's death and disrupts the balance. It is this fourth death in a row that initiates a change in the attitude of community towards Danny and therefore can be marked as the point when he had been chosen for sacrifice in order to restore the lost balance.²⁰

The change of behavior is surprising, but not unpleasant, at first. Danny starts to enjoy the pleasures of being chosen and treated as king for a year, although he is ignorant of the ritualistic practice in which he unknowingly participates. He is moved from Mrs. Poorwilly's house to the house of Miss Adel, a young girl to whom he is attracted. Such a change is unexpected, because until that moment, the community took great precaution that Danny did not "squeeze fruit unless he's planning on buying"²¹; in other words, that a proper, old-fashioned courtship would take place between them. Danny is also surprised by children's reactions to his moving in with Adel. He expects them to make jokes, to wink and smirk, as youngsters normally would, but instead they "solemnly nodded their heads"²² as if they were told a grave piece of information.

Considering the above-mentioned discrepancy and taking into account the possible connection between Danny being chosen for sacrifice in order to regain the balance in the natural course of things, rather than the divine king being killed at the end of a fixed term, Danny might be considered a scapegoat, which is a second practice described by Frazer that is applicable to Danny's situation.

According to Frazer's study and examples that he collected among Australian aborigines, Alaskan Esquimaux and pagan Europeans, it was common practice among these tribal peoples to expel the accumulated evils from a village using a variety of methods. They either drove the Devil from every house in the settlement away with lighted twigs or by beating the walls with cudgels of limewood.²³ The Gonds of India, Albanians of the Eastern Caucasus or Tibetans selected a scapegoat, a divine man who is to die for the sins of the rest of the village. The desired effect of the ceremony, during which the scapegoat was killed, was a total clearance of all the misfortunes

18. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 8.

19. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 15.

20. Danny is not supposed to be one of yet another set of three misfortunes. His death is to end the new series of misfortunes and restore the lost balance caused by the fisherman's wife's suicide.

21. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 12.

22. Valgardson, "Bloodflowers," 16.

23. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 638–39, 648.

infesting a people, where the scapegoat was nothing more than a vehicle to convey the invisible and intangible evils away. The ceremony usually took place at some well-marked change of seasons, such as the beginning or end of winter.²⁴ The clear marking of the season when the scapegoat should be killed is applicable also to sacrificing Danny, as – how it was explained before with the aid of bloodflower symbolism and reference to vegetation – it can be assumed that he will be killed at the start of spring. His sacrifice can also be interpreted as a variation on the expulsion of evils infesting the community. Danny should be a vehicle who would convey all ills away and restore the natural balance. Nevertheless, also in this case, there is a discrepancy between Valgardson's short story and the common tribal practice. In Frazer's description, the scapegoats were not treated with reverence comparable to that shown to Danny; therefore, even this approximation is not entirely accurate.

The third tribal practice that shows similar traits to Danny's predicament and that is depicted in *The Golden Bough*, is human sacrifice for crops. According to Frazer, it was customary among tribal peoples of, e.g., Egypt and Phrygia, to kill the corn-spirit, which was to ensure that the crops next year will be plentiful. Some tribes believed the corn-spirit resided in the first corn that is cut and that it died under the sickle, but some had a more bloodthirsty version of the ritual. What can be deduced from the so-called Lityerses stories²⁵ is that the Phrygians' harvest custom included "certain persons, especially strangers passing the harvest field [who] were regularly regarded as embodiments of the corn-spirit, and as such were seized by the reapers, wrapt in sheaves, and beheaded, their bodies, bound up in the corn-stals, being afterwards thrown into water as a rain-charm."²⁶ Frazer implies that "the frequency of human sacrifices offered by savage races to promote the fertility of the fields"²⁷ was quite high. Not only Phrygians, but also "Pawnees annually sacrificed a human victim in spring when they sowed their fields [. . .] They thought that an omission of this sacrifice would be followed by the total failure of the crops of maize, beans and pumpkins. The victim was a captive of either sex. He was clad in the gayest and most costly attire, was fattened on the choicest food, and carefully kept in ignorance of his doom."²⁸

The resemblance with what happens to Danny, when taking the practice of killing the corn spirit, is striking. The custom of giving the embodiment of the corn spirit costly clothing is reflected in the story as the reverential treatment and gifts Danny receives. Apart from this treatment that is similar to the treatment of the selected human victim at the hands of the Pawnee tribe, there is another approximation that makes the reference to the sacrifice for the crops in connection with Valgardson's short story relevant. Just as the common practice of the Pawnee ritual was to keep the victim in ignorance, also Danny is craftily kept in the dark and is oblivious to his predicament.

24. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 661–66.

25. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 493–94.

26. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 494.

27. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 494.

28. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 501.

Whenever he becomes suspicious, the villagers do everything to convince him that nothing exceptional is going on.

A seeming discrepancy between the short story and the ritual described comes to mind when considering that Danny is not to be sacrificed because of the crops of maize or any other plant. As already mentioned, the main reason for it is regaining the natural balance in the community, but there is also another, less conspicuous reason. Apart from the disruption in the natural state of things that pesters the Black Island community, the story notes that “the fishing had been bad,”²⁹ and when people expected the weather and fishing to improve, “if anything, the weather became worse.”³⁰ Considering that for villagers on Black Island fishing is a major source of sustenance, it is an equivalent to crop production. Therefore, sacrificing Danny can be interpreted on the basis of the sacrifice for the crops ritual, and the above-mentioned discrepancy proves insubstantial.

By providing this tentative and therefore incomplete selection of possible inspirations to Valgardson as he wrote his flagship short story, it becomes clear that the author used a colourful blend of various myths and ancient rituals of various tribes and peoples, including Native Americans, African and Indian peoples, as well as Scandinavians and his own Icelanders. A rich mixture of sources such as this, sharing a common denominator – the practice of human sacrifice – also confirms Jung’s theory of collective unconscious and mythical universalia, for those tribal practices (which may have served as an initial impulse for the creation of mythological apparati) come from often distant and extremely diverse environments. Inhabitants of marginal areas in Canada, such as Black Island, were not the original settlers, the place of their origin being Europe. They probably have brought their beliefs and myths with them, in them, from the old continent. What Valgardson does in his short story is create a mirror image of a universal ritualistic practice that he introduces to the Canadian environment, giving the settlers of peripheral Canada a mythological apparatus that connects them with other cultures, nations and tribes. Not only does Valgardson provide the Black Island inhabitants with a mythology that unites them with other peoples and makes them a valid part of the world’s population, with “Bloodflowers” he also subscribes to the legacy of such writers as Shirley Jackson, who explore the hidden, sinister sides of life and behavior of isolated communities and manage to find connections between peoples from all over the world on an archetypal level and approximate them to one another.

With the use of a rich variety of sources and combining and cross-referencing them, William Dempsey Valgardson’s “Bloodflowers” presents a community whose life is governed by forces beyond their control, forces they inherited as a part of humanity, as Jung’s theory goes: practices, rituals and myths that all cultures share in the form of archetypes, buried deep in their unconscious.

29. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 10.

30. Valgardson, “Bloodflowers,” 15.

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THE MORAL FAILURE OF THE MENTOR-LOVER IN JANE AUSTEN'S *NORTHANGER ABBEY* AND *SENSE AND SENSIBILITY*

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ABSTRACT: Since contemporary ideas of womanhood were grounded in the patriarchal belief that simplicity, innocence or even gullibility were key features of female nature, many of Jane Austen's predecessors (Fanny Burney being among them) produced novels featuring young ladies guilty of youthful errors of judgment. Yet, those gentle fictional creatures could rely on the helping hand of a mentally superior, well-meaning young gentleman, a person fit to be the heroine's husband. Austen takes Burney's mentor-lover model further in *Sense and Sensibility* and *Northanger Abbey*. Both texts pay lip service to the legitimacy of the masculine vision while at the same time subverting it to make the reader concentrate on the satirical potential embedded in the very structure of the narratives.

KEYWORDS: sensibility; reason; satire; patriarchal; Jane Austen; Fanny Burney; mentor-lover

By nature, Jane Austen was the equal of the finest masculine satirists of the eighteenth century. Yet, as a proper lady of the Regency period, she felt bound to a sense of duty and the continuation of established patterns of thought and behavior. This double, ambivalent legacy tempered as well as inflamed Austen's unique gift and resulted in novels that hinge on the ambivalence of a woman's lot in life. Convention dictates that marriage equals a happy ending, but Austen prefers to view marriage in more realistic terms, as "the only honourable provision for well-educated women of small fortune, however uncertain of giving happiness, must be their pleasantest preservative from want."¹ Such was Jane Austen's predicament; a lively, witty, intelligent lady with a keen eye for satire, yet confined to respectability. Being a lady dictated the choice of topics an authoress could work on: a young woman's entrance into the world and finding the appropriate match and therefore a fixed position in the society's structure.

Jane Austen's debut novel, later published as *Northanger Abbey* (1818), was conceived as a satire, a desire to poke fun at silly contemporary romance novels and their voracious, indiscriminate (mostly female) readers. By taking confusion between reality and illusion as the subject, she slipped in the shoes of a number of predecessors, one of those being Charlotte Lennox, whose *Female Quixote* (1752) features a young lady whose head was turned by reading too much and observing too little. Arabella, its protagonist, grows up in isolation from society with little to read except her mother's store of historical romances which she mistakes for histories and accepts as social

1. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (Rockville: Arc Manor, 2008), 84.

behaviour guides. Incapable (or unwilling) to distinguish reality from fantasy, she – as Don Quixote before her – embarks on a series of amusing adventures. Ultimately, Arabella is cured of her obstinate silliness by a rational, patient suitor, an ideal “mentor-lover,” on whose rational judgment she learns to rely.²

Austen’s own parodic novel, *Northanger Abbey*, presented a protagonist who flies in the face of the conventional portrayal of contemporary fictional heroines: The reader would naturally expect a woman at the center of a novel to be well-behaved, intelligent, educated and extremely beautiful. Starting from such expectations, the puzzled reader finds out that Catherine Moreland

had a thin awkward figure, a sallow skin without colour, dark lank hair and strong features. . . . She never could learn or understand anything before she was taught; and sometimes not even then, for she was often inattentive, and occasionally stupid.³

The only adventure a girl in the eighteenth century was supposed to hope for was finding a young man to marry. Before long, the simple, inexperienced Catherine, a voracious reader of popular novels, who does not know the ways of the world, finds herself in Bath, courted by two gentlemen at once; Mr. Thorpe, her brother’s friend, and a charming, funny and slightly mysterious clergyman, Mr. Tilney from *Northanger Abbey*. Catherine is drawn to Henry, a charming young clergyman, and his intelligent sister. Their father, Gen. Tilney invites Catherine to stay with them at *Northanger Abbey*. This is not a gesture of kindness – it turns out the Thorpes misinformed the general about Catherine’s dowry and he hopes Catherine may fall in love with Henry during her visit. Catherine has read about abbeys in Gothic novels and therefore she sees *Northanger* and people who inhabit it through Gothic conventions. Henry, her mentor-lover, is perfectly aware of Catherine’s lack of the power of discrimination, the fact that her mind cannot operate in the realm of satire and irony, and what is worst, of her almost absolute reliance on Henry’s judgment. Since Henry, a born satirist, keeps egging her on for fun rather than providing any instruction, many of her further mistakes may be construed as his fault, for he must realize he is leading her astray by concocting dreadful little stories of dangers awaiting her in *Northanger*, all of them befitting the horrifying convention of Gothic fiction and Catherine’s frame of mind.

Yet, when Catherine starts harboring suspicions that her suitor’s rather sinister father, Gen. Tilney, might have contributed to his late wife’s demise and admits her speculations to Henry Tilney, he, shocked and disappointed, steps – far too late – into his mentor role:

What have you been judging from? Remember the country and the age in which we live. Remember that we are English, that we are Christians. Consult your own understanding, your own sense of the probable, your own observation of what is passing around you – Does our education prepare us for such atrocities? Do our laws connive at them? Could they be perpetrated without being known, in a country like this, where social and literary intercourse is on such a footing; where every man is surrounded by a neighborhood of voluntary spies?⁴

2. See Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote: Or, the Adventures of Arabella* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

3. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (London: Harper Collins, 2010), 3.

4. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, 204.

Catherine, humbled, and miserable, fearful of losing Henry's affection, eagerly clears the general of all suspicions, never again venturing any critical judgments about him. Yet the tables are turned on his rational view. When the general finds out that Catherine is not a rich heiress, he throws her out of his house in the middle of the night, thus vindicating Catherine's instinct, not Henry's mistaken point of view.⁵

Despite all this, Catherine never conceives a grown-up version of her dealings with Gen. Tilney, nor does she experience awakening of her own power of discrimination due to Henry's "rational advice." As it transpires, his carefully worded advice to Catherine, "consult your own understanding," reads more like "consult mine."

Sense and Sensibility (1811) draws on the tradition of moralistic fiction, where a set of characters represents opposed temperaments, attitudes to self, society and conduct. By writing it, Austen claims sisterhood with popular female writers of the day, Elizabeth Inchbald, Jane West and Maria Edgeworth, whose once popular novels portray antithetic heroines⁶ – one of them embracing sense, order and judgment, the other being prone to enthusiastic, indiscriminate exercises of sensibility.⁷ In these novels, prudent behavior is rewarded with happiness (usually taking the form of an eligible marriage prospect), whereas unrestrained sentiment leads to moral confusion, disaster or even tragic death.

In *Sense and Sensibility*, Elinor, the older Dashwood sister, comes to represent sense, while Marianne, the younger one, is associated with sensibility. The Dashwood women are left with little money and few prospects when their father dies, as his property passes to his son by first marriage, John. Elinor falls for John's relative, Edward Ferrars, and though her feelings seem to be reciprocated, the potential couple is kept apart by their respect for honor and duty since Edward had committed himself – very rashly and foolishly – to another woman. This person turns out a calculating minx and her elopement with Edward's newly rich brother sets Edward free with his honor intact and capable of offering his hand in marriage to Elinor. Marianne is swept off her feet with a charming, unconventional, yet rakish Willoughby. His past actions – seducing and abandoning a girl – come to light, making his benefactress change her mind (and her testament). Willoughby's greatly reduced financial circumstances scare him into abandoning the virtually penniless Marianne and making a marriage of convenience. Protracted suffering takes a toll on Marianne, inconsolable after his betrayal. Having nearly died of fever, she emerges as a person repenting her unreasonable and stubborn

5. Sending a young lady away at night, in a stagecoach and without a chaperon is the most Gothic villain-like behavior imaginable. Given the circumstances, a person spared sexual harassment or even rape could consider it a miracle. For more on the subject of sexual harassment as a part of social structure, see Janet Barron and David Nokes, "Market, Morality and Sentiment: Non-dramatic Prose, 1660–1789," in *Augustan Literature: A Guide to Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature, 1660 to 1789*, ed. Eva Simmons (London: Bloomsbury, 1994), 31–33.

6. See Elizabeth Inchbald's *Nature and Art* (1796), Jane West's *A Gossip's Story, and a Legendary* (1795), and Maria Edgeworth's *Letters of Julia and Caroline* (1795).

7. Jane Todd defines sensibility as "an innate sensitiveness or susceptibility revealing itself in a variety of spontaneous activities such as crying, swooning and kneeling." Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 7.

behavior, willingly accepting the hand of the patient, long-suffering Col. Brandon, whose steady affection she used to ignore.

Yet, it takes a long time, missteps on Marianne's part, and protracted and noisy suffering over her rakish suitor's cruelty, before Marianne, aided by well-meaning friends, is capable of acknowledging her responsibility and casting away her youthful sentimental errors. At the very beginning, Marianne seemed to be living by a higher law, believing her sensibility made her a cut above the rest. Such people – guided and elevated by infallible instinct – apparently cannot do wrong. If rebuked of impropriety of an unchaperoned female visiting an estate only in the company of a young man, Marianne is not even capable of understanding her sister's reasonable arguments:

"I never spent a pleasanter morning in my life."

"I am afraid," said Elinor, "that the pleasantness of an employment does not always evince its propriety."

"On the contrary, nothing can be stronger proof of it, Elinor; for if there had been any real impropriety in what I did, I should have been sensible of it at the time, for we always know when we are acting wrong, and with such a conviction I could have had no pleasure."⁸

Stuart M. Tave considers sensibility as presented in Austen's characters "a simple disguise under which selfish people can attain their own end at the expense of others."⁹ Multiple examples can be found in Austen's juvenile texts, e.g., in her famous "Love and Friendship":

Whether it was from this circumstance, of its being easily taken, or from a wish of being independent, or from an excess of Sensibility (for which we were always remarkable) I cannot now determine, but certain it is that when we had reached our 15th year, we took the Nine Hundred Pounds and ran away.¹⁰

Marianne, a girl used to having her own way, Marianne running mad with love, hurting those caring about her by a self-inflicted martyrdom that nearly takes her life, is in a desperate need of a mentor-lover. Brandon, the man of steady affections, volunteers himself to do the task, yet he must act vicariously, since Marianne, irrational and angry, will not see him, therefore he is to influence Elinor first and depend on her passing the message to the proper recipient. His stratagem works, Elinor falls under the spell of Brandon and Marianne learns, slowly but steadily, to respect her guardian angel in human form.

Elinor is the first to learn of Willoughby's depravity (seducing and abandoning Brandon's ward, the daughter of his lost love), and of the duel fought over her honour. She is also privy to his own story of woe; a failed attempt to elope with one betrothed to his elder brother, a story with a cliché convention – after years, he finds a fallen woman on the verge of death:

8. Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2000), 45.

9. Stuart M. Tave, "The Sensibility of Marianne Dashwood and the Exertion of Elinor Dashwood," in *Jane Austen: Critical Assessments*, ed. Ian Littlewood (Mountfield: Helm Information, 1988), 3:223.

10. Jane Austen, *Love and Friendship and Other Early Works* (London: The Woman's Press, 1978), 33. The young gentlemen purloined the whole family savings, thus leaving their mother destitute, facing impending death of malnutrition.

I could not trace her beyond her first seducer, and there was every reason to fear that she had removed from him only to sink deeper in a life of sin. That she was, to all appearance, in the last stage of a consumption was – yes in such a situation it *was my greatest comfort*. Life could do nothing for her, beyond giving time for a better preparation for death; and that was given.¹¹

However, his long speech contains his own condemnation. It is *him* the reader should identify as the woman's first seducer – of mind, though not body – because their adventure failed and the lady was restored to her family. His mentor-lover left a mark on her in the sense that she is entitled to throw herself to the power of man, if life gets too rough; a patter she repeated until her abysmally horrible end. His past actions, especially the cruel words about the dying woman, do not qualify him to pass judgment on Willoughby, a man of equally rash and selfish behavior in the past. Yet Brandon is the man fate has in store for Marianne as her mentor-lover turned loving husband.

Apparently, Austen takes Burney's mentor-lover model much further in *Sense and Sensibility* and *Northanger Abbey*. Austen's predecessors accept, very meekly, that females will always be in need of the guidance of a moral, worldly man. Yet Austen's texts pay only lip service to the legitimacy of masculine vision while subverting and undermining it at the same time. In *Northanger Abbey*, the heroine's instinct turns tables on her mentor's judgment; *Sense and Sensibility* even shocks the reader to realize that the embodiment of virtue, Col. Brandon, used to be a seducer in the making in his youth. Such discrepancies help the reader concentrate on the satirical potential embedded in the very structure of the narratives.

Satire is to mock and censure errant individuals or the folly of society, aiming to correct vice and folly. Its (ideally) detached author, smug and self-confident person looks down on the follies of society. Yet one has to admit that detachment of satirists is ambivalent and does not necessarily denote confidence, since satirists find themselves too often baffled by life's complexity or disturbed by the spectacle of vice in a society that is beyond any remedy.

By the same token, satire does not always vie for the position of moral policeman of literature – something to be in favor of moderation, responsible behavior, reason and logic. Satire may also serve as the last refuge of the powerless and the helpless, within the protean realm of satire a message of protest can be whispered. Such is the case of Catherine and Marianne. The rules applied to domestic fiction are adamant that their rite of passage must be happily concluded in a suitable marriage. Satire is not to set them free; on the contrary. Ultimately, they will find themselves bribed into silence by marriage, thus becoming a part of the oppressive patriarchal system themselves.

Catherine has not been informed, but brainwashed to accept someone else's view, apparently "for her own good" and indeed, Austen claims she is to enjoy "perfect happiness."¹² Marianne realized the suffocating world is composed of limited, often depressing choices, trying to pose as "happiness." A gap opens between what the text wishes to say and what it is constrained to say. This is the moment where responses to

11. Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 137. My italics.

12. Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 273.

Jane Austen's novel split. Some readers will go on reading it happily at its face value, following Catherine's and Marianne's fate and continuing uninformed and ignorant, whereas others perceive another layer to the story, with disquieting details. As soon as one of them is noticed, the power of retrospective logic illuminates many other disruptions within the narrative. D.W. Harding defined such implicitly condemning comments as aspects of "regulated hatred,"¹³ a proof of social paranoia which made Jane Austen lose control of her artistry throughout the narrative.

These ironic outbursts tend to form an undercurrent rather than a series of isolated incidents; amounting to counter-narrative that subverts the official version of this Jane Austen story. And it is a well-known fact that irony serves as a portal in the fabric of such "flawed" narrative, an opening devised to allow the reader into the rabbit-hole of interpretation.

A discriminate reader might suggest that Harding's "slips" should not be labeled as such, merely as a matter of catching the great narrator off her guard. Yet she was a satirist by inclination.¹⁴ The prevalent hostility and cynicism of her juvenile works (the immediate predecessors of *Northanger Abbey*), which were intended only for her family's amusement, are far too obvious to be open to doubt. However, a capacity for demonstrative frankness and satire could hardly be considered appropriate if a Regency lady ever wanted to become a published author. Therefore Austen, given her predicament, decided to bury her anger and cynicism in the subtext so as not to affront her publishers and readers.

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13. D. W. Harding, *Regulated Hatred and Other Essays on Jane Austen*, ed. Monica Lawlor (London: Athlone, 1998), 3.

14. However, as Susan Staves remarks, the anxiety of male writers that satire was a problematic genre were shared by their female contemporaries, who laboured under the additional burden that to publish satire seemed an unladylike activity. See Susan Staves, *A Literary History of Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 171.

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“WHAT THE PATRIOTS FEEL”: VIRGINIA WOOLF’S RETHINKING OF WAR

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ABSTRACT: This article takes up Virginia Woolf’s essay written during World War II and delivered to an American audience in a lecture entitled “Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid” (1940). In this short but compelling essay, Woolf engages the trope of sleep that is interrupted by the sounds of war. This kind of awakening during warfare works for Woolf as an invitation to a painful but necessary realization: she appeals to the audience to examine their understanding of warfare, using the same measuring stick for wars that are generally accepted as just and victorious. Woolf strives to revise traditional concepts of war; when unexamined, conventional thinking about war will only uphold divisions and hierarchies that eventually perpetuate violence. Thus Woolf urges the audience to rethink dangerous divisions in our minds, such as ones between separate nations, or them (the enemy) and us.

KEYWORDS: Virginia Woolf; modernism; patriotism; World War II; British literature; women

“Odd how often I think with what is love I suppose of the City: of the walk to the Tower: that is my England: I mean, if a bomb destroyed one of those little alleys with the brass bound curtains and the river smell and the old woman reading, I should feel – well, what the patriots feel.”
– Virginia Woolf¹

Virginia Woolf’s patriotic feelings, prompted by an almost unimaginable thought of a possible destruction of London, were noted down in her journal entry of February 2, 1940. That same year, Woolf wrote her essay, “Thoughts on Peace in an Air Raid,” in which she expressed similar feelings. The theme of Woolf’s address, surprisingly, was not war as such, but “current matters concerning women.”² Equally surprising was the intended audience of “Thoughts”; it was not British, but American.³ In this essay, Woolf goes beyond writing a mere anti-war tract. She exposes her own process of coming to terms with war, the second in her life already, simultaneously striving to find a possible

1. Virginia Woolf, “Friday, February 2, 1940,” in *Virginia Woolf: A Writer’s Diary*, ed. Leonard Woolf (Orlando: Harcourt, 1953), 313.

2. Virginia Woolf, “Notes on Peace in an Air Raid,” in *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 243.

3. Beth Daugherty provides the following background for “Thoughts.” In May 1940, Woolf was asked by Motier Harris Fischer to write for a symposium in New York about American women. Contributions to the symposium were later supposed to be turned into a book. Although Woolf was given freedom to write on any topic, Fischer suggested that American women who read *Three Guineas* were interested in the further elaboration on the theme of women and peace during wartime. At the same time, Daugherty also points out that Woolf’s “Thoughts” was her last essay to appear in the United States during her life. See Beth Daugherty, “The Transatlantic Virginia Woolf: Essaying an American Audience,” *Virginia Woolf Miscellany* 76 (2009): 9–11.

platform of resistance and action, one that would be understandable for British and American audiences alike.⁴ And she comes to some surprising conclusions.

The essay first engages the audience's attention by describing a curious sensation: comfortable sleep is being broken by deadly sounds of war during an aerial battle.

The Germans were over this house and the night before that. It is a queer experience, lying in the dark and listening to the zoom of a hornet, which may at any moment sting you to death. It is a sound that interrupts cool and consecutive thinking about peace. Yet it is a sound – far more than prayers and anthems – that should compel one to think about peace.⁵

The “air raid” in the essay's title stands for the Battle of Britain. But Woolf's writing is more complicated than simply speaking against war. Woolf's essay can be read on two levels. On one level, it is a traditional anti-war piece. On another level, it is also a piece attacking the traditional concept of warfare, thus making a case for war.

Instead of conventional anti-war rhetoric, urging women to join men in a common fight for peace, Woolf instead turns the attention of the audience inward, exposing the inadequacy of familiar, seemingly unshakable beliefs and concepts. Conventional rubrics, such as patriotism, nationalism, or the “matters concerning women,” Woolf argues, have become stale, no longer leading to more than just mere revenge and the perpetuation of the status quo. She shows that peace will need to be re-constructed from radically different building blocks. Thus Woolf turns unexamined concepts of warfare upside down, inviting the audience on both sides of the Atlantic to revisit them again. Rhetorically, she rallies the audiences to take action by proposing that the battleground is our mind. Re-thinking war, in other words, will pose demands on our thinking, necessarily waking people from their metaphorical sleep.

The target of Woolf's war is the tradition of war that is being perpetuated as an unexamined phenomenon lodged in people's minds and propagated by the media. For Woolf, perpetuating this tradition only perpetuates the unacceptable status quo. She laments: “Every day they tell us that we are a free people, fighting to defend freedom. That is the current that has whirled up the young airman up into the sky and keeps him circling there among the clouds.”⁶ Here Woolf implies that the repetitive clichés of public discourse are the very force that perpetuates war, the force that “keeps [people] circling” within the same mental space; it literally “clouds” their (in)sight.

Such obfuscation of thinking happens primarily in the media. Woolf juxtaposes two piercing sounds of war, comparing the deadly “hornets in the sky” to those “zooming in THE TIMES,” and blames the “current” of public speech that “flows fast and furious” and “issues in a spate of words from the loudspeakers and the politicians.”⁷ The solidified tradition is thus responsible for “the young airman” being “up in the sky” and not fast asleep at home.

4. The theme of Woolf and war appears in many critical studies. See, for example, Karen L. Levenback, *Virginia Woolf and the Great War* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999); or Mark Hussey, ed., *Virginia Woolf and War: Fiction, Reality, and Myth* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992).

5. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 243.

6. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 244.

7. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 244.

Woolf constantly challenges the audience to “fight with the mind,” but this kind of fighting must be simultaneously directed against one’s own mind.⁸ As a slogan for this kind of mental warfare, Woolf chooses the words of William Blake from his “Jerusalem,” a part of his epic poem “Milton” (1804). To his words of wisdom, “I will not cease from mental fight,” Woolf adds her own: “Mental fight means thinking against the current, not with it.”⁹

The essay abounds in examples of such a double-edged mental fight, one in which in order to combat tradition, the mind must fight itself. Since this fight is waged “with” the mind, “against” the mind, but also on the grounds of the mind, it must necessarily target language. The dismantling of the deeply ingrained structures of language and thinking, such as the binary between “us” and “the enemy,” constitutes a key strategy. The very first sentence of the essay makes a good example of it. The essay starts with the designation of the Germans as an enemy. It reads: “The Germans were over this house last night and the night before that. Here they are again.”¹⁰ In this sentence, Woolf casts Germans as an enemy, destroying her home, flying over “this house,” destroying it from above. However, she does not hold to this construction of an enemy according to nationality. She urges her audience to doubt these categories that operate in our thinking as deeply ingrained binary oppositions and reject them. She asks, “But what is the use of freeing the young Englishman if the young German and the young Italian remain slaves?”¹¹ This question debunks the traditional categories of war by questioning the concept of freedom predicated on the exclusivity of one group only, whose very identity as victors depends on differentiating themselves from others, the losers, who are denied this prerogative of freedom. Woolf suggests that instead of looking at the Germans, the Italians, or some other group to find the enemies, we need to look at ourselves. In other words, it is our mindset that is the enemy.

Literary scholars have addressed the way Woolf recruits language for political purpose. For example, Victoria Middleton points to Woolf’s subversive rhetoric.¹² Middleton focuses on Woolf’s other, more famous treatises, *Three Guineas* (1938), one in which Woolf famously voices her stance against war, and also *A Room of One’s Own* (1928). She argues that Woolf fights her own fight, the fight of the artist who “contrasts a reductive and imperialistic view of language . . . with the free play of plural meanings.”¹³ By experimenting with these “rhetorical ploys,” Middleton argues, Woolf “wants to reinterpret the meaning of words; to resist the lure of old myths, symbols, and slogans; and to rewrite old scripts of power.”¹⁴

8. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 244.

9. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 244.

10. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 243.

11. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 248.

12. Other critics have examined the relationship between Woolf’s use of language. See, for example, Judith Allen, *Virginia Woolf and the Politics of Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

13. Victoria Middleton, “*Three Guineas*: Subversion and Survival in the Professions,” *Twentieth Century Literature* 28, no. 4 (1982): 408.

14. Middleton, “*Three Guineas*: Subversion and Survival in the Professions,” 409.

Obviously, Woolf's "mental fight" is deeply political.¹⁵ What needs to be emphasized, however, is that such a fight could hardly be effective if it were not simultaneously creative. For Woolf, to re-write "old scripts of power" means to experiment with language, to play with words. She shows that creativity is not only a survival strategy, but ultimately it is the only strategy to create peace. In the following example, Woolf shows that in a state of darkness, whether she means the dark hour of the modern civilization, or the darkness of a room where people await the end of an air raid, the "emotion of fear and of hate," deemed "sterile, infertile," can be replaced by poetry.¹⁶ She writes:

Since the room is dark it can create only from memory. It reaches out to the memory of other Augusts – in Bayreuth, listening to Wagner; in Rome, walking over the campagna; in London. Friends' voices come back. Scraps of poetry return. Each of those thoughts, even in memory, was far more positive, reviving, healing and creative than the dull dread made of fear and hate.¹⁷

Indeed, the essay abounds in war language employed in the service of peace. The meanings thus created often take us by surprise. Woolf, for example, says that in order "to make ideas effective, we must be able to fire them off."¹⁸ Here she transforms the connection between the verb and its object: "firing off" does not entail bullets but ideas. Or at another place, she says that "it is our business to puncture gas bags and discover seeds of truth."¹⁹ Thus "gas bags," as a means of protection, turn out to harm us instead; they cause mental death by protecting us against truth.

For Woolf, as an artist, creativity is her weapon of choice. She makes clear that invoking the power of creativity is not only vital for anti-war activism, but the only possible way to uproot the tradition of war. Woolf believes that creativity is a way out of the stalemate because it works both as an antidote to war as well as an alternative to living in a war-perpetuating mentality. She holds that "if we are to compensate the young man for the loss of his gun, we must give him access to the creative feelings. We must make happiness. We must free him from the machine. We must bring him out of his prison into the open air."²⁰

Here Woolf's manifesto on creative power as a way to peace could end. However, it gets even more complicated. Woolf warns that the mind also encompasses nebulous,

15. Clearly, Woolf herself was not an apolitical persona as she was often wrongfully perceived. See, for example, Beth Daugherty, "The Transatlantic Virginia Woolf: Essaying an American Audience," 9–11. Daugherty points out that although this view was upheld by Leonard Woolf and Quentin Bell, she was not perceived so by the American audience. Hermione Lee, Woolf's biographer, agrees. She writes that Woolf's agenda "has tended to be misunderstood and undervalued," stating as one of the reasons, Woolf's artistic means that were supposed to deliver her political message, apparent, for example, in *Three Guineas*, in which "she devised a deliberately fluid structure to undermine the rigid insistence on propaganda and polemic." Another reason Lee finds in Woolf's self-presentation as an introverted person, rather withdrawn from the grand affairs of public life. See Hermione Lee, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1996), 681.

16. Woolf, "Thoughts," 247.

17. Woolf, "Thoughts," 247.

18. Woolf, "Thoughts," 243.

19. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244–45.

20. Woolf, "Thoughts," 248.

hard-to-access regions. She talks about the subconscious mind. The tradition of war, unfortunately, is equally lodged in the conscious and unconscious minds, she implies, but the latter is trickier because it involves feelings, emotions, even love harnessed in the service of war. Woolf's tone gets very decisive in her appeal to fight the subconscious mind: "We must help the young Englishmen to root out from themselves the love of medals and decorations. We must create more honourable activities for those who try to conquer in themselves their fighting instinct, their subconscious Hitlerism."²¹ Woolf had used the term "subconscious Hitlerism" previously in *Three Guineas* (1938). Drawing on Freud, whose work she deemed inspiring, in "Thoughts" she further exposes the workings of the subconscious mind responsible for upholding the tradition of war.²²

The deadlock between tradition and the subconscious mind will be hard to break, as Woolf fears. In this respect, she brings to the fore yet another sound (besides those generated by the media and the aerial battle). This sound, solidifying the old regimes of thinking, is the call of instincts: "The young airman up in the sky is driven not only by the voices of loudspeakers; he is driven by a voice in himself – ancient instincts, instincts fostered and cherished by education and tradition. Is he to be blamed for those instincts?"²³ Uprooting these "instincts," Woolf suspects, proves to be a Herculean task not only for the times of war, but also for the times after. The same subconscious impulses, if heeded, will yield same emotions, and thus same problems: "Othello's occupation will be gone. But he will remain Othello."²⁴

Woolf takes up this Herculean task.²⁵ First, she exposes the boundary beyond which subconscious, irrational instincts blend with conscious, rational thinking. She delineates the border beyond which they become solidified, accepted as normal or natural. Woolf draws a surprising analogy, wondering whether it would be equally

21. Woolf, "Thoughts," 245.

22. Lee even suggests that Woolf's "argument in *Three Guineas* of the latent Hitlerism in her own society had anticipated some of Freud's argument" expressed in his *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921). Lee, *Virginia Woolf*, 724. Lee also states that Woolf extends her thinking on war into the realm of the relationship between daughters and fathers in the Victorian society: "It was nothing new for her to write about repression and inhibition, but one of Freud's effects was to make her think more dramatically about the close relation of shame and servility to despotism. Here, she couldn't avoid a disturbing comparison between how she had responded to her father and the psychological effects of Nazism. . . . Her reaction to Hitler – shame, fear, helplessness, rage, a horror of 'passive acquiescence' – was made up of the same emotions she used to have for Leslie. Freud confirmed the relationship she already felt between the daughter's emotion and the political emotion." Lee, *Virginia Woolf*, 725. Interestingly, another prominent Woolf scholar, Susan Merrill Squier, locates the impetus to the concept of "subconscious Hitlerism" in Woolf's early childhood, namely in an episode of fighting with her older brother, in which Woolf, as a child, remained passive, finding it impossible for a girl "to deny man his role as dominator, victor." See Susan Merrill Squier, *Virginia Woolf and London: The Sexual Politics of the City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 31.

23. Woolf, "Thoughts," 246.

24. Woolf, "Thoughts," 246.

25. In her interpretation of Woolf's last novel, *Between the Acts* (1941), published after her suicide, Squier sees Woolf losing faith in the positive outcome of the kind of mental fight she envisioned in "Thoughts." Squier writes: "In its final scene we are drawn back to primeval time – before there were cities, before there were roads – to concede that human character is so instinct dominated that change is impossible and conflict inevitable." See Squier, *Virginia Woolf and London*, 188.

difficult for a man to give up these “ancient instincts,” to get rid of “subconscious Hitlerism,” as it would be for a woman to give up her maternal instincts. Woolf, certainly to the surprise of the audience, poses a bold question: “Could we switch off the maternal instinct at the command of a table full of politicians?”²⁶ Her answer, even more surprisingly, is positive: “But if it were necessary, for the sake of humanity, for the peace of the world, that childbearing should be restricted, the maternal instinct subdued, women would attempt it.”²⁷ To this affirmative stand, she adds: “Men would help them. They would honour them for their refusal to bear children. They would give them other openings for their creative power.”²⁸

However, Woolf’s conviction sounds rather suspicious. When using such an unequivocal tone, her goal, perhaps, was not to persuade but rather to doubt, to stir the audience from their comfort zone, to direct their attention to examine their own, heartfelt feelings toward motherhood. Perhaps Woolf’s conviction is effective precisely because she raises eyebrows, if not directly the audience’s dissent. Regardless of her original intention, Woolf’s stated conviction that motherhood could be given up on demand, should that be a way toward peace, certainly meets the concept of mental fight, which seems to be, primarily, an unsettling inquiry into the workings of one’s own conscious and subconscious mind. Thus Woolf’s almost matter-of-fact statement on the disposability of maternal instincts exposes the very presence of unexamined feelings and affiliations, be it the love of a child, or of “medals and decorations,” thus making the audience realize the difficulty of fighting against such deep mental structures.²⁹ Woolf’s audacious rhetoric helps reveal what otherwise remains invisible because it seems familiar, normal or natural. She makes us see the complexity of the knot that ties together tradition, education, language, the conscious and the subconscious mind. In other words, Woolf sheds light on those markers within our minds that stake out the very terrain of our “mental fight,” to gauge the very battleground of it, and take account of strengths as well as weaknesses of our own powers.

As stated, Woolf’s essay targets the tradition of war that remains far from the reach of our critical, examining eye. In that territory of unexamined thoughts and instincts, we are as powerless as if we were asleep. In this respect, it is possible to read Woolf’s central metaphor of sleep as one drawing attention to this lack of critical inquiry. But this metaphor may work on yet another level. Sleep is a fragile state; Woolf foregrounds this vulnerability, felt by many in the face of brute force, for the purpose of understanding its transformative potential.

26. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 246.

27. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 247.

28. Woolf, “Thoughts,” 247.

29. Rachel Bowlby warns against a possible misreading of Woolf’s argument. Bowlby claims that Woolf’s words “sound as though they are taking for granted natural distinctions in the inclinations and interests of the sexes.” However, Bowlby reminds us that “the point of the analogy is to say that the problem of why men make war is not one that can be dealt with simply, as though it were merely a matter of logical conviction or the removal of crude propaganda.” Rachel Bowlby, *Feminist Destinations and Further Essays on Virginia Woolf* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 240.

Moreover, her feat of empowering the seemingly powerless has a particular meaning for women, who are traditionally seen as lacking in the capacity to wage wars: "Arms are not given to Englishwomen either to fight the enemy or to defend herself."³⁰ Besides lacking weapons, women are also excluded from the arena of politics: "All the idea makers who are in a position to make ideas effective are men."³¹ At the same time, however, Woolf encourages women to re-examine their own self-image as powerless victims: "That is a thought that damps thinking, and encourages irresponsibility. Why not bury the head in the pillow, plug the ears, and cease this futile activity of idea-making?"³²

Woolf expands on the trope of vulnerability by invoking the traditional image of a powerless woman who "must lie weaponless tonight" in order to subvert it.³³ She asks, "How far can she fight for freedom without firearms?"³⁴ In Woolf's rendering, vulnerability needs to be understood as an essential means of fighting against the tradition of war. For example, she describes, "It is a queer experience, lying in the dark and listening to the zoom of a hornet which may at any moment sting you to death."³⁵ Here Woolf does not urge the sleepers to fight back, however, but to transform their vulnerable position into focused thinking: "It is a sound that interrupts cool and consecutive thinking about peace. Yet it is a sound – far more than prayers and anthems – that should compel one to think about peace."³⁶ It can be said that the broken sleep directly turns sleepers into mental fighters.

Woolf warns women that their "mental fight," because of its inquisitive, inward-focused direction, makes them be perceived as vulnerable. Any moment of self-inquiry, in which women pause and fight their own minds instead of fighting the "enemy," may be ridiculed as "private thinking" or "tea-table thinking" that "seems useless" to the general public.³⁷ However, Woolf wonders: "Are we not stressing our disability because our ability exposes us perhaps to abuse, perhaps to contempt?"³⁸ And she goes on to argue that private, inward-focused, "mental fight" is the most effective, albeit underestimated, weapon: "Are we not leaving the young Englishman without a weapon that might be of value to him if we give up private thinking, tea-table thinking, because it seems useless?"³⁹ In this respect, Woolf claims that women's "mental fight," no matter how vulnerable it makes them seem, is the only weapon to eradicate the tradition of war, to un-othelloize Othello.

Woolf's essay ends in silence. The German plane zooming over the house at the beginning is now gone and the peaceful night returns. However, the desired peace,

30. Woolf, "Thoughts," 243.

31. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

32. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

33. Woolf, "Thoughts," 243.

34. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

35. Woolf, "Thoughts," 243.

36. Woolf, "Thoughts," 243.

37. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

38. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

39. Woolf, "Thoughts," 244.

restored after the earsplitting air-raid, is different in quality. There is a difference, as Woolf implies, in peace on both sides of the Atlantic. In America, people's sleep is peaceful, not yet broken by the sounds of war. But these sounds are nevertheless approaching. Woolf adds her own voice to the deafening sounds of war – the drones of planes, the buzzing voices of politicians, and subconscious calls of instincts. Woolf's voice is one that Americans can hear; it is a wake-up call that breaks their sleep, urging them to examine the tradition of war, and reminding them of the necessity to choose their own weapons. If America is called on to fight Hitler in the public arena of the Second World War, Woolf's voice, instead, pleads with them to fight on a very different platform – to inquire and introspect, to fight mentally in quiet, to fight ourselves. It is a timeless message.

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TRANSNATIONALITY IN ZADIE SMITH'S *WHITE TEETH*

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ABSTRACT: Transnationality is a recent phenomenon, largely misunderstood as globalization, which is in turn often limited to its merely economic sense. Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) explores transnational complexities beyond these limitations, re-inventing personalized meanings of ethnically and racially diverse transnationals in cosmopolitan suburban London. In her novel, Smith examines levels and shapes of cultural syncretism and focuses on the fluidity of transnational identity. Through bi-cultural identities, Smith examines the dynamics and modalities of cultural flows that propose to erase differences. Smith seems to agree with Arjun Appadurai that transnational culture is shaped by bi-directional cultural flows and that such an exchange transgresses regional and national boundaries. Optimistic yet ironic, Smith documents the development of a new cosmopolitan era and in consequence shows how personal aspirations blur Kwame Anthony Appiah's vision that warring factions will finally put aside their supposed differences and recognize fundamental human values that transgress supposed differences.

KEYWORDS: Zadie Smith; transnational literature; cultural flows; Arjun Appadurai; Kwame Anthony Appiah; cosmopolitan era; cultural syncretism; Khaled Hosseini; cultural globalization

Recently, transnationalism has become a subject of heated academic debates across. In particular, it provides literary studies with a new theoretical *lingua franca* that allows literary scholars to address, identify and evaluate extensive transgressions. The concept of transnationalism can be ambiguous or even contradictory. Nevertheless, it adequately frames emerging transnational texts, in which authors transgress and re-imagine well-established ethnicized and racialized stereotypes, and also demolish the boundaries of the communal standing against the national, and the national against the global, the traditional against the modern, the eastern against the western. In another sense, it is important to examine globally-read transnational texts since these narratives expose and introduce new topics of global and regional connectivity, though the connections and topics may be perceived as subnational or sub-communal. Eventually, they become inter or intra-communal or even global.¹

The phenomenon of transnationality and the cosmopolitan realm within narratives, such as in *White Teeth* by Zadie Smith, have become pregnant with new meanings of identity, inviting new culture and identity topics and pointing at new dynamics of transnational discourse. Smith seems to enter the current global cultural discourse by seeking answers to the following question: Is the world now post-national (or post-racial) as suggested by global cultural discourse? She does so by developing her characters from various perspectives. Her protagonists show how it feels to be racially and gender-oppressed. In her view, transnationality does not really respect individual

1. See Ananta Kumar Giri, *Sociology and Beyond: Windows and Horizons* (Jaipur: Rawat, 2012), 66–75.

agency in the large-scale flow of people, images, and cultural forces across borders. The meanings of her characters' traits, actions, personal beliefs, and their sense of belonging can be understood through her characters' interactions with other characters possessing multicultural sensitivity. Finally, Smith shows that one's identity is designed by multiplicities of culture that are constructed by family, gender, religion, age, and generation.

Through hybrid critical discourse,² Smith portrays unifying (not isolating) trends, which are not necessarily declining in the global era. Furthermore, she seems to appreciate the enlightening spread of commodities, belief-systems, values, religions and ideologies, which contribute to the erasure of differences around the world. When her transnational protagonists struggle to deal with their manifold identity, the unifying bond of their mutual kinship can be identified as a complex composite. In other words, Smith illustrates the pros and cons of the era of cultural globalization when powerful global/multinational cultural flows shape local cultures, and technological advancement transmits cultures over borders, erases boundaries, but also impose simplified uniform cultural codes, shared features and meanings.³ As portrayed in the novel, sharing cultural traits is positive, though counterproductive, and hardly egalitarian. Smith comments on the conditioned opportunities of sharing cultures that are not evenly strong, as illustrated by the example of the Iqbal twins' upbringing. Smith is critical to the fact that western cultural hegemony imposes power relations and a biased truth on lesser cultures, and that the more powerful cultures seem to suffocate and transgress the lesser cultures or subcultures, which need to re-write their histories from a prescribed point of view. Migrants, as represented by Smith's protagonists, tend to reveal some pessimism on the official cultural policies: "the wicked lie that the past is always tense and the future, perfect."⁴

Transnational texts, such as *White Teeth* or Khaled Hosseini's *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, present case studies or reports on the "invisible" communities as imagined by transnational authors themselves, and not by impersonal, powerful, global media. In these narratives, voices of insiders and their perspectives are taken seriously as fitting illustrations, as they offer living, emotionally-charged, diverse snapshots. The transnational texts in question project dynamically-evolving issues and initiate cross-cultural interactions, imaginary or real; popular texts thus shape global imagination of other cultures as read by global audiences. Last but not least, transnational fiction fights xenophobia and provincialism by creating space for transcultural dialogues among minority and majority/mainstream ethnicities. It also allows minorities and majorities to connect, to share stories, emotions, feelings, and to bridge gaps. These transnational texts demonstrate that literature can become a powerful means of cross-cultural communication between significantly diverse groups.

2. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

3. See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 90–108.

4. Zadie Smith, *White Teeth* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 542. Hereafter cited in the text.

Additionally, transnational authors – because of their bi-cultural identities – inspire and enable the other / minority / ethnic subjects to re-write themselves, while playing an active part in helping out others and the Other to define themselves. For example, in his global best-seller *A Thousand Splendid Suns*, Hosseini focuses on keeping dignity in war and spells out serious concerns for suffering women; his narrative stirs emotions for women suffering under patriarchal and religious dehumanizing traditions multiplied and disseminated during and in the wake of wartime.

On the other hand, in *White Teeth* Zadie Smith seems to portray and negotiate these global or transnational cultural moments or processes with little nostalgia. She seems to point at the migrants' shortcomings, illusions, limits and burdens, and she presents the averted side of celebrated transnational experience as she narrates two family sagas of colorful individuals who cohabit the urban space of West London. These several generations of ethnically-mixed Londoners have their roots in Bulgaria, Jamaica, Italy, and Bangladesh. As her proud protagonists become caricatures of their own beliefs, they hardly avoid the destruction of their personal and cultural identities. To resist, the immigrants, as evidenced by Irie, fantasize and create imaginary homelands: "No fiction, no myths, no lies, no tangled webs – this is how Irie imagined her homeland. Because homeland is one of the magical fantasy words like unicorn and soul and infinity that have now passed into language" (408).

The novel speaks in various tongues, it overcomes language differences, it points at various belief-systems and value-systems, ways of life or religions. The book's protagonists experience cultural negotiations, uneasy merges, and cultural shocks. Often, to paraphrase Aihwa Ong, they deal with peripatetic modes of lives: the novel speaks of entries, re-entries, and examines what is experienced when various ethnic groups confront their diverse experiences.⁵ This narrative is conducted across and between borders. Smith seems to stress that transnational experience allows one to comprehend more, to digest the difference, and makes one a more critical citizen and, paradoxically, even a better patriot. Also, she proposes that actions committed at various locations by a transnational, determine the personality and actions of the transnational progeny. In *White Teeth*, the father-figure, Samad Iqbal, meditates:

Our children will be born of our actions. *Our accidents will become their destinies.* Oh, the actions will remain. It is a simple matter of what you will do when the chips are down, my friend. When the fat lady is singing. When the walls are falling in and the sky is dark, and the ground is rumbling. In that moment our actions will define us. And it makes no difference whether you are being watched by Allah, Jesus, Buddha, or whether you are not. On cold days a man can see his breath, on a hot day he can't. On both occasions, the man *breathes*. (103)

In this understanding, the personal fates and personal narratives become forms of historical revisions; Samad argues for the importance of one's memories, histories, visions, testimonies, legends and reflections. In *White Teeth*, Smith shows how cultural negotiations become solid parts of the lives of two wartime friends, a Bangladeshi

5. See Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 20, 44.

and an Englishman, and their racially and ethnically-diverse families in London. Smith creates, discusses and interrelates both men's options, preferences, expectations and opinions across locations, communities and generations. She examines the advantages and disadvantages of interconnectedness in suburban London, showing how sharing or sheltering ideas and values of one culture with another may highlight or erase authenticity, differences and traditions.

Although many transnational authors seem to examine and criticize the cultural hegemony of the western Anglo-American world, Smith seems to go beyond discussions of the worldwide dominance of the said culture and is reaching down to the personal level. The meditative and moral Samad seems to be concerned with his identity wounds caused by his uprooting and relocation. He mediates on his hybrid identity:

We are split people. For myself, half of me wishes to sit quietly with legs crossed, letting the things that are beyond my control wash over me. But the other half wants to fight a holy war. Jihad! . . . So I do not know what it is you would like me to say. Truth and firmness is one suggestion, though there are many people you can ask if that answer does not satisfy. Personally, my hope lies in the last days. The prophet Muhammad – peace be upon Him! – tells us that on the Day of Resurrection everyone will be struck unconscious. Deaf and dumb. No chitchat. Tongueless. And what a bloody relief that will be. (183)

Samad is comfortable neither with himself nor with the imposed British national identity. He seems to blame the past and the traditions, which determine his present state. He identifies with the split feeling of the first generation of immigrants, who are not fully acculturated and accepted. In a pathetic and satirical manner, he narrows his meditation to his religious options as a way of rooting and anchoring. His cultural mediation leaves him wondering the following: how to discuss and defend the cultural logic of a particular human action in a particular place and time; how the modalities of one's identity are reflected in one's life story; how the cosmopolitan era allows one to overcome past differences, to digest histories, to believe in the global happy union of all (or does it actually provoke the ever-lasting clash of cultures and subcultures?); how the migrant's story operates with possible cultural shifts towards universal cosmopolitanism of global understanding; and within cultural globalization and cosmopolitan modernity, how can one, as a third-world-man and a British citizen, rely on the global aspirations of social change?

Samad might also say that his transnational experience makes him identify with the global culture, though his non-British ways are much in contrast with the western conduct throughout the book. Yet, he seems to be rather a positive immigrant (and less angry than his son Millat), since his relocation allows for him the transmission of ideas, allows him to belong and in consequence bond with his English life-long friend Archie Jones among others. After all, Samad seems to benefit from his relocation and his particular worldly historical experience. On the other hand, feeling unsettled himself, he becomes clumsily manipulative about the life directions of his twin sons. Samad sends one of the twins, ten-year-old Magid, to Bangladesh, where the son is expected to embrace the teachings of Islam and allegedly true traditions and values. When the twins

become separated, both go beyond their father's expectations, disappointing Samad as a result. Magid becomes an atheist, and the London-based, rebellious and wild Millat joins a Muslim sect that promises a coherent identity and touts extremism. Ironically, growing up surrounded by mass consumption and spreading materialism, Millat turns to the religion of Islam. The global impact, the re-shuffle of fundamental values and religions overwhelms their relocated father.

Being a transnational migrant herself, Smith projects interesting insights into the migrant mentality. In an interview for the *Observer*, Smith mentions she was keen not to be seen as a writer of baggy, generous, all-life-is-here novels meeting general and generic expectations. She remembers her childhood anxieties over living in Eurocentric England, where she felt constantly watched by the so-called white gaze, and judged: "So my instinct as a child was always to over-compensate by trying to behave three times as well as every other child in the shop, so they knew I wasn't going to take anything or hurt anyone. I think that instinct has spilled over into my writing in some ways, which is not something I like very much or want to continue."⁶ She proposes that sometimes transnationals walk in circles of stereotypes and have a hard time finding their way out and re-imagining themselves, as if the stereotypes create a cage that imprisons and holds them. Transnationality with its labyrinthine nature opens up a space conducive to expressions and self-definitions and liberates personal anxieties. Smith does not limit these fears to the common notion that western cultural hegemony in the era of globalization will ultimately result in the end of cultural diversity. Nor is she limited to a common stance that the spreading westernization (also known as Americanization) imposes the worldwide dominance of the American psyche that forces local cultures and subcultures to become hybridized and alienated. Smith is more concerned with official global messages, multiple faces of truth. She also explores mechanisms and personal strategies of survival, and alternative rooting, understanding that the transcultural experience is connected to the peripatetic mode of existence that becomes the norm in the global cosmopolitan era.

In her novel, she contrasts ethnically and racially diverse wanderers, and she considers their cultural philosophies of nomadic lives. She writes:

Because immigrants have always been particularly prone to repetition – it's something to do with that experience of moving from West to East or East to West or from island to island. Even when you arrive, you're still going back and forth; your children are going round and round. There's no proper term for it – original sin seems too harsh; maybe original trauma would be better. (164)

When thinking about the peripatetic existence, one could foreground and extend Arjun Appadurai's understanding of transnational culture as shaped by a bi-directional cultural flows exchange,⁷ yet Smith shows that most currents are accompanied by undercurrents or eddies.

6. Zeke Turner, "Zadie Smith Takes Over New Books Column for Harper's Magazine," *New York Observer*, September 9, 2010, <http://observer.com/2010/09/zadie-smith-takes-over-new-books-column-for-emharpers-magazine/>.

7. See Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 30–37.

Similarly, Smith might be seen as leaning against Kwame Anthony Appiah's suggestion that the transnational world will enter a new cosmopolitan era, whereby warring factions will finally set aside their supposed differences and recognize the fundamental human values in a new era of global understanding.⁸ Smith reminds readers that particular experiences and conditions of belonging matter enormously and can, as a result, re-write global visions. She also seems to suggest that though literary discourses function within the so-called global borderless post-national era⁹ marked by fluidity of cultural capital and the tension between national and personal histories, perceptions, identifications and identities, they help the formation of additional questions that bring further complexities to light. In this sense, transnational globally-known texts, such as *White Teeth*, narrate and shape dialogues between minorities and mainstream cultures, and challenge racial and ethnic stereotypes. Certainly, this process invites further discussions on the notions of multiculturalism, nation, communities, diaspora, ethnicity and race. In consequence, less visible communities make themselves visible.¹⁰

According to current European liberal theories, as evaluated by Thomas Faist, transnationalism is becoming a popular concept in modern academic and political discourse. It is closely linked to diaspora, though they are uneasy dance partners.¹¹ Regarding transnationalism, Faist appreciates its interdisciplinarity and border-crossing affiliations. Smith seems to be well aware of this, as her migrants discuss and comment on their belonging and particular geopolitical histories often – perhaps Samad meditates on the pathology of his transnational roots the most. Samad observes that “the sins of the Eastern father shall be visited upon the Western sons” (163) in a very physical sense, decoded in the westernized balding head, because he feels that one “cannot escape their history any more than you yourself can lose your shadow” (471).

Though the narrative seems to stress that one is defined by and cannot escape his or her roots, actual transnational experience can help explain the new transnational dislocated identity. As Smith shows, actual experience matters. In *White Teeth*, the ideological and political stances of Samad or Archie Jones initiate the chain of events that eventually impact their children, who strive to divert and challenge the personal and social expectations of their parents on them. The experience of the incoming generation is partially pre-destined, though on the other hand Smith shows how the impact of the environment and parents on personal formation becomes less important

8. See Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006), 29, 56.

9. See Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 167–77.

10. Another example could be *A Thousand Splendid Suns* by Afghan-American author Khaled Hosseini, which raises consciousness of the “tribal,” communal, religious, and gendered cultural particularities across the turbulent Afghan history. Such a narrative provides a more powerful spell than other media; it invites global emotional involvement. See Khaled Hosseini, *A Thousand Splendid Suns* (New York: Riverhead, 2007).

11. See Thomas Faist, “Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners,” in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 14–17.

than immediate experience, since the young generation “privileges experience as a tool of truth.”¹² Smith suggests that relocation and / or uprooting may result in cultural shock and trauma that survives in the family, and needs to be dealt with accordingly (as the twins did): “A trauma is something one repeats and repeats, after all, and this is the tragedy of the Iqbals – that they can’t help but reenact the dash they once made from one land to another, from one faith to another, from one brown mother country into the pale, freckled arms of an imperial sovereign” (164). Thus, the non-spiritual and hard-to-tame Millat becomes sensitive and susceptible to the moods of the unsettled second generations of migrants. Anger and trauma make the generation somewhat united, and they, not unlike Millat, seek a platform that offers a space to act, to speak about the cultural and generational anxieties despite the larger meaning of the platform. To this aim, Millat joins the Keepers of the Eternal and Victorious Islamic Nation (KEVIN), while scientific and thoughtful Magid refuses to join any Muslim church, deeming church an unsatisfactory space that limits his imagination and life choices.

In Smith’s view, religions seem to be an obstinate and pathetic concept that hardly meets the needs of demanding young transnationals: “If religion is the opiate of the people, tradition is an even more sinister analgetic, simply because it rarely appears sinister. If religion is a tight band, a throbbing vein, and a needle, tradition is a far homelier concoction: poppy seeds ground into tea; a sweet cocoa drink laced with cocaine; the kind of thing your grandmother might have made” (198). In examining communal institutions, such as church or families, communities are seen as organic systems permanently subjected to change, allowing for the rewriting of self from marginal perspectives. Correspondingly, in *White Teeth* characters narrate tales of London’s regional and communal rapid transformations. Smith also reminds the readers that current moods initiated by the financial crises and insecurity produce xenophobia and racism. She reminds that for some, an Easterner or an ethnic migrant to the West is always limited by a certain prejudice fed by the fears of the barbarian Easterners. These phobias are encouraged by the growing extreme nationalism that builds the walls and cages for transnational migrants, and stops them from moving up from the periphery to the center. In *White Teeth*, Smith meditates on traits and assimilation rules, on what really makes an immigrant English, and why just being an immigrant provokes anger and hostility in some of the English white young men in the nationalist movements. Immigrants need not to fight back, but they are supposed to translate this nationalist aggression to resist it: “It makes an immigrant laugh to hear the fears of the nationalist, scared of infection, penetration, miscegenation, when this is small fry, peanuts, compared to what the immigrant fears – dissolution, disappearance” (334).

Transnational writers tend often to write from the personal perspective, opposing the so-called official version of cultural policies. They also tend to write from present-time positionalities, touching upon their personal histories, timely moods, as well as rewriting past historical memories, and dealing with their traumas. Nevertheless, they

12. Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, “Introduction: Contested Pasts,” in *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, ed. Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003), 5.

often neglect and challenge dominant versions of local memory and history, or local cultural history. Smith reminds the cultural globalization enthusiasts about the actual personal meanings of the relocation to the West, of the burden of the psychological trauma of uprooting, of the rationale of the shortcomings of immigrants who idealize their imaginary homeland. She tells us that they (have) become stuck: they are unable to go back or go back and forth as they wish.

In spite of the prevailing emphasis on their “difference,” incoming transnational authors seem to become established and internalized in the Western literary canon rather quickly, perhaps partially due to their cosmopolitan, yet diverse stances that are distinguished by generational affiliation. Though transculturalism seems a wide and complex concept that has been highly scrutinized, it may be said to work like a label – in a similarly reductive way as “world music.” Transnational ethics, morals, worldliness and transcultural politics seem to be embraced by global audiences.

Since identity politics has been a popular literary topic, transnational narratives of the relocated ethnicities are markedly popular as well.¹³ Correspondingly, the impacts of the transnational narratives and the vast critical interest are also due to the fact that the internationalization of Anglophone canon comes together with the present-day changes of global literary market. According to Rebecca Walkowitz,¹⁴ transnational novels are an emerging genre stimulated by historicity as well as by the conditions of the global literary marketplace. Eventually, Walkowitz attributes the change to the flourishing of migrant communities, and especially migrant writers, who tend to settle, write and publish from metropolitan world centers while challenging previous nationalist tones of migrant writing.

In her writing, Smith discusses topics such as dislocation and relocation, and histories of transnational families. Comparing various histories of migration, she comments on global policies shaping migration and individual / collective fates, and anticipates psychological loads of deprivation of relocation in the context of the global crisis. Perhaps her novel works as a kind of prophecy revealing much of individual, national and other post-national identity politics. Her creative output and other current transnational literature with global reach initiate interdisciplinary discussions within humanities that shape the worldwide consciousness of a nation or community.

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13. Well-established transnational authors include, among others, Hanif Kureishi, Monica Ali, Caryl Phillips, Jhumpa Lahiri, Edwidge Danticat, Aravind Adiga, and Kiran Desai.

14. See Rebecca L. Walkowitz, “Cosmopolitan Ethics: The Home and the World,” in *The Turn to Ethics*, ed. Marjorie Garber, Beatrice Hanssen, and Rebecca L. Walkowitz (New York: Routledge, 2000), 222–24.

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ROMEO AND JULIET: THE DECONSTRUCTION OF ROMANCE, OR A “PREFAB STORY”

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ABSTRACT: In her work, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, Margaret Jane Kidnie considers adaptation “as an evolving category [that] is closely tied to how the work modifies over time and from one reception space to another” (2009, 5). Undoubtedly, adaptation can be addressed from various points of view, and assigned numerous definitions, e.g., Hutcheon (2006) and Kidnie (2009). Shakespearean drama represents a distinct intergenerational and intercultural medium that considerably shapes the discourse on adaptation. The aim of this article is to examine the production of *Romeo and Juliet* staged at the International Festival Theatre in 2011. It concludes by drawing a parallel between the modern Shakespearean adaptation and its progenitor in terms of the interpretive act of appropriation and transposition.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare; *Romeo and Juliet*; J. K. Tyl Theatre; adaptation; reception; reader-response theory

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

This article explores the production of *Romeo and Juliet*, a theatrical adaptation of Shakespeare’s tragedy performed at the International Festival Theatre in Pilsen in 2011. The production was directed by Anna Petrželková and made use of Jiří Josek’s translation. Working with various interpretive lenses, this article explains both Romeo and Juliet’s desire to revolt against the narrow-mindedness of the surrounding world and their unfair loss in the struggle with the limiting reality of the outer world.

Based on this brief recapitulation, three main hypotheses were formulated: Firstly, Shakespeare’s tragedy provided a provocative framework for rethinking both the contours and the meanings of Romeo and Juliet’s transition to adulthood. Not only did the emphasis on the modern setting (a flat in a uniform housing complex) add a new dimension to play, but it also contributed to a grotesque effect in the representation of distorted world values. The setting undoubtedly created a clear illusion of the contemporary world – understandable to Czech audiences through allusions to recent Czech reality. However, it may be also argued that the setting was, in fact, of secondary importance since the story might have happened anywhere, anytime, and to anyone. Secondly, the idea of interpreting *Romeo and Juliet* with gender-reversed roles for the Nurse and Prince Escalus added a specific, though not erotically charged, flavour to the production. Casting a male in the essentially female role of the Nurse may be seen as a partial return to the Elizabethan stage, or rather, as a challenge to a traditional interpretation of this role. Furthermore, the pattern of gender-reversed roles served as a comic thread interwoven into the fundamentally tragic fabric. Thirdly, music was a

specific and self-determining component of the production, which not only illustrated the atmosphere of a hostile neighbourhood in the anonymous block of flats, but also separated and re-united neighbouring families and family members. Moreover, music can be seen as a form of leitmotif symbolising (and perhaps anticipating) the course of events and characterising particular protagonists.

THE PROBLEM OF ADAPTATION

Prior to proving or refuting the aforementioned hypotheses, it is necessary to discuss and define the concept of adaptation. *Webster's New World Dictionary* defines adaptation as "a thing resulting from adapting [this play is an adaptation of a novel]."¹ Though general in nature, this definition may function as a useful starting point for discussion. Undoubtedly, adaptation can be addressed from various points of view, and assigned numerous definitions, which reflect different approaches and terminology. Naturally, the choice of a particular expression often a priori indicates the presumable relation between the original and its adaptation. Walter Benjamin observed the way "'the aura' and 'the authenticity' of a work of art, 'its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be'" were undermined by the act of reproduction.² Ruby Cohn provided a detailed overview of adaptation terminology, ranging from abridgement to adaptation, transformation and version; however, finally settling on the eponymous notion "offshoot," grasping, in her view, the relationship between the source (the Shakespearean stem) and its adaptation (offshoot).³ Apparently, the multidimensional character of adaptation disables any simple or simplified categorization. Thus, a great many conceptually identical terms emerged. Charles Marowitz suggested the "alchemical" term transmutation, which is not too far from Cohn's category of transformation.⁴ Richard Proudfoot used classical-sounding expressions rewriting and rereading to describe the transformation of Shakespearean canon "for our purposes."⁵ Clearly, the term adaptation is often replaced by another expression with the same or similar content, such as transformation, offshoot, transmutation, rewriting, adumbration, etc., and re-theorized against different backgrounds.

Linda Hutcheon observed that "adaptation is repetition, but repetition without replication," with various possible intentions motivating the "act of adaptation" as for instance, desire to "consume or erase the memory of the adapted text," question it, or simply pay homage to the original.⁶ Nonetheless, more important than the reasons for adaptation seem to be its complex characteristics as seen from different albeit interrelated perspectives. Here, Hutcheon's view of adaptation as both the process

1. Victoria Neufeldt and David B. Guralnik, eds., *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), 15.

2. Walter Benjamin in Geoffrey Macnab, *Searching for Stars: Stardom and Screen Acting in British Cinema* (London: Cassell, 2000), 6.

3. Ruby Cohn, *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 3–4.

4. Charles Marowitz, *Recycling Shakespeare* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1991), 9.

5. Richard Proudfoot, *Shakespeare: Text, Stage and Canon* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2001), 14.

6. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 7.

and the product can be taken as axiomatic. First, adaptation may be perceived as “an announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works,” which may involve a shift of genre, medium, frame, and consequently also context. Second, it refers to “a process of creation,” which contains both re-interpretation and re-creation as well. Third, as seen through the prism of its reception, it functions as “a form of intertextuality.”⁷ The concept of intertextuality, developed in France by Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva, implies that all cultural productions are, in fact, an intertwined mixture of already existing cultural material.⁸ Barthes explained the relationship between a text and an intertext as interrelated and, in fact, identical. A similar link, dialogical in nature and set in a particular socio-historical context, may be observed between an original and an adaptation as well.

Any text is an intertext; other texts are present in it, at varying levels, in more or less recognizable forms: the texts of the previous and surrounding cultures. Any text is a new tissue of past citations. Bits of codes, formulae, rhythmic models, fragments of social languages, etc., pass into the text and are redistributed within it, for there is always language before and around the text. . . . Intertextuality, the condition of any text whatsoever, cannot of course be reduced to the problem of sources or influences; the intertext is a general field of anonymous formulae whose origin can scarcely be located; of unconscious or automatic quotations given without quotations marks.⁹

Based on both the concept of intertextuality and Antoine Compagnon's theory of citation, Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier further defined a work of adaptation, clarified on the example of Heiner Müller's amalgam of loosely connected quotes from and allusions to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *The Hamletmachine*, as an act, which touches the essence of the work of arts as a re-working of already existing cultural products.¹⁰ It is, however, worth mentioning that each adaptation contains a plurality of meanings and perceptions, in which history is always present in various forms, intertextuality being one of them. In this context, Derrida's theory of iterability, as applied to adaptation, gains significant relevance. As he points out, “iterability supposes a minimal remainder (as well as a minimum of idealization) in order that the identity of the selfsame be repeatable and identifiable in, through, and even in view of its alteration. For the structure of iteration – and this is another of its decisive traits – implies both identity and difference.”¹¹ Iterability is conditioned by the context, in which a particular text is set. However, figuratively speaking, every new act of writing / adapting enters a new context and results in a different form of aesthetic reception. Every re-contextualization thus inevitably leads to alteration and modification, regardless of the author's intention to maintain fidelity to the original. Margaret Jane Kidnie gives another detailed and substantial definition of adaptation, which she perceives “as an evolving category [that]

7. Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 7–8.

8. See Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, eds., *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2000), 4.

9. Roland Barthes in Daniel L. Bernardi, *Star Trek and History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 113.

10. See Fischlin and Fortier, *Adaptations of Shakespeare*, 4.

11. Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 53.

is closely tied to how the work modifies over time and from one reception space to another.”¹²

Having reached this stage of the discussion on adaptation, it is now time to recapitulate, clarify, and in part reformulate some of the most significant theses. Based on the aforementioned reflections, it is possible to assume that adaptation is developed from and in relation to the original, with which it exists in a symbiotic, albeit autonomous *bond*. An uneasy juxtaposition of their relationship creates a tension, which stems from both their connectedness and separateness and produces a unique fusion of qualities, derived from the self and the new. Every adaptation is set in its own specific context and receives a different response from its audience / readers.¹³ In light of reader-response theory, it can even be argued that each adaptation given in the past is a reflection of both historically-conditioned attitudes and reactions to antecedent assessments.¹⁴ This duality then characterizes the history of interpretation in general. The individual work of art is thus set off from the previous readings (productions) and read (perceived) in accordance with the prevailing cultural code. Concerning drama, a theatrical production can thus function as a mirror in which social and political events are reflected. The concept of adaptation thereby emerges as a highly sophisticated process rooted in a given time period, while being simultaneously conditioned by the history of interpretation and the audience response.

This brief discussion shows that there are different points of view in defining and classifying adaptations, and many questions still remain unanswered. It may be symbolically concluded with the words of Shakespearean scholar Graham Holderness, which are applicable not only to secrets of Shakespeare myth, but adaptations of Shakespeare as well: “Shakespeare is, here, now, always, what is currently being made of him.”¹⁵

ROMEO AND JULIET AT THE INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL THEATRE

A production of *Romeo and Juliet* was staged at the Alfa Theatre on 16 September 2011. It was performed by the Petr Bezruč theatre troupe under the direction of Anna Petrželková. The production was characterised by a number of innovative elements. The director transferred the conflict between two quarrelling families into a uniform block of flats. A clear reference to present life, underpinning the directorial strategy, was further emphasized by the use of numerous everyday items, including household equipment and appliances. A special role was assigned to multifunctional sectional furniture, which served both as a habitat as well as a locus communis of

12. Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 5.

13. As the text primarily focuses on a theatre production, the difference between audience response and reader response as well as the issue of the implied reader / audience is left aside. The analytical part of this article concerns this author's response and theatre reviews.

14. See Wolfgang Iser, *Staging Politics: The Lasting Impact of Shakespeare's Historical Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 2.

15. Graham Holderness, *The Shakespeare Myth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), xvi.

the protagonists. Concerning the first function, the upper right hand cupboard was occupied by the youngest member of the Capulet family, Juliet.¹⁶ Her presence was recognisable from wads of chewing gums stuck on the inside of the cabinet door. A wardrobe served Romeo and his companions as a music studio. Another wardrobe substituted for Juliet's parents' bedroom, in which they slept and relaxed in an upright position. Particular spaces contained both bare bulbs and cove lightings, which helped to set the mood of particular scenes through the use of yellow and red colours.¹⁷ Despite some design variations,¹⁸ each space had more or less the same monotonous character. Overall, the purely prosaic, yet simultaneously puzzling and mysterious system of cupboards, shelves, drawers, wardrobes, and sliding doors, formed the layout of the flat. Less important rooms, such as Juliet's bedroom, were placed in the upper part of furniture, whereas the dominant space, the living room, was situated in the front part of the stage and furnished with easily movable purple footstools. The solidly real interior was further equipped with real objects, such as a vacuum cleaner, musical instruments, trays of sandwiches, chess pieces, baby monitors, a shovel, a stick, etc. However, what transformed the area into more defined human space were its inhabitants.

The flat was a focal point of spatial, temporal and social rituals of everyday family life. The very first moments of the production provided the audience with a well-informed view into the Capulet's and the Montague's cultural stereotypes, such as spending time together watching TV, listening to brass band music and playing board games. However, the closeness of the two families, accompanied by malicious childish jokes, only fuelled their mutual animosity, which further continued to revolve around the issues of blame and responsibility. Notwithstanding that it originally started as an unimportant squabble (it is also conceivable that the mutual hatred had existed long before the crisis erupted), the dispute gradually degenerated into a tragic neighbourhood conflict. The seemingly innocent childish teasing turned into a serious quarrel at the point when both fathers began to fight each other. Though the dominant impression conveyed by the men was of advanced age and helplessness, at the moment of conflict they mobilised their strength to fight a life-or-death battle. Capulet and Montague were dressed in the same old-fashioned tracksuits and jackets made of tele-shopping blankets, to considerable comic effect.¹⁹ The director thereby managed to integrate humour into a *de facto* purely serious scene, foreshadowing the tragic consequences for the young members of both families. Moreover, the audience was provided with concrete evidence of neighbourly animosity. Apparently, the families were not able to reach consensus without the intervention of the highest authority.

16. Though there seems no direct analogy between the location of Juliet's room and her status of adolescent, it may be argued that given her age (and possibly her marriage connected with leaving home), she was given a less important space in the flat (and possibly within the family hierarchy as well). The upper location of Juliet's room also naturally met the needs of the balcony scene. It is, however, worth mentioning that the role of Juliet was rather physically demanding.

17. The red colour was used for Romeo and Juliet's private, intimate moments and at night.

18. Romeo's music studio was covered with cardboard egg cartons in order to ensure better soundproofing.

19. The audience responded to the dramatically presented ironic fight of the two fathers with amusement.

However, Prince Escalus, the wise ruler of Verona, symbolising law and order, was, in compliance with temporal and spatial relocation, transformed into a gender-reversed figure of a caretaker, who functioned as an embodied *deus ex machina*.²⁰ Not only did she hold the highest position in the social hierarchy (of the prefab), but she also represented a considerable threat to those who disobeyed her orders. It seems evident that her intervention, certainly not the first nor the last, made a fundamental difference to what would have naturally remained unresolved. But in some respect, her interference into a neighbourhood squabble may also be perceived as a Pyrrhic victory, since it produced further emotional distress and mounting hatred.

The female cast in the role of Prince Escalus, however, raised an important gender question. The gender-reversed roles of Prince Escalus and the Nurse naturally forced the audience to perceive the production in a new way.²¹ Crossing gender boundaries, the director redefined the existing world and in part freed it from gender stereotypes. The production thus challenged the conventional perception of gender in the play. Generally, women were assigned more decisive and aggressive roles, whereas men slipped into less traditional, more caring and consensual positions. However, it would be wrong to assume that traditional gender stereotypes were completely eliminated through the gender swap. They were communicated through the text of the play. The male actor playing the Nurse demonstrated warm and protective feelings, understanding, and charisma. Yet the masculine element echoed with a certain cacophony of otherness, making the assumed intimate closeness between the adolescent Juliet and her foster mother less plausible. Though the discordance may be viewed as an intended comic effect, it destroyed the concept of femininity and sexuality represented by Juliet, her mother and the Nurse.²² In this respect, the textual femininity blurred with the physical masculinity, thus creating a specific gender construct, which oscillated between female subordination and male dominance.

The characters of Shakespeare's lovers have been examined and interpreted from various viewpoints. Jill L. Levenson captured the essence and spirit of Shakespeare's play when she wrote, "In an age of virtual realities Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* can seem like a hologram. From one angle it seems to dramatize a love-story which transcends time and place. . . . Since the advent of modern psychology a third angle allows for a different construction formulated on change rather than absolutes. From this point of view Shakespeare traces a paradigm of adolescent behaviour."²³

20. The comic irony of her intervention was further enhanced by her appearance. Dressed in practical clothes, apparently intended for home wear, she gave the impression of a hard-working woman. In my view, there was a touch of suffering in her look as she walked in with a shovel, wearing knee-length elastic compression stockings, under which large varicose veins were painted.

21. See Ivona Mišterová, *Angloamerické drama na plzeňských scénách* (Plzeň: University of West Bohemia in Plzeň, forthcoming 2013), 262–63.

22. Theresa D. Kemp notes that Juliet's sexuality is contrasted with that of her mother and her Nurse, which was in this case satirised by the male casting. Theresa D. Kemp, *Women in the Age of Shakespeare* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 92.

23. Jill L. Levenson, ed., *Shakespeare in Performance: Romeo and Juliet* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 1.

Similarly, Anna Petrželková in her stage production of *Romeo and Juliet* put emphasis on romantic emotions of adolescents, including passion, love, jealousy, and despair. Given the accent on teenagers, the director looked critically at circumstances of their mental and physical development and their interaction with family environment as well. Having adopted the perspective of a well-informed observer, she managed to demonstrate how Romeo and Juliet's lives were shaped by extrinsic factors. The central role in the process of their maturing was assigned to emotions and the family macrosystem, governing, at least initially, their decisions and wishes. The family control involved common daily situations as well as fundamental issues, dictating with whom their offspring may interact and the nature of these interactions.

Shakespeare's lovers evinced the stubbornness and defiant vehemence of adolescents, for whom the suicide (or suicidal threat) may have been one possible response to the hostility and misunderstanding of the adult world. Their disobedience and obstinacy were balanced with their youth and charm. Juliet attracted attention with her youthful determination, uncertainty and manifestation of inner emotional conflicts. The portrayal of Romeo corresponded with R. Brigham Lampert's characterization: "Romeo matures before the audience's eyes throughout the drama progressing from a stereotypically melancholic, lovesick adolescent in the first act to a more mature and devoted husband and lover by the play's midpoint."²⁴ First a pathetic admirer of Rosaline, and shortly afterwards a confident fighter and rocker, passionately enamoured of Juliet and tormented by moments of painful anxiety.

The mood of the passionate love and family conflict was set by music, which represented a strong and self-determined component of the production. Music played a fundamental role in social interaction. It was an important constituent of friendship (the Capulets and the Montagues listened to songs together²⁵), a significant part of the Capulets' party²⁶ (all family members, including the Nurse, played a musical instrument²⁷), and a crucial element of Romeo's identity. Romeo's rock group (including Mercutio and Benvolio) enlivened the fading atmosphere of the party with a new musical style. Overall, the imaginative soundtrack included a wide scale of music genres, ranging from street organ playing to decadent jazz.²⁸ Live music and a number of drinks removed barriers and, in the early morning hours, helped establish a temporary, neighbourly and intergenerational armistice.

Set and costume design provided a number of details, which highlighted the current location and civil character. The Capulet and Montague parents resembled, at least at first, rather geriatric ward patients than parents of teenagers. Also, Father Lawrence went through a considerable de-formalization of personality. Even his outfit gave the impression of an enthusiastic tourist or a street worker.

24. R. Brigham Lampert, *Romeo and Juliet: Advanced Placement Classroom* (Waco: Prufrock, 2008), 25.

25. It is conceivable that it was a social ritual familiar to both families.

26. One of the major musical themes was "Cereza Rosa" (Cherry Blossoms), performed by mother Capulet in a trumpet solo.

27. Juliet's indifferent dulcimer performance backed Tybalt's unsuccessful conjuring trick.

28. See Vojtěch Varyš, "Romeo a Julie, ti věční spratci," *Týden*, March 28, 2011, 68.

As indicated by the reference to the tragic death of two young lovers in the Russian city of Frjazino, the story of Romeo and Juliet could happen to any young people, whose parents pursue only their own interests, without taking note of their children's wishes. The directorial intention was thus to bring into view the reality of adolescence, love and death. The significance of Petrželková's adaptation lay in the fact that she went beyond personal and historical experience, and put emphasis on the lovers as contemporary adolescents. In the end, this stage interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which originality and controversy formed a specific, convergent line, found sympathizers as well as detractors.

CONCLUSION

Romeo and Juliet shares a theme common to tragedy: love is powerful, but death triumphs. It is one of the most favourite and frequently performed of Shakespeare's plays. It centres on a romantic love affair, but, as Dieter Mehl observes, it leaves no doubt that romantic love can never be understood from an attitude of pragmatism and cautious doubt.²⁹ The play has gone through various stage interpretations, stressing different aspects.

The objectives of this article were twofold. First, adaptation theories were examined, with focus on the relationship between the original text and its stage adaptation. Furthermore, several issues concerning terminology of adaptation were discussed. This brief theoretical background provided a context for evaluating the twenty-first century production of *Romeo and Juliet* presented in the latter part of the article.

The second objective was to examine the production of *Romeo and Juliet* staged at the International Festival Theatre in Pilsen in 2011. More specifically, it explored the hypothesis that the modern setting, shifting the story of romantic love from the Italian Verona to a uniform prefabricated block of flats, lent the adaptation a new dimension, further enlivened by reversed gender roles of the Nurse and Prince Escalus. The impression of contemporaneity, or rather recent past, was further enhanced by brass-band music, costumes made from quilts, offered in tele-shopping advertisements in magazines and TV programs, etc. Attention was also paid to music, which represented a cornerstone of the production. Taken together, the director created a non-traditional, dynamic space of intergenerational and interpersonal relations, dominated by neighbourhood conflicts and young love. The directorial intention and the modern setting can be thus read symbolically as a call for intergenerational and interpersonal understanding. Moreover, it can be viewed as a search for constant values in an uncertain world.

This article may be symbolically concluded with Peter Brook's words on the place of innovation in theatre: "Each [production] was justified in its own time; each would be outrageous out of it. A production is only correct at the moment of its correctness, and only good at the moment of its success. In its beginning is its beginning, and at its end is its end."³⁰

29. See Dieter Mehl, *Shakespeare's Tragedies: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1999), 27.

30. Peter Brook, "Style in Shakespearean Production," in *The Modern Theatre: Readings and Documents*, ed. Daniel Seltzer (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), 256.

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THE PHENOMENON OF SILENCE IN THE POSTDRAMATIC OEUVRE OF FORCED ENTERTAINMENT IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT: Within Western performance practices since the late-twentieth century, the phenomenon of silence has played a seminal role. Post-John Cagean, the understanding of silence as a space for spectators' contemplations – and perhaps the sheer potentiality of self-affirmation and realisation – is often contrasted with the recent penchant for emptiness, speechlessness, the art of the unseen, and the self-confessional de-framing strategies in the works of contemporary British Live artists such as Bobby Baker, Franko B and Tim Etchells. This paper suggests that violence representation is also intrinsic and somehow embedded in the recent boom of the so-called sublime drama, and that the spatial and temporal framing of state-of-the art British performance operates as a parergonal issue especially in the aesthetically driven postdramatic reading of the British Live artists.

KEYWORDS: silence; Forced Entertainment; *Bloody Mess*; performance; postdramatic theatre

Words are very unnecessary . . . Enjoy the silence.
– Depeche Mode¹

HAMLET: I'm fucked. The rest is fucking silence.
– Richard Curtis²

Silence as a thematic issue (nothingness and emptiness to include aesthetic modes or reading contemporary theatre) may be regarded as a common feature of the performance practices as well as popular culture of the late 1980s and early 90s in Britain. The introductory lyrics by Depeche Mode, the iconic British band which became popular in the early 1990s, illustrate acutely the late scepticism of the word as well as the penchant for subliminal explorations of themes such as void, blankness and silence. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, silence refers to 1) a complete lack of noise or sound, 2) a situation when nobody is speaking, 3) a situation in which somebody refuses to talk about something or to answer a question, or 4) a situation when people do not communicate with each other by letter or telephone.³ Dealing with silence in

1. Depeche Mode, "Enjoy the Silence," from *Violator*, 2009, 1990, by Mute Records, R219.95, compact disc., disc 1, track 6.

2. Richard Curtis, "Skinhead Hamlet," in *The Faber Book of Parodies*, ed. Simon Brett (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 318.

3. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 20 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), s.v. "silence."

theatre, the most relevant issues within this study are connected to definition 2. Yet, definition 4 stands as an interesting paradox when considering the silent message of silence in art, because a work of art, albeit silent (or in silence), always communicates something.

The phenomenon of silence operates in five ways: 1) as sheer universal potentiality, 2) as a (post)traumatic political agent in order to silence or enforce political superiority, 3) as a rhetorical tool to structure the utterance, 4) as a commemorative device, and 5) as a manifestation of artistic omnipotence and vanguarding ignorance (revisiting 1). The present analysis aims to suggest how silence has become a leitmotif in Western art, most particularly in the recent performance tradition. The argument that silence signifies nothing, with the sheer fecundity of nothingness embedded within silence, is mirrored most notably in the question: is it still art, or is it life? The value of art, the sublime and the beauty of silence (as proposed by John Cage⁴) shall be scrutinized using the sublime theatre poetic, aesthetics of failure in the oeuvre of Forced Entertainment, particularly their performance *Bloody Mess*. The theatrical heritage of Shakespeare within the British performance milieu is similarly bastardized, cannibalized and appropriated as demonstrated by the epigraph to this article. Such subversive hyperrealism was also inherently embedded in the contemporary theatre discourse of the 1990s. This paper argues that the Zen-like awareness of silence within the practice of everyday life can be paralleled with Forced Entertainment's exercises to enforce theatre-goer's awareness of theatre going. Seeming truisms and clichés have great potential in the spectator's acceptance and willingness, rift, vis-à-vis relationship, conspiracy of the senses; the co-presence of performers and audience, the silent presencing of Forced Entertainment actors, their "naïf theatricality"⁵ and trashy, tacky strategy makes a logical step in their stage implementation of mundane, violently-forced, sonorous silence. In other words, silence never achieved; controlled failure of vulnerable actors and violence of non-representation.

Exploring the works of iconoclasts and later focal figures of Western modern art Marcel Duchamp and John Cage, it is inevitable to embark upon the issue of silence as a manifestation of freedom, universality and potentiality. One case study locating Duchamp's oeuvre in terms of materiality and life-art dichotomy may be his famous 1909 *Air de Paris*. This half-readymade piece consists of an ampule containing 50ccs of air allegedly from Paris.⁶ The mass-produced glass container filled with nothing

4. See John Cage, *A Year from Monday: New Lectures and Writings* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1968), 145–62.

5. Hugo Glendinning, Adrian Heathfield, and Tim Etchells "Intangibles," in *Perform, Repeat, Record*, ed. Adrian Heathfield and Amelia Jones (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), 606. Adrian describes his recent interest in reciting parts of songs, and remarks on "the soaring sweet voice transcending the limits of loneliness, and the clunky lyricism and naïf theatricality of the recitation" of the late Elvis Presley, specifically in his "Are You Lonesome Tonight?"

6. It was also Marcel Duchamp who was arguably the first to openly challenge the dichotomy of art and life in his famous claim: "If you wish, my art would be that of living: each second, each breath is a work which is inscribed nowhere, which is neither visual nor cerebral. It's a sort of constant euphoria." See Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 72.

graspable, neither visible nor audible, underlines Duchamp's agency as an original conceptual artist rather than a craftsman producing visually beautiful works of art. The famous 4'33", a composition in three movements by John Cage, embodies a different experience of presence. For 4 minutes and 33 seconds, the performer sits at a piano doing nothing, therefore producing no "music."⁷ Duchamp's and Cage's pieces manifest the irony of the failure of retinal, haptic or aural content. Both pieces present nothing music-wise, or drama-wise, visuality-wise, arguably even art-wise if art is considered the product of physical labour. Yet both Duchamp and Cage created their pieces, albeit not manufactured or performed, aiming to create something universal and indeed metaphysical. Arguably the most significant contribution of Duchamp and later Cage to modern art was the shift from the retinal understanding of art to the conceptual and mental realization of art: both in the mind of an artist as well as the onlooker.⁸ Nevertheless, as John Cage advocates, there is nothing such as silence, as there is always something that generates sounds – for example a heartbeat and the coursing of the blood in one's head. The impossibility of escaping sonic experience applies equally to the overall perception of nothing, in other words, the empty space devoid of any action, since human senses still have something to perceive, even if experiencing intentionally and naturally, seemingly, vacuity. Therefore, the attempts to achieve silence or impose nothingness onto the spectator, inevitably and naturally fails.

Similarly, as Susan Sontag argues, "silence can exist only in a cooked or non-literal sense."⁹ It is the spectator who makes the piece of art, by contemplating, realizing and, to put in Sontag's way, by cooking it. Like in music, as in rhetoric, silence creates a space and rhythm, designating something. Specifically, the rifts created by the silence in the flow of the show provide space. Both its rhythmical and imaginative aspect makes silence an intriguing element in theatre. Silence and nothingness, like in the pieces by Duchamp and Cage, create a mirror to reflect the spectators' external features, as seen in the reflexion of Duchamp's *Air de Paris*, or internal contemplation, as can be argued for Cage's work.

Perhaps one of the early works of disappearing visually, yet accentuating the confluent synergy of spectators and authors' energies, is a piece by Chris Burden. In his *White Light, White Heat*, Burden spent twenty-two days, from February 8 to March 1, 1975, on a triangular platform erected two feet below the ceiling in the southeast corner of the gallery. Lying and hiding, not seeing anyone and not having been seen by anyone, the artist's effort manifests an anti-capitalist wasting of time in order to explore nothing

7. Witnessing an event such as silence itself is a transcendental, metaphysical experience. One such concert, "+ 4'33" Tribute to John Cage," by Remix Ensemble took place at the Casa Da Musica in Porto, Portugal on March 23, 2010.

8. "We open our eyes and ears, seeing life each day excellent as it is. This *realisation* no longer needs art, though without art it would have been difficult – yoga, zazen, etc., – to come by. Having this *realisation* we gather energies – ours and the ones of nature – in order to make this intolerable world endurable." John Cage, *Silence*, quoted in Glendinning, Heathfield, and Etchells, "Intangibles," 615 (my italics). Originally printed in John Cage, *A Year from Monday: New Lectures and Writings* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1968), 146.

9. Susan Sontag, "The Aesthetics of Silence" in *Styles of Radical Will* (New York: Picador USA, 2002), 10.

happening extrinsically, yet much happening intrinsically. Such an omnipotent gesture, the wasting of time, challenging the seriousness of the role of the audience, questioning the grand-narrative, are reflected as well in the following quote from Sontag: “The function of art isn’t to promote any specific experience, except the state of being open to the multiplicity of experience – which ends in practice by a decided stress on things usually considered trivial or unimportant.”¹⁰

Art’s role is to enrich the everyday by highlighting its simplicity, by producing no grand gestures, in other words, doing seemingly nothing. Silence and nothingness is also equated with arresting time. Silence enables a possibility to come to the end of mental activity, a certain universal closure. Furthermore, Sontag points out that “the artist is continually tempted to sever the dialogue he has with an audience,”¹¹ and she underlines the possibility that the artist typically does not stop speaking but speaks in a manner that his audience cannot hear. This also implies the recognition of the artists’ tendency to eliminate “art” in favour of “life.”¹² Additionally, Burden’s piece introduces the awareness of not only a spatial but also energetic relationship, which resonates between the performer and the audience.

Similarly, in his well-known essay “Art Which Can’t Be Art,” Allan Kaprow claims that

unless the identity (and thus the meaning) of what the artist does oscillates between ordinary, recognizable activity and the ‘resonance’ of that activity in the larger human context, the activity itself reduces to conventional behaviour. Or if it is framed as art by a gallery, it reduces to conventional art. Thus tooth brushing, as we normally do it, offers no roads back to the real world either. But ordinary life performed as art / not art can charge the everyday with metaphoric power.¹³

As seen from Kaprow’s claim, the metaphoric power of the everyday performed as theatre can operate on the basis of several framing principles: 1) spatial framing (as suggested by Kaprow, e.g., a gallery), 2) expressive framing (the conscious decision of the author / artists) or 3) pragmatic framing (of the spectator / critic). All principles may freely complement one another. Similarly, Erving Goffman in his highly influential *Frame Analysis* (1974) explores the concept and implication of framing. For Goffman, the frame is an organising principle for setting apart social events, especially those events that, like play or performance, take on a different relationship to normal life and normal responsibilities than the same or similar events would have as “untransformed reality” outside the confines of the frame.¹⁴

10. Sontag, “The Aesthetics of Silence,” 25.

11. Sontag, “The Aesthetics of Silence,” 6.

12. Sontag argues that every era has to reinvent the project of spirituality for itself. The whole transition between the spiritual integrity of creative impulses and the distracting materiality of ordinary life throws many obstacles in the path of authentic sublimation. And, the concreteness of art appears as a trap. Art becomes the enemy of artists because it denies them the realization, the transcendence they desire.

13. Allan Kaprow, “Art Which Can’t Be Art,” in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, ed. Jeff Kelley, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 220.

14. Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1974), 157.

In a theatrical context there is a clear spatial as well as temporal boundary, as set usually within a particular ambience (e.g., a stage or a venue) with a more or less conventionally agreeable duration (from several minutes to several hours). Duration in nothingness accentuates the duration as understood by Bergson as *durée*, the heterogeneous intermingling spectrum graspable through simple intuition by the imagination.¹⁵ These question-provoking tendencies challenging the boundaries of art and non-art have conspicuously proliferated occidental art in a plethora of ways: in literature, one may speak of the rise in so-called conceptual writing such as that of Kenneth Goldsmith, or verbatim drama, in which the authorial creative process does not lie in writing or constructing the text, but in selecting it. Thus, the gesture of the artist mirrors the anti-capitalist artistic drive of zero production, wasting time, doing nothing, underlining what may later be called the “ctrl-pastism” of contemporary culture, or further, as John Cage stressed, the manifestation of the displacement of artistic choice and abjuring the self as creative agent in the ego-driven culture.¹⁶

The perception of the dramatic action is itself a synesthetic experience *per se*, one which is absorbed by the whole body of the spectator; but it is the body and mind of the spectator that construct the drama reality through so-called oral eyes: *mise en scène*, or the visual and aural frame of the performance or in other words, *parergon*. In his *La vérité en peinture* (*The Truth in Painting*, 1978 / 1987), Jacques Derrida critiques Kant’s *Critique of Judgment* to argue against the belief in the intrinsic nature of the work of art. Derrida questions Kant’s presupposition of a universal value of beauty, which would inevitably assume a clear, delineated line between the inside and outside of the proper work of art. Unlike the frame, which Kant wanted to suppress, Derrida shows that a distinction between inside and outside can never be fully attained. According to Derrida, the outside always comes into the inside in order to define itself as an inside (this shall be later applied to the life art theory).

Kant defines the *parerga* as an ornament or supplement in contrast to the *ergon* (the work);¹⁷ Derrida clarifies the definition variously as *frame* and *edge*, understood as the absolute limit between what is considered to be inside the work and outside of it.¹⁸ According to Derrida, the parergon functions “without being a part of it yet without being absolutely extrinsic to it.”¹⁹ The parergon is never simply outside or inside but rather in the ambiguous space in between. This is also visually presented in the written text on page, which Derrida purposely fragments by inserting frames designating the frame, however, framing only empty space on the page, as illustrated in Figure 1.

15. See Henri Bergson, *The Creative Mind: An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. Mabelle L. Andison (Mineola: Dover Publications, 2007), 165–68.

16. See Roger Malbert, introduction to *Every Day is a Good Day: The Visual Art of John Cage*, by John Cage (London: Hayward, 2010), 9.

17. Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009), 53; Kant’s treatment of parergon is fully developed in his *Critique of Judgment*.

18. See Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 53.

19. Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, 55.



FIGURE 1: A REPRESENTATION OF WHAT JACQUES DERRIDA CALLS THE "ABYSS AND SATIRE OF THE ABYSS."²⁰

These parergons express Derrida's belief that they belong to the text and create a certain rhythm as well as create rifts for the reader to substitute the void with their imaginative content, therefore constituting a part of the work as well. Thus, the reader becomes a part of the book, and the spectator becomes a part of a theatrical spectacle. Naturally, the application of the parergon extends beyond the aesthetic to the dimension of theatre, time and space, here and now.

This collapse of binaries, so indicative of Derrida, brings forward the question of the boundaries of theatre especially in a post-dramatic aesthetic sense. Postdramatic theatre, what is more, is a theatre of the present.²¹ Its insistence on the non-illusionary and an accent of reality calls into question the make-believe nature of most dramatic and theatrical productions. Furthermore, postdramatic theatre challenges the issues of the identity of performers, highlighting non-acted elements here and now, which, in other words, is a characteristic of performance art and steers back to everyday life. What becomes one of its greatest contributions is the postdramatic challenging of the boundary between art and life, or performance and the everyday.

Recently, the occidental art-life dichotomy has been a subject of great scrutiny, not only in the mirror of its oriental rendering, but since the late 1980s in British

20. See Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, 17.

21. See Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (London: Routledge, 2006), 142.

drama, theatre and performance. Elzbieta Baraniecka suggests that British “In-Yer-Face” drama be read through a subliminal lens, hence the experience of sublime (as paradox) is disconcerting for the audience, much like experiences of terror, shock or extreme situations,²² generating chaos; the sublime drama fails in its representation of the other and puts this failure into representation, or, better yet, has the audience experience this failure to grasp the other.²³ According to Baraniecka, sublime drama as an “expression of the postmodern zeitgeist represents the feelings of disillusionment with metanarratives on the one hand and, on the other, a greater openness towards the singular narratives of the other.”²⁴ Further, she contends that the language in Sarah Kane’s *4.48 Psychosis* has both a subliminal and parergonal quality. “Words become parergonal as they become the site of the repeated interpretative violence of framing. Any such attempt at framing meaning fails and only exposes the lack of a fixed signified behind the signifiers.”²⁵

Similarly, when addressing the late 1980s theatre in Britain, it is obvious that pervasive postmodern elements include ennui, banality, vagueness, the everyday, lowbrow, non-linearity and fragmented insignificant themes in reaction to grand-narratives. Like the music of John Cage or the dance of Merce Cunningham, the British art scene is also preoccupied with the potentials of mundanity and the weariness of everyday life. Therefore, the works of performers such as Bobby Baker, La Ribot and Lone Twin embrace the aesthetics of the art of invisible, unseen, failure of expectations as well as the gestural ignorance of their audiences. In relation to violence, silence is a great tool for expressing impossibility, trauma or guilt, as seen with the performance pieces of Franko B, notably *Aktion 398* and *I Miss You*, in which in complete silence Franko offers his wounded, mutilation-marked body for contemplation by the audiences – individually in private one-to-one explorations, as in the case of the former, or in the latter, on the catwalk as a form of fashion-show-gone-bad for a number of spectators and photographers.

Silence and doing-nothing seems to operate as leitmotif in both highly visceral pieces. Several other examples of silence and nothingness in Live Art include the famous *Le Dernier Spectacle* (The Last Performance) by French choreographer Jerome Bel. The performance consists of a sequence of etudes which is repeated with gentle alterations for four times. The opening etude for instance shows Bel’s most famous choreography, Jerome Bel performing Jerome Bel, standing motionless for a couple of minutes, only timing his standing on stage. However, in the fifth repetition the scenes are made invisible, so that the audience must imagine / remember what was happening in the

22. See Elzbieta Baraniecka, *Sublime Drama: British Theatre of the 1990s* (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

23. See Baraniecka, *Sublime Drama*.

24. Baraniecka, *Sublime Drama*.

25. Elzbieta Baraniecka, “Words that ‘Matter’: Between Materiality and Immateriality of Language in Sarah Kane’s *4.48 Psychosis*,” *Journal of Contemporary Drama in English* 1 (2013): 168.

previous parts before, since they can see only Bel with his assistant carrying a black cloth to make it impossible for them to see the performers.²⁶

Unlike Jerome Bel standing and doing nothing, Bobby Baker, another well-known Live Artist, in her *Mad Gyms and Kitchens*, which premiered in Leeds in June 2012, presents a typically autobiographical monologue on well-being (in all possible meanings), cooking and mental sanity. What Baker does at the end of the spectacle, since she has devoted the entire performance to her own as-if- therapeutically self-inspective confession, is to invite all audience members to drink tea, eat biscuits and write / draw / paint / glue / cut their own well-being attributes, using materials provided by Baker. Such an open-ending allows the performance to naturally dissolve into the everyday, breeching the spatial boundaries of the venue as well as the time frame. This was particularly noticeable for one of the authors of this paper who, while drawing and sipping tea, noticed a couple of long-unseen friends-colleagues and consequently went for a drink with them. As a result, the performance remained without closure and unfinished, subverting the horizons of expectations unseen, unmet, with the Kantian parergon absent, with Derrida's understanding, being caught strangely in-between our evolving identities and fading memories. In similar fashion, the rest of this page is intentionally left blank so as to illustrate the in-between withoutness for the reader to fill up with their own imagination or ideas.²⁷

26. For a detailed description and analysis, see Tim Etchells, "More and More Clever Watch More and More Stupid," in *Live: Art and Performance*, ed. Adrian Heathfield, Gwen John, Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, and Hugo Glendinning (London: Tate, 2004), 198–99.

27. Thanks to editors Katarína Nemčoková and Gregory Jason Bell for encouraging me to pursue this idea, and to Roman Trušník, the series editor, for approving it.

Like rhetoric when performed badly, silence can sound offensive. In theatrical strategies, such provocation can be elaborated into the strategy or creative attribute of a theatre group. Silence operates also as the expression of something inaudible, hidden, mysterious, or unwanted. Finally, silence can also be used as a gesture of commemoration, most frequently as a form of mourning. Along with being a probe into the creative process by testing the limits of the form, these two particular kinds of silence are the most pervasive subjects of *Bloody Mess*, a 2004 performance by Forced Entertainment. For Forced Entertainment, the foremost British experimental theatre ensemble to date, their provisional approach to theatre-making might be pigeonholed as devised theatre. The company's fundamentally provocative attitude of destructing the narrative and conventional modes of spectacle as well as its subversive approach to the audience, appropriation of performed material and attempts to integrate silence, emptiness, and nothing on stage seems nothing short of a logical step.

Bloody Mess serves as a case study of silence in the company's oeuvre. As its title promises, the project presents far from linear story-telling and stage acting. In the company's words, the piece accentuates "action or the choreographic, rather than the textual."²⁸ It is perhaps best described as a children's game gone-wrong or a strangely dystopian vaudeville. Eleven actors on stage present strangely rendered caricatures of themselves. After the initial line-up in which all actors introduce themselves, advising the audience what sort of a character they should be imagining when they look at the actors themselves, the actors chaotically start their bantering on stage. Rather than stories, their etudes might include a clown-brawl-duel, a drunk gorilla fidgeting with a baby carriage, or an aged, drunk, exhausted semi-naked cheerleader. After about an hour and twenty minutes of performance time the silence scene comes to the fore.

Davis and Jerry standing naked among a mess of tinfoil, confetti and spilled beer on stage, manifest the desire to communicate silence. They begin elaborating on different kinds of silence. Finally, after about twenty minutes of this,²⁹ they express the wish

28. Forced Entertainment, "Bloody Mess Information Pack," <http://www.forcedentertainment.com/page/3071/Bloody-Mess-Pack>.

29. The full list of silences follows: 1) being in the countryside during the night; 2) at a birthday party – a 5-year-old girl – when she closes her eyes before blowing out her birthday candles; 3) a crying baby – after crying really long – when it stops; 4) waiting for the elevator – finally the door is open and you ask people whether they are going down or up; 5) family to remember a special day – when someone died and commemorate that person to think about that person and enjoy the really beautiful silence; 6) watching the TV and want to change the channel but you accidentally hit the mute button; 7) a dinner party – all having good time, one goes to the bathroom, he can listen that all having a good time, but when he comes back, suddenly they all get silent; 8) public space – metro station, or there in the theatre with a lot of people, when everybody hears the policeman to yell out – is that your bag?; 9) silence in space – an astronaut drifting away from the spacecraft; 10) silences when the actor after the play just gets dressed and runs in the foyer and asks his friends "what do you think about this show?"; 11) family outing – dad driving, kids singing, the car swerves off the motorway and dad is a bit shaken and asks if everybody is all right; 12) your father has Parkinson disease and he did something new and wants to tell you but after a few sentences just blanks out; 13) a band has a new album and they are having the press conference and someone asks about the political content of their album and the frontman opens his mouth and it is a beautiful silence; 14) low point in your life – "God, could you just show me some signs that I could have some hope to go on?"; 15) a family decides to turn off the life support

to perform five minutes of beautiful silence. The problem appears which kind to choose. Then they conclude that “people just can choose, or we can do everyone.” The description of silence by the two actors is contrasted with its presentation. The naked performers summon silence as a coincidence of previous actions or events, as a counterpoint. Their method of performing, with one actor speaking and the others nearest just staring inflexibly and the rest of the troupe just standing, lying, or fidgeting discreetly around, foreshadows the inevitable failure of the scene. Two members of the company impersonating theatre techies constantly interfere, for example bringing a microphone and squabbling about the time measurement. The provocative, humorous, yet embarrassing scene outlines the typical feature of their oeuvre, life art.

Life art is the spectating aesthetics of Forced Entertainment producing chaos, presencing rather shambolic incompleteness, accentuating the semi-voluntary contact with the audience accentuating the elements like coexistence or conflow; filling the stage with larger-than-life fragility, mortality. The acting of Forced Entertainment resembles amateurish vaudeville; the performers of Forced Entertainment are messing around rather than acting on stage, summoning sympathy rather than empathy. For Tim Etchells, the company’s artistic director, the fundamental interest is not in the perfection of the spectacle as in mainstream venues or in politics,³⁰ but the opposite: mistakes and weaknesses. They are aware of language’s inability to express silence or, on the other hand, they use phrases to shock each other, which make the silence itself. The spectators are left with space for imagination and contemplation. Finally, the actors in *Bloody Mess* never achieve the silence. It stays forever absent.

The unexecuted silence brings forth another significant motive in Forced Entertainment’s work, which is their ability to fail. This failure is more than obvious when two protagonists are trying to keep the silence with the audience and in fact never accomplish their mission. They take it very seriously, however, as does the interviewer Rob. Sara Jane Bailes describes their ability to fail “as a condition from which everything began and to which everything returns.”³¹ Bailes thereby compares Forced Entertainment’s approach to Beckett’s. She underlines their motivation, which comes from binding existential conundrums: “the failure . . . to express rekindles the very desire to express.”³² The company understands the failure as not only a tragic, but often or probably at the same time, ridiculous state of potentiality. The failure is not generated by the two central-protagonists but by the chaos produced by the rest of the supporting cast including the “staff” offering music for the silence. Nor does Depeche

machine – are you sure you want to do this? – Mum’s lying in a coma, two kids crying, and dad with his new girlfriend . . . and “doctor makes just one little click.” Forced Entertainment, *Bloody Mess*, dir. Tim Etchells (London: Riverside Studios, 2004), DVD.

30. Like in the realm of politics – avoiding the silence, or as Tim Etchells puts it, absence of error or the absence of terror. See Glendinning, Heathfield, and Etchells, “Intangibles,” 606. For Forced Entertainment employing silence is driven by the opposite desire: to explore mistakes, exhaustion, the uneasiness of the performer projected onto the uncanny spectator.

31. Sara Jane Bailes, *Performance Theatre and the Poetics of Failure: Forced Entertainment, Goat Island, Elevator Repair Service* (London: Routledge, 2011), 66.

32. Bailes, *Performance Theatre and the Poetics of Failure*, 66.

Mode achieve the silence, for after telling the listener to “enjoy the silence,” they fill the created space with New Age synthesized music, altogether different from their usual offerings but certainly NOT silence.³³

Tim Etchells purposefully admits the abovementioned disregard for whether the group is pigeonholed as experimental or not; in a recent interview he ridicules theatre theorizing and stresses the group’s insouciance about pigeonholing and academia. They see their work as a reaction to and perhaps a reflection of life.³⁴ Also, Etchells’s iconoclastic attitude might be well summed-up in a speech he recently delivered at the opening of the International Student Drama Festival in Sheffield on June 22, 2012. In the speech, Etchells highlighted reality, uniqueness, borrowings, copying, enjoying the creative process and the power of free poetic license.

[T]he importance of staying free
and real
and live and now

There has been
a turn in [the?] Arts Council application process in which they are asking ‘how can you help us to deliver our vision’ – and that still shocks me, because,
I always thought
and still believe
for very good reason
that it was, is, and should be, the other way around.³⁵

These arguments highlight the omnipresence of authorial presence in the work of Forced Entertainment. Thus, silence and nothingness operate as a form of conscious provocation and an attempt to dislocate and relocate the status quo of contemporary theatre.

CONCLUSION

The audiences of Forced Entertainment voluntarily subscribe to being bored, manipulated, and forcefully abused. Forced Entertainment’s attempts to restore absolute silence on stage naturally and inevitably fails, which is another of their creative strategies. Their attitude towards the essential question of the boundary between life and art, theatre and the everyday questions whether or not such a gesture as being silent is a performance. Here it can be both; if they seem not to care, it is perhaps their aim to make the audience want to.

A parergonal treatment of performance could shed new light on the dichotomy between life and art. Both Kaprow and Goffman advocate the importance of framing as a chief principle of negotiating the boundaries between the intrinsic and extrinsic nature

33. See Gregory Jason Bell, e-mail message to author, May 21, 2013.

34. According to Etchells, their work contains the “desire to express or to articulate what is happening in the world; it comes from the world rather than the desire to be experimental; I don’t really care if it is experimental or not” (Video Riga Latvia). See Satori, “Tims Ečells: Esam padevušies politiskajam runam,” 2012, http://satori.lv/raksts/4788/Esam_padevusies_politiskajam_runam.

35. Tim Etchells “ISDF Opening,” opening speech delivered at the International Student Drama Festival in Sheffield, June 22, 2012, <http://www.timetchells.com/notebook/june-2012/isdf-opening/>.

of the work of art. As the paper suggests, considering Derrida's notion of parergon as a permeable quality that subverts designating principles of framing theory sheds new light onto performance theatre. The examples of Duchamp and Cage aim to highlight the extreme case of the artistic gesture: proposing silence and nothing as a work of art. In terms of contemporary theatre practices, the binary opposition between real and fictitious, art and the everyday, and theatre and life become blurred and finally collapse. The oeuvre of Forced Entertainment illustrated in the analysis of *Bloody Mess* demonstrates the contemporary trend of the provocative mock-realistic juxtaposition of personal biography onto the stage.

The fundamental contribution of Forced Entertainment is not in bringing in the silence, but in the attempt to achieve it. Forced Entertainment's shows prove to be a process-driven spectator-oriented tour-de-force. The reason for their implementation of silence is clear: conscious artistic freedom. The question remains what effect the performance has on the audience / spectator / witness: excitement, comicality, embarrassment, frustration and / or the violence of non-representation.

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“ARE NOT WITCHES ALWAYS OLD AND POOR?”: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF WITCHCRAFT IN JOANNA BAILLIE’S *WITCHCRAFT*

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ABSTRACT: Joanna Baillie’s play *Witchcraft* was published in the third volume of her *Miscellaneous Plays* (1836). The action of the play revolves around a Scottish witchcraft trial before the repeal of the Witchcraft Act in 1736. It deals with false accusations of witchcraft in superstition-ridden Scotland. The play uses witchcraft as a device to explore the effects of collective hysteria and of the individual’s situation in relation to social and historical processes. Witchcraft is a term usually referring to human actions that are believed to influence human or natural events through supernatural power. There are a number of recurring elements of witchcraft, i.e., performance of rituals, symbolic significance of objects, typical condition of a witch, etc. Baillie shows all these common features of witchcraft in her play in order to demonstrate how old, destitute and desperate female characters seek power, love and revenge, creating mass hysteria and paranoia in their accusers and the whole community.

KEYWORDS: witchcraft; stereotypes; power; rituals; women; revenge; Joanna Baillie

This paper focuses on the stereotypes associated with witchcraft present in Joanna Baillie’s play *Witchcraft* (1836), one of her Scottish dramas, and tries to demonstrate how she uses these stereotypes and for which purposes.

Although the idea that certain people could perform harmful sorcery is extremely ancient, the full stereotype of European witchcraft – that is, as Michael D. Bailey argues, the idea of a diabolically organized and conspiratorial cult of maleficent sorcerers whose aim was to harm faithful Christians and subvert the order of the Christian world – developed quite late in the medieval period, appearing as late as the early-fifteenth century. The rise of the witch-craze was concurrent with the rise of Renaissance magic. Humanists believed in benevolent magic and propagated it, while theologians and jurists saw witchcraft as the worst of heresies. In the early fifteenth century tracts dealing with diabolical witchcraft began to appear. The invention of the printing press in the 1450s propagated the craze more rapidly. One of the most infamous of all late medieval treatises on witchcraft and witch-hunting, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or *Hammer of the Witches*, by the Dominican inquisitors Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, was first published in 1487. It was reprinted in fourteen editions by 1520, becoming one of the most influential of all early printed books.¹

1. See Michael David Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 2.

Jeffrey B. Russell showed how witchcraft in the British Isles differed from continental witchcraft. There was no inquisition or Roman law, and it remained closer to sorcery with an emphasis on the negative power of the witch to hex. The first statute against witchcraft was passed by Parliament in 1542 – at the end of the reign of Henry VIII; then there was a new statute under Elizabeth I in 1563, which gave the death penalty to witches. Witches were prosecuted under civil law, not ecclesiastical, and that is why English witches were hanged rather than burnt as was common on the continent. Continental ideas made their way to England through Scotland, whose King James VI was a proponent of the witch-craze. After his succession to the English throne in 1603 as James I, a new statute was adopted in 1604 introducing pacts, devil-worship and other continental crimes. A period of severe prosecution of witches ensued. Towards the end of the seventeenth century belief in witches gradually declined. In 1736, a new statute repealed the previous ones, marking the end of the witch-craze, stating that no person should be prosecuted for witchcraft or sorcery.²

Baillie's play *Witchcraft* was published in the third volume of her *Miscellaneous Plays* in 1836 – exactly one hundred years after the repeal of the Witchcraft Act in 1736. As Christine A. Colón notes, Baillie grew up in the part of Scotland where the last witchcraft trial took place in 1697, and she was perhaps familiar with the plight of the seven witches executed there.³ In 1836 the witch-craze was long over, but Romanticism helped revive the idea. Baillie was not the only writer interested in the topic. In 1830, Sir Walter Scott published *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, which was effective in reviving interest in this phenomenon. Baillie's *Witchcraft* was probably inspired by Scott's historical novel *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), in which three poor, old women wish the Devil to contact them and make them serve him.⁴ These three witches also comment on the action of the novel, a function which resembles Shakespeare's use of witches in *Macbeth*.

One of the most powerful stereotypes associated with witchcraft is that of witches as women. Women dominated witchcraft in every period and in every region. Kramer and Sprenger, the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, showed strong misogyny when they gave reasons for the predominance of women in witchcraft:

What else is a woman but a foe to friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger . . . women are intellectually like children . . . she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives . . . she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations . . . they search for, brood over, and inflict various vengeance, either by witchcraft, or by some other means . . .⁵

2. See Jeffrey B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

3. See Christine A. Colón, introduction to *Witchcraft*, in *Six Gothic Dramas*, ed. Christine A. Colón (Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2007), xxxiii–xxxvi.

4. See Colón, introduction to *Witchcraft*, xxxiv.

5. Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers (London: J. Rodker, 1928), 43–46. Quoted in Jeffrey B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 116.

In addition, women accused of witchcraft were usually poor, old, lonely, unmarried women or widows, abandoned by relatives and society in general. In *Witchcraft*, as in *Macbeth* or *The Bride of Lamermoor*, there are three typical witches, i.e., women fitting this description. Their names are Elspy Low, Mary Macmurren, and Grizeld Bane. These names are telling, especially that of Grizeld Bane, because witches usually kept familiars – dogs, cats and other creatures – and Grizel was a typical name for a familiar, dating from the Middle Ages.⁶ These three women are reputed witches in Renfrewshire in Scotland, where the action of the play develops, and various misfortunes are attributed to them. When the child of a local nobleman falls ill, the cause is immediately clear – the girl has been bewitched. This idea of witches afflicting children was typical, since child mortality was high in that period. The mother of the sick child speaks of the spectral visitation:

The curtains of the bed began to shake as if touched by a hand, or the motion of some passing body. Then I knew that they were dealing with my poor child, and I had no power to break the spell of their witchcraft, for I had no voice to speak . . . the Lord's prayer was on my lips, but I was unable to utter it.⁷

This was a common belief – that either witches or their victims were unable to pray properly.⁸ Other calamities witches were blamed for are a bride breaking her leg just before the wedding or bad weather inflicting damage on the crops. Witches are indeed poor lower class women, and speak Scottish dialect like all servants and attendants in the play, by which Baillie intended to indicate their inferior position in society. Grizeld claims that she can talk directly to Satan and use his power. Mary and Elspy follow her out on the moors on a stormy night. They hope to receive power to be able to provide food for themselves and torment neighbours who have been cruel to them. Mary expressed this desire: “Ay, the hatedanes will pay the cost, I trow . . . They refused us a han'fu' in our greatest need, but now it wull be our turn to ha'fou sacks and baith cakes and kebbucks at command, while their aumery is bare” (W, 349). They gather on the moor to hold a coven; Grizeld tries to invoke Satan and evil spirits to assist them, using the usual techniques, like repeating the Lord's Prayer backwards. While the storm increases, creating a Gothic atmosphere with flashes of thunder and lightning, the witches hold hands moving in a circle, drawing a circle on the floor, and so on. But the magic does not work; evil spirits do not appear. There is only a solitary traveller who has lost his way in the storm and does not look like Satan at all. After the unsuccessful coven the witches complain that they are still hungry and powerless but can think of no other means of improving their social status than witchcraft. As Colón suggests, here Baillie evidently criticizes the plight of lower class women who see that their sole chance is the influence of spells and witchcraft as the only power available to them.⁹

6. See Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 92.

7. Joanna Baillie, *Witchcraft*, in *Six Gothic Dramas*, ed. Christine A. Colón (Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2007), 342. Hereafter cited in the text as W.

8. See Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 92.

9. See Christine A. Colón, *Joanna Baillie and the Art of Moral Influence* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 132.

Witchcraft is used by middle and upper class women as well, and Baillie indicates that even if they are better off than their poor fellow women, they are still inferior to men due to the lack of power or education; that is why they are also prone to superstitious beliefs. For example, lady Dungarren, mother of the sick girl, argues with her son Robert Kennedy about witchcraft and superstition: "Thou art proud of the heathenish learning thou hast gleaned up at college, and will not believe what is written in Scripture" (W, 357).

The only person who is partly successful in using witchcraft is the rich and beautiful lady Annabela, a relative of lady Dungarren. She loves Robert Kennedy desperately, but is unable to bewitch him or gain his affections, since he loves another. Annabela turns to Grizeld for advice on how to use her witchcraft to destroy Violet Murrey, Robert's beloved. But Annabela is clever enough not to rely only on magic or spells to destroy Violet. Instead she fabricates evidence so that it seems that Violet is the witch who causes the little girl's illness. She gets hold of a piece of Violet's gown and places it in the room where the little girl is supposed to be visited by apparitions. Using this false evidence, Violet could be accused of witchcraft and removed by the community. Here the motif of witchcraft as revenge and the plight of its victims emerges, when Annabela claims: "To be tormented by witchcraft is bad, but to be accused and punished for it is a misery so exquisite, that, to purchase it for an enemy, were worth a monarch's ransom" (W, 373). Annabela is a different kind of a witch, but the most powerful of all the women in the play. Grizeld acknowledges it when she says that "there is both wit and wickedness in thee to perfection" (W, 391), and "there is not a cloven foot, nor a horned head of them all, wickedder and bolder than thou art" (W, 402).

The victim of Annabela's scheme, Violet, is not a typical witch. She is not wealthy, but young and beautiful, and enjoys an excellent reputation among all her neighbours; many of them regret her fate and would be glad to help her. Some of them present typical absurd arguments: that some old unpopular widow can be wrongfully suspected, but for a girl with a good reputation, the evidence must be strong; or that if she is innocent, providence will save her. This does not happen – Violet is not able to acquit herself of the charge of witchcraft. There is just one weak and clumsy attempt by her lover to arrange her escape from prison. The attempt fails – there is instead additional strong evidence against Violet because she accidentally appears on the moor with her supposedly dead father at the moment when the three witches try to contact Satan.

Finally, she is about to be burnt at the stake together with Mary, but as the crowds gather to see their execution, a trumpet sounds and a company of soldiers arrives to announce that the Witchcraft Act has been repealed by the King. From that moment on no person can be punished for witchcraft. Therefore salvation comes in the form of a *deus ex machina*, or purely by chance in fact. Ironically, the only person who dies due to this witchcraft trial is lady Annabela. She wants to watch both executions from a house overlooking the stake to enjoy her triumph, but is joined by Grizeld who apparently strangles her to sacrifice her to Satan who, as she says, "must not return empty-handed, when a fair lady is to be had" (W, 403).

There occurs no real witchcraft in the play. An officer who arrives with soldiers recognizes in Grizeld

a miserable woman whose husband was hanged for murder, at Inverness, some years ago, and who thereupon became distracted. She was, when I left the country, kept in close custody. But she has, no doubt, escaped from her keepers, who may not be very anxious to reclaim her. (*W*, 413)

The message is that people do not have to fear witches, devils or other supernatural events, but rather their neighbours and relatives, who use witchcraft only as means of achieving their economic, political or personal aims. Even if Baillie concluded her play with a kind of happy ending, since only the cunning lady is punished, the reader feels that the innocent victims, Violet and Mary, were saved only accidentally. Had the soldiers arrived a couple of minutes later, their plight would have resembled that of thousands of real victims of the witch-craze.

In her play *Witchcraft* Baillie clearly sees witch hunts as a social and psychological phenomenon. As Russell observes, many people resorted to witchcraft because it was easy to blame others for their misfortunes, to make some enemy within society responsible and accountable for their own failures.¹⁰ Baillie also shows that vulnerability of women regarding witchcraft is largely due to their inferior social position. Poor lower class women had no other chance of improving their lives, because society condemned them to starvation and isolation. Upper class women do not starve, but they are still frustrated by a lack of independence and control. That is why witchcraft is directed against other women who seem to be better off, either because they have enough to eat, or because they are just loved and seem to be happy.

To conclude, it would be interesting to draw a parallel between *Witchcraft* and *The Crucible* (1952) by Arthur Miller. Miller's well-known play is a dramatization of the Salem witch trials that took place in Massachusetts in 1692. Like Baillie, Miller was interested in the plight of the falsely accused and the idea of collective hysteria, the dangers stemming from social tensions and individual hostility. The principal character in Miller's play, John Proctor, expresses this attitude, when he claims: "Is the accuser always holy now? . . . – vengeance is walking Salem."¹¹

Witchcraft was never performed in Baillie's lifetime, a fact she perhaps regretted, because she intended her plays to be performed on the stage, not read as closet dramas. Fortunately, recent critical interest in her work has led to at least two stage productions of *Witchcraft*, one at the Finborough Theatre in London in 2007, and the second at Concordia University in Canada in 2010. The play is evidently worth staging – the critic Michael Billington observed in his review in *The Guardian*, that while "the play suffers from an excessive theatricality It is robustly enjoyable, Walter Scott-style stuff."¹² And since collective hysteria, social tensions and individual hostilities, as well

10. See Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 109.

11. Arthur Miller, *The Crucible* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 77.

12. Michael Billington, "Witchcraft," *Guardian*, April 28, 2008. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2008/apr/28/theatre2>.

as negative attitudes to women, are still there, Baillie's play may interest the readers and spectators of our time.

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COUNTRY, CITY AND IN BETWEEN: CONSTRUCTING SPACE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCOTTISH FICTION

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the different approaches that twentieth-century Scottish fiction writers take in constructing a national space in their works. The aim is to provide an overview of general tendencies through a classification based on the authors' choice of setting and the mode of its presentation. The survey starts at the turn of the twentieth century, characterised by the vogue of the Kailyard School and its idealised portrayals of tightly-knit communities in picturesque rural settings. Another major phase begins in the 1920s and 30s, when the proletarian novel, depicting the plight of the working class in bleak urban settings, becomes the prominent genre. A recent kailyard avatar appears in the 1980s and 90s in the form of Satanic Kailyard, which reverses the original genre conventions by systematically foregrounding the ugly and the corrupt, whereas the earlier generations insisted on finding the beautiful and the virtuous.

KEYWORDS: Scottish literature; Kailyard School; Urban Kailyard; proletarian novel; Satanic Kailyard

By the end of the nineteenth century, Scottish literary tradition relied almost exclusively on the achievement of two isolated individuals: on the rustic dialect poetry of Robert Burns and on the historical regional fiction of Walter Scott. It seemed that the 1707 Act of Union, which joined the formerly autonomous kingdoms of Scotland and England to form Great Britain, deprived the Scots not only of political but also of literary sovereignty. Scottish literature lacked both unique and unifying characteristics to differentiate it from the general English writing tradition and promote it to the status of a national literature on its own behalf. Only in the last decade of the nineteenth century did there arise a distinct group of specifically Scottish writers who sought similar goals and used sufficiently similar methods to earn the label of a national school or movement. These writers continued the tradition established by Burns and Scott in employing the Scots dialect to elaborate on scenes of peasant life in specific Scottish regions in past times. The deeply-rooted regionalism of this group, even parochialism in some of its adherents, is reflected in the term by which they are referred – Kailyard School – the Scots word kailyard designating literally a cabbage patch in the back garden.

Cairns Craig explains the Scottish writers' penchant for regionalism as “a direct outcome of the Union of 1707” and suggests that “the value attributed to local identity developed precisely as the counterbalance to the powerful sense that Scotland was disappearing into a homogenous and ‘universal’ English culture.”¹ Accordingly, writings in the vein of the Kailyard School noisily exhibit their Scottishness, be it in the

1. Cairns Craig, “Scotland and the Regional Novel,” in *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1990*, ed. K. D. M. Snell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 222.

particulars, such as settings and characters, or in the general sentiments expressed. Kailyard practitioners promote a self-contained Scotland consisting solely of large tracts of picturesque countryside populated by delightfully uncomplicated commoners whose simple pleasures and certainties are presented as particularly desirable when counterpoised against the confusions of England and the rest of the world. The term kailyard was originally coined for the purposes of literary criticism: in an article from 1895, J. H. Millar described the novelist J. M. Barrie half-seriously, half-mockingly as “the founder of a special and notable department in the ‘parochial’ school of fiction, . . . the Great Kailyard Movement.”² Though at first a neutral expression, the word kailyard developed pejorative connotations, and its current usage extends to cover any cultural manifestation that ostentatiously and tastelessly flaunts its Scottishness.

For the purpose of this paper, the term kailyard will not be treated as a qualitative label but will be defined as a literary genre which observes a particular set of conventions. These conventions comprise above all the already mentioned obligatory rural setting and the use of heavy dialect in dialogue exchanges of simple farmer or artisan character types. A piece of kailyard fiction either follows an episodic structure or merely fleshes out a formulaic plot, typically involving a poor boy’s education in divinity and appointment to minister, church splits or everyday domestic affairs, such as courtships, births and burials. A minister or a schoolmaster serves as the narrator, who is nearly always omniscient and often condescending. As Moira Burgess puts it, “the writer displays his characters, so pawky and quaint, with an air of amusement which he assumes his readers, comfortable in their own superiority, will share.”³ The stock characters of kailyard fiction include the “lad o’ pairts,” that is, a prodigiously talented boy on a bursary; the “stickit minister,” referring to a failed clerical candidate; and a variety of humorously idiosyncratic locals. Kailyard writings tend to err in excessive melodrama or in excessive sentimentality, exploiting the emotional appeal to the audience by dwelling on deathbed scenes and funeral processions on one hand or elaborating on improbably exaggerated love stories on the other. The former shortcoming affects, for instance, J. M. Barrie’s *A Window in Thrums* (1889), where an unworthy son fails to attend the successive deathbeds of his mother, father and sister, respectively; while the latter pitfall is illustrated by Barrie’s *The Little Minister* (1891), where the unlikely love of a minister and a gypsy girl miraculously triumphs over adversity.

Barrie’s collection of short stories *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888) nevertheless proves to be a well-balanced exercise in kailyard fiction and counts among the finest examples of this genre. The volume derives its title from Old Lights, a puritanical faction of the Church of Scotland, whose community in the fictional little town of Thrums becomes the subject of the stories. The strictly religious townspeople and their limited concerns are treated in a gently mocking, yet not entirely unaffectionate manner, as apparent in the following description: “You could generally tell an Auld Licht in Thrums when you passed him,

2. Quoted in Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 12.

3. Moira Burgess, *The Glasgow Novel: A Complete Guide*, 3rd ed. (Hamilton: Scottish Library Association, 1999), 34.

his dull vacant face wrinkled over a heavy wob. . . . When he met a friend they said, ‘Ay, Jeames,’ and ‘Ay, Davit,’ and then could think of nothing else.”⁴ Some of the pieces included in the collection stand as simple sketches of a placid country life, whereas some others exploit irreverent humour to create exuberantly comic scenes. The story entitled “The Auld Lichts in Arms,” to name but one, deals with a petty feud between Thrums and the neighbouring parish of Tilliedrum, which culminates in a universal skirmish over the dead body of a Thrums dweller, who wandered to Tilliedrum and “thoughtlessly died there.”⁵ On the following Sabbath, the participants of the bloody but casualty-free confrontation are severely chastised from the pulpit by their obliging minister, on which “the congregation, with most of their eyes bunged up, [bursts] into psalms of praise.”⁶

J. M. Barrie earned the reputation of a chief proponent of the kailyard genre in his lifetime and found it difficult to distance himself from the limiting label. Modern criticism however recognises the greater complexity and artistic value of his work, particularly in contrast to the rather reductive and schematic attempts of his like-minded contemporaries, such as S. R. Crockett’s *The Stickit Minister* (1893) and Ian Maclaren’s *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* (1894). The Kailyard School first enjoyed an enormous popular as well as critical success, but as soon as its novelty wore off, the kailyarders came to be criticised, as Andrew Nash formulates it, for their “tendency (implicitly or otherwise) to construct Scottishness in an escapist paradigm that had little to do with the reality of contemporary Scotland.”⁷ Kailyard writers often deliberately assumed an air of realism and authenticity and by masquerading their products as truthful accounts of Scottish rural life, they contributed to disseminating restricting national myths and stereotypes. R. B. Cunningham Graham, a contemporaneous commentator, complains about the received image of the Scotsman as “a sentimental fool, a canting cheat, a grave sententious man, dressed in a ‘stan o’ black’, oppressed with the tremendous difficulties of the jargon he is bound to speak, and above all weighted down with the responsibility of being Scotch.”⁸

While the Kailyard School ignored the existence of an industrialised Scotland and withdrew into a pastoral idyll, a parallel group of fiction writers evolved who appropriated the genre conventions for urban settings. Moira Burgess labels these writings retrospectively as Urban Kailyard, which, besides the transfer from the country to the city setting, “shares the attributes of the kailyard proper,” including “sentimentality, narrowness of vision, and the acceptance of a code of unshakeable assumptions regarding conventional conduct and belief.”⁹ Where the rural kailyard

4. J. M. Barrie, “Thrums,” in *Auld Licht Idylls* (1888; New York: Caldwell, [1890]), 14.

5. J. M. Barrie, “The Auld Lichts in Arms,” in *Auld Licht Idylls*, 116.

6. Barrie, “The Auld Lichts in Arms,” 115.

7. Andrew Nash, “The Kailyard: Problem or Illusion?” in *Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*, vol. 2 of *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 321.

8. Quoted in Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, 45.

9. Moira Burgess, *Imagine a City: Glasgow in Fiction* (Glendaruel: Argyll, 1998), 68–69.

focuses on the modest concerns of small farmers and weavers, the urban kailyard deals with poor but complacent tenement dwellers. As a rule, neither rural nor urban kailyard writings achieve any significant literary value, though in the latter category J. J. Bell's *Wee Macgregor* (1902), a series of endearing sketches from a little boy's uneventful life, remains enduringly popular. This book and its somewhat weaker sequels by the same author fulfil the requirements on light kailyard fiction in containing a cast of lower-class characters, occasional harmless humour and an underlying moralistic element, but they bring a refreshing innovation to the genre in using a naive child's rather than an informed adult's perspective.

The kailyard mode of literary expression largely exhausted its potential during the first decade of the twentieth century and was succeeded by a more ambitious portrayal of the conditions of contemporary Scotland in the form of the proletarian fiction of the 1920s and 30s. The left-wing authors of this period ought to be credited for introducing topical issues into Scottish writing and for attempting a realistic treatment of their subject, even though the aesthetic intention is often subordinated to didactic political purposes. A typical Scottish proletarian novel takes place in Glasgow, at that time the seat of the British heavy manufacturing industry – in particular, the traditional shipbuilding on the River Clyde – as much as the site of major labour unrest during the Great Depression. Out of the number of mostly mediocre novels focusing on the workers in Clydeside shipyards, George Blake's *The Shipbuilders* (1935) and James Barke's *Major Operation* (1936) still remain in print. A significant achievement in the field of the depression novel dealing with the plight of the unemployed is presented by Dot Allan's *Hunger March* (1934), set in a thinly veiled Glasgow in a single day.

A recent reincarnation of the term kailyard in relation to a specific mode of presenting space in Scottish fiction occurred in the last decade of the twentieth century, in reference to the controversial works of Irvine Welsh and similarly inclined writers of his generation. The commercial success of Welsh's *Trainspotting* (1993), a novel of a heroin youth subculture set in a seedy and murky Edinburgh, revived the notion of kailyard as a vulgar, low-brow market product. These are precisely the attributes that Christopher Harvie criticises when he characterises Welsh as an author of "books for people who don't read books" and describes his writing as "satanic" or "chemical generation" kailyard.¹⁰ Unlike the original late-nineteenth-century Kailyard School and to some extent Urban Kailyard, Harvie's labels did not enter common usage; even though Welsh is often grouped with fiction writers like the Booker Prize winner James Kelman or the less-well-known Agnes Owens, who share many of their methods and pursue similar ends. All of them are imaginatively and creatively linked to a particular locus – Welsh to Edinburgh, and both Kelman and Owens to Glasgow – which they populate in their writing with lower-class, dialect-speaking characters. These authors contribute with their portrayals of post-industrial cities to the postmodern plurality of

10. Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the Present*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 220.

visions, in which, as Marie Odile Pittin-Hédon comments, “the city becomes *a* city, or rather myriads of cities whose representations bear upon one another.”¹¹

The issue of constructing an imaginative national space in literature seems particularly pertaining to Scotland, considering its status as a stateless nation. “A people who lose their nationality create a legend to take its place,” observes Edwin Muir and continues: “The reality of a nation’s history lies in its continuity, and the present is its only guarantee.”¹² Writers of the late-Victorian Kailyard School responded to the literary heritage of Burns and Scott by perpetuating the legend of rurality and historicism. Their nostalgic idylls came to an end with the onset of problems attendant on industrialism and were promptly replaced by new attempts on the part of urban proletarian writers to come to terms with the contemporary bleak conditions of Scotland. A transition to a post-industrial society in the last two or three decades of the twentieth century opened up fresh ways of dealing with the rural and the urban alike, which include debunking defunct myths and discovering original attitudes to convey a powerful sense of a Scottish space without resorting to schematism and stereotyping.

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11. Marie Odile Pittin-Hédon, “Re-imagining the City: End of the Century Cultural Signs in the Novels of McIlvanney, Banks, Gray, Welsh, Kelman, Owens and Rankin,” in *Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)*, vol. 3 of *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 254. Italics in original.

12. Edwin Muir, *Scott and Scotland: The Predicament of the Scottish Writer* (London: Routledge, 1936), 160–61.

JAMAICA REVISITED: SLAVE NARRATIVE IN ANDREA LEVY'S *THE LONG SONG*

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ABSTRACT: "Me be a mulatto, not a negro," claims July, the protagonist of *The Long Song* (2010, 198). With this novel, acclaimed British novelist Andrea Levy pays tribute to her ancestors who lived as slaves on the sugar plantations in Jamaica. Against the backdrop of the black Baptist War that erupted in Jamaica in 1831, the 1838 abolition of slavery in the British Empire and its aftermath are discussed. Although the tradition of slave narratives is often associated with American literary and social history, Levy creates a neo-slave narrative that focuses on the issue of identity within the Caribbean. She explores the ethnic background of the individual characters in order to question the social hierarchy within the British Empire.

KEYWORDS: Caribbean literature; British literature; Andrea Levy; *The Long Song*; slavery; slave narrative; neo-slave narrative; colonialism; postcolonialism; Scotland

While the genre of classic slave narratives originated from the slave traffic in the triangular trade between Europe, Africa and the Americas, neo-slave narratives represent a twentieth-century phenomenon. Early slave narratives were recorded stories of enslaved Africans in former British colonies. Many existed only in manuscript form. In the nineteenth century, as the abolitionist movement in America gained in importance, slave narratives became a popular genre of African American literature. In this era, white people functioned as recorders and as editors of the narratives. However, as Edwards and Dabydeen argue, "literacy in English among black slaves, while encouraged by a few missionaries and sympathetic individuals, was fiercely opposed by most planters and slave-owners, who feared that demands for emancipation would be encouraged and given a voice."¹ The fear of the white colonisers that slave literacy would cause rebellion was voiced as early as in the 1760s by William Knox, the provost-marshal of the British North American colony of Georgia, who warned that literacy would lead to "a general insurrection of the Negroes and the massacre of their owners."² Inspired by Knox's theory of the intellectual inferiority of black people, described in his racist pamphlets,³ British planters did not generally support the publication of slave narratives.

1. Paul Edwards and David Dabydeen, Introduction to *Black Writers in Britain 1760–1890*, ed. Paul Edwards and David Dabydeen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), x.

2. Quoted in Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 154.

3. For a detailed study of Knox's views, see Leland J. Bellot, *William Knox: The Life and Thought of an Eighteenth-Century Imperialist* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

The early slave narratives mostly remained unpublished; however, those that did make it into print make the following classification possible. First, there were American tales of emancipation, such as the autobiographical *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) by Harriet Jacobs and the fictional *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The second category of slave narratives focuses on religious redemption and the spiritual life of slaves. Early examples of the second category include *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert "Ukawsaw Gronniosaw," an African Prince* (1772) and *The Interesting Narrative and the Life of "Olaudah Equiano," or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789).

Early Caribbean slave narratives include *The History of Mary Prince* (1831), *A Narrative of Events, since the First of August, 1834, by James Williams, an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica* (1836), and *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent* (1831). Set in "a Caribbean context," such narratives "are primarily concerned with detailing the experience of slavery and apprenticeship in the British West Indian colonies."⁴ After slavery was abolished in the British Empire (1833) and in the United States (1865), a new genre of neo-slave narratives emerged. The term "neo-slave narrative" was coined by Bernard W. Bell, who defines such narratives as "residually oral, modern narratives of escape from bondage to freedom."⁵ Within the context of the Caribbean, the neo-slave narratives present fictional accounts of life during slavery written by authors who did not experience slavery firsthand but who are usually the descendants of slaves. Apart from their imagination, these authors utilize oral histories and existing slave narratives to create novels about the heritage of slavery. In the neo-slave narratives, the focus shifts from slavery and colonialism to the identity issues of the former slaves and their descendants. While in America the neo-slave narratives were continuously published during the post-abolitionist era, British Caribbean neo-slave narratives have been published only within the last three decades. Maria Lima explains that "most of the theorizing on the neo-slave narrative has been done in the Americas. . . . [P]erhaps one of the reasons for this silence . . . is the unwillingness of the academic establishment to come to terms with that part of British history: Britain's *Heart of Darkness*."⁶ Therefore, the reassessment of slavery is the main focus of contemporary British Caribbean neo-slave fiction.

A typical recent Caribbean British neo-slave narrative is *The Long Song* (2010) by Andrea Levy. While depicting the social and racial tensions between the British owner of a Jamaican plantation and his slaves, she explores elements that constitute the backbone of many North American slave narratives. For example, Levy depicts the

4. Nicole N. Aljoe, "Caribbean Slave Narratives: Creole in Form and Genre," *Anthurium* 2, no. 1 (2004). http://anthurium.miami.edu/volume_2/issue_1/aljoe-slave.htm.

5. Bernard W. Bell, *The Afro-American Novel and Its Tradition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 289.

6. Maria Helena Lima, "A Written Song: Andrea Levy's Neo-slave Narrative," in "Special Issue on Andrea Levy," ed. Wendy Knepper, special issue, *EnterText* 9 (2012): 136. http://www.brunel.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/198053/10_Lima_Written-Song_FINAL.pdf.

physical and emotional abuses of slavery, the quest of slaves for freedom and overt appeals of the protagonist to the audience. Lima situates *The Long Song* into a broader context of neo-slave narratives whose authors have, according to Maria Helena Lima, “attempted to recover elements of the narrative structure and thematic configuration of slave narratives. The widespread rewriting of the genre in the post-abolition era has served to re-affirm the historical value of the original slave narrative and reclaim the humanity of the enslaved by (re)imaging their subjectivity.”⁷ Levy, however, ignores other traditional motifs in American slave narratives, such as slave auctions and the successful and unsuccessful attempts of slaves to escape. She emphasizes the reality of slavery and the post-slavery era by switching between the present and the past. However, she does not employ the flashback technique but rather utilizes various narrative perspectives: when the protagonist July recollects the past, it is told from a third-person perspective; when she describes her current life, Levy relates it by using an unreliable first-person narrator. In addition, the narrator uses different levels of language, from Caribbean patois to formal Victorian English. The variety of language reflects the development of July from her careless and naive youth to the wisdom of her adulthood.

In line with the traditional slave narratives, Levy frames her story with a preface and an afterword, written by the character of Thomas Kinsman, who, in the end, turns out to be a successful printer in Jamaica and the lost son of the main protagonist. He represents the new-age liberated slave and, moreover, he stands here for the literate person supporting the narrative of July, an illiterate slave. July confides in her mistress Caroline Mortimer that she is not able to record her story in writing: “‘But me can’t, missus,’ July repeated, ‘Me can neither read, nor write.’”⁸ However, July wants to maintain her right to tell her story, albeit with the help of Kinsman, who writes it down. Levy explains the choice of July as narrator as an act of revisionist thinking about slavery in the Caribbean:

There is an excellent body of scholarship, both in Britain and in the Caribbean, on the history of slavery. But there are very few surviving documents and artefacts that I could find where enslaved people speak of and for themselves. Little writing or testimony has emerged that was not filtered at the time through a white understanding or serving a white narrative – whether it be the apologists for slavery and the West Indian planter classes, or their opponents, the abolitionist.⁹

The Long Song mirrors the life of three generations of slaves who live on a sugar plantation in Jamaica. The typical Jamaican plantation had many slaves and was much larger and more distant from its neighbours than an American plantation. Stanley Engerman has documented that “three-quarters of slaves in Jamaica were located on plantations of 50 or more slaves, whereas in the United States less than one-quarter of slaves were located on such plantations.”¹⁰ He also emphasises an important difference

7. Lima, “A Written Song,” 135.

8. Andrea Levy, *The Long Song* (London: Headline Review, 2010), 207.

9. Andrea Levy, “The Writing of *The Long Song*,” in *The Long Song* (London: Headline Review, 2010), 409.

10. Stanley L. Engerman, “Some Economic and Demographic Comparisons of Slavery in the United States and the British West Indies,” *Economic History Review* 29, no. 2 (1976): 265.

in the way that American and Caribbean slaves could interact with white people: "Slaves in the US had more extensive contact with white society in their daily lives. Moreover, in the US, even in the South, the slaves were basically in a white society: even in those states with the heaviest concentrations of slaves, whites represented one-half of the population. In the West Indies, the share of whites was generally on the order of 10%."¹¹

Whereas in the United States, landowners often inhabited their plantations, Caribbean plantations were typically run in absentia by their British owners. In fact, Orlando Patterson has estimated that 90 percent of all the land under cultivation in Jamaica before emancipation was owned by absentees.¹² Although the number of British plantation owners living permanently in the Caribbean was small, they constituted the upper class and did not mingle with the lower classes: white servants and black slaves.

The fiction of Levy, a descendant of Scottish-Jewish-Caribbean immigrants to Britain, examines the stratification of society during slavery in Jamaica. As she explains, the slavery part of her family history was a subject of much censorship:

My family background was my first source of inspiration When I was growing up, my parents, who were from Jamaica, were at pains to distance themselves from every aspect of that slave ancestry. My mum would sooner say her family were slave owners than that they were once slaves. My parents couldn't – or wouldn't – tell me much about the history of where they came from. . . . A history which includes not only the slave population from West Africa, but people coming from all over the world Clearly this all created a society that was considerably more complex than I had appreciated.¹³

July, the mixed-race protagonist of *The Long Song*, was born in Jamaica of a slave mother and a Scottish plantation overseer. As a consequence, she considers herself a mulatto, not a negro, which in her opinion gives her a privileged social position over full-blooded black slaves. July gets "promoted" from the slave hut to the luxurious great house, where she serves as a maid to the sister of the plantation owner. Tayari Jones emphasises that "the caste system of the house and field servants has been a mainstay of neo-slave narratives."¹⁴ However, July's promotion to the owner's house has its drawbacks as well – just out of fancy, the overseer's sister, Caroline Mortimer, renames July "Marguerite."¹⁵ By this simple act she robs July of her ancestral identity. The social hierarchy within the plantation society is obvious. Andrea Stuart argues that there was "the social gulf between domestic slaves and those working in the field."¹⁶ July considers herself at the top of the social hierarchy among the slaves and the blacks. In

11. Engerman, "Some Economic and Demographic Comparisons of Slavery in the United States and the British West Indies," 265.

12. See Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969), 37.

13. Levy, "The Writing of *The Long Song*," 408–9.

14. Tayari Jones, review of *The Long Song*, by Andrea Levy, *Washington Post*, May 8, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/07/AR2010050704891.html>.

15. See Levy, *The Long Song*, 41 and 55.

16. Andrea Stuart, review of *The Long Song*, by Andrea Levy, *Independent*, February 5, 2010, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/the-long-song-by-andrea-levy-1889489.html>.

addition, her mulatto origin enables her to relate to the white man's world as well. July starts a relationship with Robert Goodwin, a Scottish newcomer who almost ignores the fact of July's inferior racial background: "The African stands firmly within the family of man. They are living souls. God's children as sure as you or I."¹⁷ Yet Goodwin, as a clergyman, is horrified by the fact that she is a child born out of wedlock. On another occasion, the mixed-blood origin of July makes it possible for her to attend a Friday night assembly where only non-white people may dance, "'Now, Miss July,' she said, 'you know me dances be just for coloured women.'"¹⁸ July believes that her mulatto status makes her belong to the coloured people in Jamaica.

July stands between class and race, being neither white nor black, neither a regular plantation slave nor a free citizen. She becomes the mediator between the plantation owners and the newly freed slaves. The significance of the slave as a navigator of plantation life is obvious when one considers the fact that "Jamaica's enslaved population far outnumbered the English enslavers. . . . As a result, there is a constant shifting of power at the center of all the relationships on the plantation."¹⁹ *The Long Song* exemplifies a significant redistribution of power by the depiction of the Baptist War rebellion in 1831 in Jamaica. As the plantations were quite far apart and because of the lack of rapid communication methods, there was complete chaos in understanding what was happening on both sides (by the whites as well as the blacks). Yet July disregards the larger historic significance of the event and rather focuses on personal profit when, at the height of the protests, she is concerned about smuggling a bottle of alcohol. The Baptist War changed the power structure within Jamaica and made the later emancipation of slaves possible. In the period between 1831 and 1833 when slavery was abolished, the plantation owners had to adjust to a new attitude towards the blacks as regards their social position. July remembers how Mistress Caroline had to change her attitude towards the servants and slaves as

the apprenticeship was finally forced upon our missus and all the planters of the Caribbean. . . . Though they [the ex-slaves] were still bound to the missus to work for six years without pay, . . . the slaves believed themselves to be actually free. They refused to work no more than the forty hours a week now required of them by King William and the law of England. No call to orderly conduct and "obedience to all persons in authority" had any effect upon Caroline Mortimer's negroes. And forty hours a week was just not enough time to take off a sugar crop. No inducement, nor overseer, . . . could get her negroes to task any longer.²⁰

As a consequence, Caroline Mortimer becomes "enslaved" by her former slaves: she "was required to care for those negroes in the same way – with lodging and food and clothing. . . . Sweet teeth in England just did not know the trouble she bore for them."²¹ Instead of July being in a subordinate position, it is now Caroline who literally has to beg July to stay on but now in the position of a regular employee:

17. Levy, *The Long Song*, 216.

18. Levy, *The Long Song*, 241.

19. Jones, review of *The Long Song*.

20. Levy, *The Long Song*, 202.

21. Levy, *The Long Song*, 203.

"Are you no longer listening to me, Marguerite?" she said.
 "Surely, missus," July replied, "but me just be t'inking that me is now free." . . .
 "But you would not leave me, would you, Marguerite?"²²

At this point, Caroline is reminded by a British gentleman to get accustomed to calling Marguerite by her true name, by which she has to acknowledge her identity. "That is not her name, Caroline. Her name is Miss July."²³ However, July is made conscious of her inferior position once again. In his capacity as a minister, Robert Goodwin preaches the gospel of mutual understanding and respect among people. Yet, in his personal life, he betrays July, who he loves. He is not willing to acknowledge publicly that he is the partner of the "negro" girl and instead devises a humiliating plan to marry Caroline in order to be near July and to avoid the anger of his father: "He loved a negro girl. He loved July. And to marry a negro . . . to marry a negro! Oh, who could countenance such an indecent proposal? Certainly not his father. To bring kindness to the negro, to minister to the negro, to pity the negro, was his father's dearest wish for him. But for his son to marry the negro – that would surely kill him."²⁴ Robert believes that his plan is just and sincere: "for it was to the injury of no one, and the advantage of all."²⁵ From the white point of view, neither Robert nor Caroline marries beneath themselves; but July suffers from being shown again that she would never be the social equal of a white lady.

The British class system transplanted into the colonies and practiced by the colonisers in Jamaica remained in place even after the 1833 abolition of slavery in the British Empire. A good example of its application is the Christmas dinner organised by Caroline Mortimer. Although she does not have enough funds to maintain her class status, she insists on getting the best ingredients and offering her guests as many courses as possible. The servants take advantage of this situation and make Caroline spend more money than necessary. For example, she complains how expensive the candles are and receives the following response from a black servant: "It is not that things be expensive, it is just that you cannot afford them."²⁶ Caroline is thus humiliated by her former slave and she is also made aware of the fact that the British class system is slowly losing its traditional power.

Levy is not concerned with portraying the historic events on a large scale. Rather, through personal stories, she shows slavery in the Caribbean as a traumatic period. For example, the Baptist War ended in the leaders being hanged, and in spite of the fact that the slaves were granted their freedom, their victory also meant that they had to take care of themselves. There is a sharp contrast between the slaves taking pride in being free and the harsh reality of the necessity of making a living as they are paid for their work only if the harvest is good. On the one hand, the freed slaves would argue with

22. Levy, *The Long Song*, 210–11.

23. Levy, *The Long Song*, 283.

24. Levy, *The Long Song*, 278.

25. Levy, *The Long Song*, 279.

26. Levy, *The Long Song*, 78.

their former owners about the limits of their employment: "We no longer slaves and we work what suits."²⁷ On the other hand, they have nowhere to go and therefore the former slaves became more dependent on their ex-master than ever before. They soon realise that they are charged such a horrendous rent for an acre of land as to shout in the end: "Slavery. Slavery has just returned."²⁸ As Eberstadt put it, the freed slaves "end up as starving castaways squatting on barren ground."²⁹ Consequently, their spiritual needs may have been satisfied by the enforcement of abolition, and yet their living conditions and standards of life became much worse than in the slavery period.

In *The Long Song*, Levy rediscovers the history of black people in the British Empire, with a special focus on the Caribbean. As a brilliant chronicler of the much-troubled relations in the Caribbean, the author shows that writing a neo-slave narrative may function as a therapy for coming to terms with the slave heritage. Being a mulatto, July bridges both the white and coloured societies and serves as an interpreter for both cultures. Although she repeatedly suffers from racial discrimination, she believes that abolition marks a new start in the relationships of all people in Jamaica. Levy's *The Long Song* therefore contributes significantly to the re-evaluation of the black presence in Great Britain and in the Caribbean.

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27. Levy, *The Long Song*, 302.

28. Levy, *The Long Song*, 311.

29. Fernanda Eberstadt, "When Jamaica Lost Its Chains," review of *The Long Song*, by Andrea Levy, *New York Times*, May 7, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/09/books/review/Eberstadt-t.html?_r=0.

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TOO MUCH, TOO OFTEN? THE GLASS CEILING OF DUB POETRY IN BENJAMIN ZEPHANIAH'S *TOO BLACK, TOO STRONG*

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ABSTRACT: In *Too Black, Too Strong* (2001), his most recent collection of verse, Benjamin Zephaniah construes and constructs poetry as a vehicle of historicity and contextualisation, and as a means of resistance against past imperialism, present neo-colonialism as well as hyper-consumerism. However, the book also features elements that point to his limited if palpable divergence from the classic and nowadays worn-out dub poetic paradigm of which he has been a practitioner for the last three decades. With a view to showcasing this qualitative change in Zephaniah's writing, this article focuses on the key themes of *Too Black, Too Strong*, construed as a collective if limited portrait of the U.K. of the late 1990s and early 2000s, a country steeped in "fluid modernity."

KEYWORDS: dub poetry; post-dub; Afro-Caribbean; Black British; self-reflexivity; reggae; Bob Marley; protest; intertextuality

As his three decades of poetic activity proves, Benjamin Zephaniah has transitioned from a revolutionary Rastafarian to a religious pluralist, from a dub poet angry by default to a dub-inspired poet angered by token democratisation of the post-industrial society, from preaching to the converted progressives to reaching international fame and, in consequence, aiming to persuade swing voters. His disdain for the brutality of capitalism is grounded in his socio-historical consciousness with which his poems are suffused, ranging from the European scramble for Africa to the dichotomy of the Cold War era to "the miniature, diminutive realm of personal life-politics" and consumer choices of the 1990s and beyond.¹

Undoubtedly, however, one phenomenon is constantly prominent in Zephaniah's poetry – his textual "struggle for equality of rights and opportunities at once both motivates and delimits [his] writing,"² causing many of his interventionist verses to either verge on a repetitive exercise in dub poetic style or to stay within their author's artistic comfort zone. After all, his is pop poetry, albeit filled with classical vituperation and progressive if half-baked ideas.

Not unlike his other books, in *Too Black, Too Strong* (2001), his most recent collection of verse, the writer still treats poetry as a safeguard against formatted news bulletins and "the politics of the belly,"³ understood as past imperialism and present neo-colonialism / consumerism. However, the book also showcases his modest move away

1. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 52.

2. Rajeev S. Patke, *Postcolonial Poetry in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 159.

3. John Parker and Richard Rathbone, *African History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 143.

from dub poetic righteous excess and / or rigour towards self-reflexivity, building up to an admission of exhaustion from which his brand of literary dub seems to have been suffering.

Alluding to a scornful remark attributed to Napoleon who allegedly disdained Britons as “a nation of shopkeepers,”⁴ Zephaniah in “What Am I Going On About?” his essayistic introduction to *Too Black, Too Strong*, conceptualises the United Kingdom – the book’s thematic axis – as “a wonderful place” (9), lionising it – on the basis of his own career – as “probably one of the places that can take an angry, illiterate, uneducated, ex-hustler, rebellious Rastafarian and give him the opportunity to represent the country” (12). Simultaneously, however, he acknowledges that the very country that he cherishes (14) rife with perennial tribulations such as, according to the Commission for Racial Equality, “130 000 racist attacks . . . in the year 2000” (10) and chronically-institutionalised profiling: “you are five times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police if you are African-Caribbean” (10).

Thus, the foreword, composed so that “the reader over[stood] the political landscape these poems are written in” (12), foreshadows Zephaniah’s “return to the militancy and outspokenness that made him famous in the early 1980s.”⁵ Containing poems “written between the years 1997 and 2000” (6), *Too Black, Too Strong* is a collection which unremittingly represents “all those that are treated Black by the united white states” (13) and reflects Zephaniah’s newly re-ignited “communal, democratic impulse.”⁶

The title of the book alludes to Malcolm X’s “Message to the Grass Roots” (1963). In his speech, in accordance with Black Power ideology, the African-American emphasises the impending perils of ethno-cultural deracination, which he illustrates by drawing on a metaphor of black coffee the flavour and strength of which are diluted through the addition of white cream. In his book, Zephaniah spotlights particular judicial inquiries that whitewash crimes committed against the said *blackened* minorities, as in “Appeal Dismissed,” a poem “about a Polish refugee sent home because rape was not considered by the judge to be torture.”⁷

To Zephaniah, who constructs the monologic text as the judge’s conclusive speech, the trial is an inquest hijacked by legalese which becomes the major obstacle to the female victim’s compensation: “You are what I would call a credible witness, / But I have no reason to believe that your persecution was official” (27). In consequence, the verdict constitutes a display of contemptible jurisprudential misconduct and an intrinsic failure of the appellate court: “You were not raped because of your dark skin / You were not raped because of your gypsy tongue, / You were raped because you are a woman / And rape is one of the things that can happen to / A woman . . . / So go home / And take your exceptional circumstances with you” (27).

4. Benjamin Zephaniah, *Too Black, Too Strong* (Tarsset: Bloodaxe, 2001), 9. Hereafter cited in the text.

5. Eric Doumerc, “Benjamin Zephaniah,” *Kunapipi* 26, no. 1 (2004): 136.

6. Dave Haslam, *Adventures on the Wheels of Steel: The Rise of the Superstar DJs* (London: Fourth Estate, 2001), 208.

7. Kate Kellaway, “Dread Poet’s Society,” *Observer*, November 4, 2001, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2001/nov/04/poetry.fiction>.

Other poems that stem from the writer's residency and his affiliation with "the radical barristers of 14 Took's Court, headed by Michael Mansfield QC, scourge of miscarriages of justice,"⁸ include the topical "To Ricky Reel," a tribute to the Sikh student whose body "was found floating in the Thames in October 1997"⁹ and whose unresolved case "has been a source of acute embarrassment to the London force as it trie[d] to repair its reputation following the Stephen Lawrence inquiry."¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, Lawrence's 1993 murder is also the subject of one of Zephaniah's courtroom texts.

All of these protest poems, regardless of whether set "against the political landscape of Britain" (iv) or taking place abroad, seem propelled by the philosophy of remembrance, epitomised by one verse of "Biko the Greatness," a literary salute to South African Steve Biko – yet another fatal victim of worldwide racist abuse: "nobody dies until they're forgotten" (67). For that matter alone, in *Too Black, Too Strong* Zephaniah acts as, to borrow Billy Bragg's phrase, "a progressive patriot" and holds fellow Britons (as well as humanity at large) accountable for anti-democratic extremism, as in "Derry Sunday," which commemorates the casualties of the Bogside Massacre of January 30, 1972. The poem, written during the establishment of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry (1998), which was founded to resolve the legal and factual inconsistencies regarding the lethal shootings in Derry, Northern Ireland, does not present Zephaniah's speaker as an arbiter but a voice of conscience, an echo of a claimant whose case is pending three decades too long.

Remembrance serves as a prophylactic and a means of civic education. In "The Woman Has to Die," its speaker – a reader of a newspaper recalls the events that culminated in the so-called honourable killing of a female in Pakistan's Baluchistan: "There is no photo of her smile / . . . She would have made a lovely bride / But strange love visited her heart, / A strange love from another tribe" (32). Made aghast at the patriarchal appropriation of Islam and jurisprudence that theologically legitimates the killing of any daughter who disobeys her fundamentalist father's request, Zephaniah makes his speaker calmly judge the filicide that indisputably was incentivised by "misquote[d] Koranic phrases" (32).

The full extent of both subjectivity- and autonomy-denial that the late woman was put through since her infancy is revealed in the final verses, as it transpires that "[t]he only photo of dis child / Was her corpse / In the daily paper" (32). Her postmortem photography, to evoke Sontag, "furnish[es] evidence,"¹¹ being "a token of absence,"¹² and a sign of before-death rejection. Although the young Pakistani was a family member, she, as a woman, was not crucial enough to be photographed and immortalised while alive.

8. Marcel Berlins, "Poetic Justice," *Guardian*, November 20, 2000, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2000/nov/20/law.poetry>.

9. Simon Rogers, "Stephen Lawrence Was Not the Only One: Michael Menson and Ricky Reel," *Guardian*, January 29, 1999, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/1999/jan/29/lawrence.ukcrime1>.

10. Terri Judd, "Ricky Reel Witnesses 'Pressured by Race Campaigns,'" *Independent*, November 5, 1999, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/ricky-reel-witnesses-pressured-by-race-campaigns-1123509.html>.

11. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 5.

12. Sontag, *On Photography*, 16.

Apart from writing his dub protests inspired by legal matters, in *Too Black, Too Strong* Zephaniah operates a politics of identity devoted to “marking the forgotten in the national imaginary.”¹³ Memory plays a crucial role in “The Men from Jamaica Are Settling Down,” which traces the post-war migration of the Windrush generation from the West Indies to the UK. The title of the poem refers to the headline of Peter Fryer’s 1948 newspaper report, which, as explained by Zephaniah in “The Empire Comes Back” – his preparatory article preceding the text proper, was “an update on the progress being made by the passengers of the ship” (36). Typical of the times, the journalist “overlooked the fact that not all of the passengers on the Windrush were Jamaican, and not all were men” (36). All of them, however, did contribute to the creation of the “mosaic of diasporas”¹⁴ that typify among others the present-day UK.

Exhortative apostrophising the current generation that the writer concludes his poem with: “An if you are happily towing de line / Be aware of de price your ancestors have paid” (40) situates “The Men . . .” as a war memorial, not a nostalgia-drenched keepsake. The poem is a product of the memory war waged by the poet against the trinketisation of history; its bitter conclusion warns that the contemporary media-saturated culture allows for “no pre-given unmediated reality,”¹⁵ for no representational oblivion: “But in-between lines you’ll still read in de papers / The men from Jamaica are settling down” (40). Consequently, media literacy, as Zephaniah suggests in “The Men from Jamaica,” is a progressive citizen’s duty, being no lesser an obligation than the necessity of dusting off the past and peeling back the detritus of historical forgetfulness.

Moreover, typical of Zephaniah, the past re-emerges in a significant number of poems included in *Too Black, Too Strong*. For instance, in “Bought and Sold,” the writer focuses on the orders of chivalry given to Black artists by the UK, a country which “has never dealt with its own legacy of slavery” (14). To him, the Order of the British Empire, which he himself rejected, likening the recipients of similar awards to “the artists who broke the boycott of [apartheid] South Africa,”¹⁶ is an example of a colonial retention, a holdover with which Britain, “this bloodstained, stolen empire rewards . . . self-defeating” (16) Black subjects: “The empire strikes back and waves / Tamed warriors bow on parades, / When they have done what they’ve been told / They get their OBEs” (15). The emasculating phrase “tamed warriors” (15) is a jeering invocation of forsaken African mythology that once underpinned the socio-cultural activities of Zephaniah’s generation: “Money and prestige, he goes on to argue, buy compliance, as the honoured poet avoids controversy.”¹⁷

13. May Joseph, *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 96.

14. Zygmunt Bauman, *Kultura w Płynnej Nowoczesności* (Warsaw: Agora and Narodowy Instytut Audiowizualny, 2011), 101. My translation.

15. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 2003), 90.

16. Simon Jones, “Dread Right,” *Third Way* 28, no. 5 (2005): 19.

17. Fiona Tolan, *New Directions: Writing Post 1990* (London: York, 2010), 115.

Poems such as “Bought and Sold” and “The Race Industry,” the latter of which states that “to promote racial equality has become merely a means of personal promotion for a new generation of government careerists,”¹⁸ show that Zephaniah’s “assimilation into mainstream literary culture has not tempered his outspoken voice.”¹⁹ Simultaneously, however, they also find him in the trenches of Black British dub poetry, tired, having exhausted the majority of the possibilities offered by the form.

Artistically, his brand of dub poetry becomes even more stretched at the seams when he returns to his intertextual ventures. First of all, as before, Zephaniah “rides de riddims” of easily identifiable poems, staple literary works comprising school curricula, such as his “What If” in the mould of Kipling’s “If.”²⁰ Zephaniah’s reggaematic version does not travesty the original penned by the author of “Gunga Din” but retains the form of direct address as well as the Kiplingesque advocacy of moderation and self-restraint, modernising the content to be pertinent to the context of Cruel-Britannia, i.e., post-Labour Cool Britannia: “If you can make one heap of all your savings / And risk buying a small house and a plot . . . / If you can speak the truth to common people / Or walk with Kings and Queens and live no lie” (17).

There are, however, critics who hold his riddim-driven versions in high regard. To Arana’s mind, Zephaniah’s own “This Be The Worst,” which extends the message of the much-anthologised “This Be The Verse” by Philip Larkin, aptly spoofs “crude abuse of ‘your mum and dad’ so as to indict ‘those lords and priests’ who historically have ruined more than just ‘you.’”²¹ In his version, Zephaniah flaunts his most in-ye-face mode: “They fuck you up, those lords and priests. / They really mean to, and they do. / They fill themselves at highbrow feasts / And only leave the crumbs for you” (30). To a less kind mind, however, “This Be The Worst” seems derivative, though righteously indignant.

The Bob Marley-inspired “I Neva Shot De Sheriff,” being a poetic remix, follows a disparate and a more satisfying scenario. It is a dramatic monologue delivered posthumously by one of the Black males “professionally done” (41) by police officers: “Word on TV is, / Twaz a precautionary measure” (41). As the public enquiry is yet to be under way, the poem reverses the roles played by the characters of Marley’s “I Shot the Sheriff” and, as is Zephaniah’s desire, accuses the *shitstem* (system):

I shot the sheriff, but I swear it was in self defense
 . . . I, I shot the sheriff, but I didn’t shoot no deputy²²

De sheriff shot I an me
 An den he shot me deputy. (44)

By manifestly choosing the lyrics of Marley to be his focal point of reference in “I Neva Shot,” Zephaniah manages to impart a poly-vocal message. First of all, he has

18. William May, *Postwar Literature: 1950 to 1990* (London: York, 2010), 210.

19. May, *Postwar Literature*, 210.

20. Rudyard Kipling, *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Ware: Wordsworth, 1994), 605.

21. R. Victoria Arana, “Contemporary ‘Black’ British Poetry,” in *The Facts on File Companion to British Poetry: 1900 to the Present*, ed. James Persoon and Robert R. Watson (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 90.

22. Bob Marley and the Wailers, “I Shot the Sheriff,” *Burnin’*, Island Records 548 894-2, compact disc, (1973) 2001.

revealed himself as one who appears to still share “consistent belief in the ameliorative power of popular song.”²³ Second of all, Zephaniah stresses the revolutionary nature of the reggae icon’s artistic output, which challenges Marley’s being “canonized as the non-threatening emasculated singer of ‘lilting love songs.’”²⁴ Third of all, “I Neva Shot,” as an overtly referential poem, may be viewed as an unofficial sequel and / or fan fiction as well as a thank-you note sent posthumously to the man who, as Zephaniah claims, responded to his teenage letters, encouraging the youngster to pursue his literary goals.²⁵ Finally, there is his further dethronement of Presley and whitened, neutered rock for which he, as implied in Zephaniah’s “Nu Blue Suede Shoes,” stands: “Me nu hav nu blue suede shoes / But me really want fe rock / . . . I won’t dance wid de government / Dem don’t care bout me” (78). Here, his act of musical militancy transforms the lexeme “rock,” turning the noun – “rock” construed as a genre of music – and its connotative “passive sensory involvement”²⁶ into the verb, a performative mode of (a) Jamaican dancehall and its “heightened level of participation.”²⁷ This is, as Cooper observes, “the politics of noise . . . recognised as a profoundly malicious cry to upset the existing social order.”²⁸ Interestingly, not unlike Marley who in “Bad Card”²⁹ strives to sound his message of civil disobedience “ina rub-a-dub style,”³⁰ Zephaniah in “Nu Blue Suede Shoes” strategises a duplicate reggae-grounded plan:

Me nu own de high street
Dis is not my club
All I want is just a little
Heavy rub a dub. (78)

Buoyed by reggae, by “a music of protest and political and religious energy,”³¹ Zephaniah’s disadvantaged if empowered speaker exercises anti-establishment derision, arrogantly and clearly ironically asking the powers that be for the permission to overthrow the government: “No privilege / Me nar inherit wealth . . . / Der is music in me heart / So please will you excuse me / If my shoes are not so smart, / Please will you excuse me / While I tear de state apart” (79).

Still, in spite of the poet’s continued literary and otherwise support for the misrepresented and victimised, his social resilience reaches its limits, as voiced in “The One Minutes of Silence.” Its speaker – Zephaniah’s alter ego, empathetic as he is, feels

23. Keith Cameron, “Billy Bragg’s Volume 1,” *Mojo* 149 (April 2006): 114.

24. Carolyn Cooper, “‘Lyrical Gun’ Metaphor and Role Play in Jamaican Dancehall Culture,” *Massachusetts Review* 35, no. 3/4 (1994): 429.

25. Richard Williams, “Bob Marley’s Funeral, 21 May 1981: A Day of Jamaican History,” *Observer*, May 24, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/apr/24/bob-marley-funeral-richard-williams>.

26. Jim Miller, quoted in Will Straw, “Characterizing Rock Music Culture: The Case of Heavy Metal,” in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 2nd ed, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1999), 455.

27. Sonjah Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall: From Slave Ship to Ghetto* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010), 59.

28. Carolyn Cooper, *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender, and the ‘Vulgar’ Body of Jamaican Popular Culture* (Oxford: MacMillan Caribbean, 1993), 5.

29. Bob Marley and the Wailers, “Bad Card,” *Uprising*, Island Records 548 902-2, compact disc, (1980) 2001.

30. Cooper, *Noises in the Blood*, 5.

31. Kwame Dawes, *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic* (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1999), 134.

a degree of inadequacy and impotency as a torrent of conflicting emotions that he experiences disturbs the ritual quietude. These seeming 60 seconds of stillness, repeated whenever a racist murder is committed – “I’ve spent hours / Standing for minutes” (71), do not imbue him with tranquility. On the contrary, as Zephaniah’s irately lachrymose mourner observes, composure is a rare luxury, out of the grief-stricken persona’s reach. Simultaneously, however, silence makes peace impossible as it is also a form of cowardly suppression of truth: “Ricky Reel / Stephen Lawrence / And / Brian Douglas / Make silence very difficult for me. / I know they did not go silently, / I know that we have come to dis / Because too many people are staying silent” (70). His is restlessness, guilt and lack of adult agency – all of which are expressed via a school-age metaphor of culpability: “I’ve spent so much time standing in silence, / It reminds me of being in trouble / In the headmaster’s office, / Waiting for the judgement” (71).

Unable to efficiently “overrun the culture of cruelty” (70) to which the tragically deceased fell victim, he engages himself in a symbolic effort of commemoration, something akin to a perfunctory nod, that, on the one hand, brings him closer to eschatology yet, on the other, points to the futility of silent tributes, rendering them a counter-productive activity, a waste of time: “I seem to have spent a lifetime / Thinking about death” (71). In addition, this cross-questioning strain of “The One Minutes of Silence” turns the livid valediction of a protest poem into a meta-elegy, a rant-like meditation on the validity of means of remembrance, commiseration and resistance. The text announces that we inhabit an era of “broadband cosmo-politanism,”³² and that modernity is too fluid to be analysed and responded to by means of classic dub poetic tools.

Arguably, “The One Minutes of Silence” may also be read as an authorial footnote to Zephaniah’s own committed literature, which self-reflexively articulates the poet’s disappointment with the repetitiveness of vocal opposition and / or the persistence of oppression. He has reached the glass ceiling of articulation, unable to “wake dis sleepy nation” (69) – the nation that regards both acts of violence and acts of artistic resistance “too hot for cool Britannia” (69). The poet may still be duly committed, yet his repetitive poetry ceases to be engaging. He is a loudmouth, his verse is still.

His sense of alienation is even more overtly expressed in “Naked,” one of the key texts of the collection: “Dis is me blowing my lonely black trumpet” (49). On the other hand, however, the words may be interpreted as an assertion of autonomy. Moreover, “Naked,” as do Zephaniah’s least formulaic poems, operates through the “testing of human and ethnic interstices,”³³ keeping not only a check on the government but primarily checking the empathy and multilateralism of his target audience. Hence, the poet “chooses to play devil’s advocate, challenging the liberal attitudes of his

32. Arana, “Contemporary ‘Black’ British Poetry,” 90.

33. Laurenz Volkman, “The Quest for Identity in Benjamin Zephaniah’s Poetry,” in *Embracing the Other: Addressing Xenophobia in the New Literatures in English*, ed. Dunja M. Mohr (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 260.

Guardian-reading”³⁴ enthusiasts, whom he ironically apostrophises while they are “waiting to be touched with as / many versions of the truth as . . . [they] / can conjure up in [thei]r turned off / mind” (47).

The thorny issue of the viability of writing, its purpose and its comprehensibility, returns in “Translate,” one of the last poems in *Too Black, Too Strong*. The self-questioning text points to almost insurmountable communication barriers, intermittently built and broken by the recycling and co-existence of diverse aesthetic conventions in the age of “[f]luid’ modernity”³⁵:

Sometimes I wanda
Why I and I
A try so hard fe get
Overstood . . .
Sometimes I wanda
Who will translate
Dis
Fe de inglish? (83)

Here, “dis stuff” (83) is the sum total of the poet’s life-long experience, followed – in an alliterative fashion – by its integral constituents: African and Rastafarian sensibilities, the spiritual and the bodily as well as the folk lore of dub reggae. The poem’s speaker doubts whether he is still capable of reaching out to the dual English, i.e., the English-speaking public and the English as a common “substitute for Britishness.”³⁶ His quandary, it appears, is founded upon his immersion in a modernity that is no longer rigid, recognizably “condensed”³⁷ or noticeably “systemic”³⁸ and which also problematises Zephaniah’s expected dissent, highlighting his conceptual schematism.

Valid as his idealistic “progressivism”³⁹ endlessly voiced in *Too Black, Too Strong* may be, it seemingly fails, despite the poet’s “invading the blank page with . . . endless aerodynamic pen” (48), to be translated well enough in(to) the 2000s. A diachronic reading of Zephaniah’s volumes, culminated in *Too Black, Too Strong*, shows that frequently in his oeuvre Rastafarian *overstanding* is dwarfed by *overstatement*. Poems such as “Translate” are, one hopes, his confession of this fact. As such, they are a testament to the self-reflexive exhaustion of the dub-driven paradigm for which his poetry is notorious.

34. Bram Gieben, “Benjamin Zephaniah – the People’s Laureate Goes Digital,” *Skinny*, May 16, 2006, http://www.theskinny.co.uk/clubs/features/42400-benjamin_zephaniah_peoples_laureate_goes_digital.

35. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 120.

36. David Morley and Kevin Robins, “Introduction to How British Is It? Geographies of Identity,” in *British Cultural Studies: Geography, Nationality, and Identity*, ed. David Morley and Kevin Robins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 24.

37. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 25.

38. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, 25.

39. George Lakoff, *Don’t Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* (White River Junction: Chelsea Green, 2004), 49.

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CZECH TRANSLATIONS OF OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH POETRY

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ABSTRACT: Following a brief survey of the first attempts to translate Old English and Middle English poetry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this paper surveys Czech translations of these texts published since the 1910s in books and anthologies. The choice of texts selected for translation is discussed as well as the approaches of Czech translators, in particular the way they cope with the rendering of English medieval alliterative accentual verse into contemporary Czech. Their solutions are briefly compared with the techniques used by contemporary English and American translators rendering these texts into Modern English. The process of introducing this literature to Czech readers may be generally characterized as the development from short informative digests to artistic translations of either complete or abridged texts.

KEYWORDS: Old English poetry; Middle English Poetry; Czech translations; translations into Modern English; translation techniques; mimetic translation

One recent trend in Czech translation is the translations of Old English and Middle English poetry, primarily from the original languages, not via Modern English versions. With regard to different historical periods and prosodic systems, translators have to cope with considerable requirements concerning both content and form. Prior to analyzing their approaches, a brief outline of the situation in the nineteenth century is needed. In the period of the Czech National Revival and in the second half of the nineteenth century only a small number of texts and pieces of information concerning medieval English literature were published in literary journals, anthologies and encyclopaedias. In the third volume of Josef Bojislav Pichl's (1813–1888) anthology *Společenský krasořečník český* [Czech Social Declaimer] of 1853, which is a representative selection from Czech translations published in the period of the National Revival, the Earl of Surrey and Walter Raleigh are the earliest authors translated. The selection is chronological and opens with Ossian's poems, but they are presented as writings by James Macpherson. In the course of the nineteenth century, several medieval ballads and their pre-Romantic and Romantic imitations by David Mallet, Thomas Percy, Oliver Goldsmith and Walter Scott were published by Bohuslav Tablic (1769–1832), Vojtěch Nejedlý (1772–1844), Simeon Karel Macháček (1799–1846), Josef Hollmann (1802–1850), František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852), his son Ladislav Čelakovský (1834–1902) and Josef Václav Sládek (1945–1912). Ladislav Quis (1846–1913) then published the first annotated anthology in 1900. A relatively extensive article on English literature by Václav Zelený (1825–1875) in the magazine *Obzor* [Horizon] (1855) begins with Chaucer. Short pieces of information on, e.g., *Beowulf*, Caedmon, Chaucer, and J. Gower are scattered in *Slovník naučný* [Encyclopedia]

(1860–1874), written by Edmund Břetislav Kaizl (1836–1900), Jiljí Vratislav Jahn (1838–1902) and probably Jakub Malý (1811–1885). A relatively extensive and informed survey of the beginning of English drama was published by Julius Zeyer (1841–1901) in *Lumír* (1875). Some data were included in František Věnceslav Jeřábek's (1836–1893) *Stará doba romantického básnictví* [The Old Age of Romantic Writing] (1883). A more detailed survey of English medieval literature is found in the *Ilustrované dějiny literatury všeobecné* [Illustrated History of General Literature] (1881) by Václav Petřů (1841–1906), a compilation including, e.g., the prose translation of *Caedmon's Hymn* from its Latin version (quoted below).¹ Václav Emanuel Mourek's (1846–1911) *Přehled dějin literatury anglické* [An Outline of History of English Literature] (1890) and his entries for *Ottův slovník naučný* [Otto's Encyclopedia] (1888–1909) are predominantly purely factual, presenting names of authors and titles of works.²

The development of translations in the 20th century can be characterized as efforts to cope with both the content and form of the original. The turning point is the excerpts translated by Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945), the founder of modern Czech English studies, within his *Dějiny literatury anglické* [History of English Literature I, II] (1910, 1915, respectively) and his other scholarly studies. He was followed by other literary historians, Ladislav Cejp (1910–1959)³ and Zdeněk Stříbrný (*1922).⁴ The first annotated anthology serving as a textbook was compiled and translated by Zdeněk Menhard (*1930).⁵

As demonstrated by Jiří Levý (1926–1967), since the period of the National Revival Czech translation theory and practice have strongly valued, emphasized and even required mimetic translations also from the typologically different prosodic systems, and Czech translators have developed conventions for coping with them. Old English poetry is written in the so-called accentual or alliterative verse. It employs a long line of varying length divided by a caesura into two balanced half-lines, each of which includes usually two stressed syllables and a variable number of unstressed syllables. Three or at least two of the four stressed syllables alliterate. According to Levý, it is the simplest technique of the purely accentual alliterative verses used in the oldest poetry of Germanic nations. In Czech translations, for Levý it is important to preserve “four cores of meaning expressed by falling speech bars and emphasized by alliteration.”⁶ Levý refuses to sacrifice alliteration, a choice which Emil Walter (1890–1964) defends as suitable in the Afterward to his translation of *The Edda*.⁷ Also the latest translations and theoretical statements of Jan Čermák and Martin Pokorný follow Levý's intentions,

1. Václav Petřů, *Ilustrované dějiny literatury všeobecné* (Plzeň: V. Steinhauser, 1881), 2:21–22.

2. See Bohuslav Mánek, “Překlady anglické a americké poezie v období Máje, část II: Bibliografie překladů 1785–1872” (doctoral dissertation, Univerzita Karlova, 1984), 7–105.

3. Ladislav Cejp, *Metody středověké alegorie a Langlandův Petr Oráč* (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1961).

4. Zdeněk Stříbrný, *Dějiny anglické literatury*, 2 vols. (Praha: Academia, 1987).

5. Zdeněk Menhard, *Starší anglická literatura* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1995).

6. Jiří Levý, *Umění překlada*, 2nd ed. (Praha: Panorama, 1983), 242, 255–58. My translation.

7. Emil Walter, trans., *Edda: Bohatýrské písně* (Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1942), 161.

i.e., the creation of a strong middle pause marked by a blank space in print, and the use of a smaller or larger number of unstressed syllables, i.e., shorter or longer words to accelerate or decelerate the flow of the verse. I quote Martin Pokorný:

The first half-line represents the movement of a diastole, which gathers and organizes the thematic material of the verse. The second half-line is a systole: the third accent, which maintains the common structure, sends out energy to the whole song, whereas the fourth, not alliterating one, provides the relief necessary for the explosion in the following verse.⁸

The progress towards the most faithful rendering of the aesthetic and formal qualities of the original, e.g., kennings, alliteration, rhythm and flow of the lines can be demonstrated using the translations of *Caedmon's Hymn* and the following extracts from *Beowulf*, Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, and William Langland's *Piers the Ploughman*.

Chvalmež nyní původu říše nebeské, moc stvořitelovu a radu jeho, skutky otce slávy, jak učinil, věčný pán, každého zázraku počátek. Nejprve stvořil dětem lidským nebe za střechu, stvořitel svatý, pak učinil zem[,] strážce pokolení lidského všemohoucí.⁹

Oslavujme nyní nebes ochránce,
Tvůrcovu moc a jeho myšlenku,
dílo velebného Otce, jak on divu každému,
věčný Vládce, začátek vymezil.
On nejdřív nebesa stvořil,
střechu synům lidským, svatý Stvořitel;
zemi potom, ochránce zástupů,
věčný Vládce, vytvořil zase,
půdu pro lidi, všemohoucí Pán.¹⁰

Oslavujme nyní nebes ochránce,
Tvůrcovu moc a jeho moudrý řád,
vznešené dílo Otce. Jak věčný vládce
každému divu počátek dal.
To On nejdřív nebesa napjal,
střechu synům lidským, svatý Bůh.
Zemi pak založil zase,
ochránce lidí, věčný vládce,
půdu pro lidi, mocný Pán.¹¹

Vilém Mathesius in his *History of English Literature II* published in 1915 translated several specimens from *Troilus and Creseyde* originally written in the Chaucerian stanza (rhyme royal, *ababbcc*) into unrhymed lines,¹² but Zdeněk Hron in his translation of the poem published in 2001 managed to use the rhyme royal.¹³ Mathesius also

8. Martin Pokorný, "Swutol Sang Scopes – Jasný zpěv pěvcův," in *Duch můj byl živ*, ed. Jan Čermák (Praha: Kruh moderních filologů, 1999), 85. My translation.

9. Václav Petrů, *Ilustrované dějiny literatury všeobecné*, 2:21–22.

10. Vilém Mathesius, *Dějiny literatury anglické v hlavních jejích proudech a představitelích: I, Doba anglosaská* (Praha: G. Voleský, 1910), 87.

11. Menhard, *Starší anglická literatura*, 30.

12. Vilém Mathesius, *Dějiny literatury anglické v hlavních jejích proudech a představitelích: II, Zápas o národnost* (Praha: G. Voleský, 1915), 202, 203.

13. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus a Kriseida*, trans. Zdeněk Hron (Praha: BB art, 2001).

used unrhymed verse in his translation of two of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and medieval ballads (1915).¹⁴ He defended his approach as follows:

The translation maintains the metre and rhythm of the original lines, but uses unrhymed verses instead of couplets. As can be demonstrated in the majority of Czech rhymed translations, the reason is that considerations of rhyme make it nearly impossible to casually and fluently translate the stylistic subtleties characteristic of the original. Chaucer's masterful and finely graded style is really more important for the colour of his work than his rhyme.¹⁵

Když duben záplavou svých vlahých dešťů
březnovým suchem do kořenu vnikne
a každé vlákno vykoupe v té vláze,
z nichž silou plodivou se rodí květy,
když také Zefyr líbezným svým dechem
v lese i v poli všude popoždě
výhonky křehoučké a mladé slunce
v souhvězdí skopce proběhne svou půlku
.....¹⁶

Mathesius used the same approach, i.e., unrhymed lines instead of the fixed form of the rhymed ballad stanza when translating several medieval ballads to illustrate his views in his scholarly paper entitled "Problém anglických lidových balad" [The Problem of English Folk Ballads, 1915]. On the basis of Francis James Child's collections, from which he translated his selections, the paper discussed numerous theories about the genre. One of the selections was the ballad "The Hunting of the Cheviot" (also called "Chevy Chase, Child No. 162").

Percy z Northumberlandu
Bohem se zařekl,
že v horách cheviotských bude
honiti ve třech dnech
na vzdory statečnému Douglasu
a všem, kdož s ním byli.

Nejtučnější jeleny ve všem Cheviotu
pobít a odnést chtěl.
„Na mou věru“, řekl zas statečný Douglas,
„té honbě zabráním, budu-li s to.“¹⁷

The faults he criticized in earlier nineteenth-century translations can be illustrated by an extract from the same ballad translated by Ladislav Čelakovský in 1855.

Z Northumberlandu Percy
Slib nebi učiní,
Že v Cheviatských horách
Chce honit po tři dni,
Statnému Duglasu na vzdor,
I všem, kdož při něm dlí.

14. Vilém Mathesius, "Problém anglických lidových balad," *Věstník České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění* 24, no. 6 (1915): 245–71; 24, no. 7 (1915): 327–42.

15. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Výbor z Canterburyjských povídek Geofreye Chaucera*, trans. Vilém Mathesius (Praha: Jan Laichter, 1927), 62. My translation.

16. Chaucer, *Výbor z Canterburyjských povídek*, 9.

17. "Hon na horách cheviotských," in Vilém Mathesius, "Problém anglických lidových balad," 249.

Tam srnce nejtučnější včil
 Že zabiv, odvleče jim.
 Na mou čest', na to statný Duglas dí,
 To mu bohdá překazím.¹⁸

Both translations, in all probability are based on the text first printed in Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765).

The Persè owt off Northombarlonde,
 and a vowe to God mayd he,
 That he wold hunte in the mountayns
 off Chyviat within days thre,
 In the magger of doughtè Dogles,
 and all that ever with him be.

The fattiste hartes in all Cheviat
 he sayd he wold kill, and cary them away:
 "Be my feth," sayd the dougheti Doglas agayn,
 "I wyll let that hontyng yf that I may."¹⁹

František Vrba's (1920–1985) versions of *The Canterbury Tales* (1941, 1953, 1956, 1970) are all rhymed, demonstrating both the progress in the translator's art and the strong general trend toward mimetic translation.

Když duben sladké záplavy své vhání
 po suchu březnovém až do kořání
 a každé vlákno vlhou vykoupe tu,
 jež silou plodivou je zřídlem květů;
 když také Zefyr v líbezném svém vání
 výhonky něžné k vzrůstu popohání
 v lese i v poli, a když mladé slunce
 půl dráhy projde ve znamení skopce,
²⁰

Když duben vniká v šumných přeprškách
 až do kořání pod březnový prach
 a vlhou lázní v každém vlákně vznítí
 plodivou sílu, z které pučí kvítí,
 a když i Zefýr v lesíku a strání
 líbezným dechem k růstu popohání
 výhonky něžné a když jaré slunce
 na dráze Skopcem dorazilo k půlce,
²¹

Lev's rules are fully implemented in recent Czech translations, e.g., in *Sen o kříži* [The Dream of the Rood, trans. J. Čermák] (2005),²² Chaucer's *Sen o rytíři* [The Book of the

18. Ladislav Čelakovský, trans., "Hon Cheviatský," *Časopis muzea království českého* 29, no. 2 (1855): 207–11.

19. Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Ballads* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1860), 7:29; Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765; London: J. M. Dent, 1932), 1:67.

20. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterburské povídky*, trans. František Vrba (Praha: Družstevní práce, 1941), 5.

21. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterburské povídky*, trans. František Vrba (Praha: Odeon, 1970), 7.

22. Jan Čermák, trans., *Sen o kříži* (Praha: Jitro, 2005).

Duchess, trans. M. Pokorný] (2007)²³ and the large selection of Old English poetry and prose translated by Jan Čermák's team (2009).²⁴

Dialects of Old English are practically a foreign language for contemporary native speakers of English, something like Old Church Slavonic for Czechs, so English and American translators have to solve similar problems when translating the Old Germanic accentual metre into contemporary English accentual syllabic metre. North, Crystal and Allard have formulated the quandary as follows: "all translators suffer from the fact that modern English verse does not carry the same semantic charge with the same symmetry and within the same tightly compacted space."²⁵ Both the contemporary Czech and English languages make it possible to use alliteration for more than three syllables in a line, and also sound figures, i.e., the repetition of certain consonants or vowels are employed as a kind of skeleton. Contemporary Czech translators also emphasize the caesura graphically by a long blank space. Archaisms then suggest the time interval from the past. As can be seen in the extracts, the practice of contemporary English and American translators is analogical, and the Czech mimetic approach is sometimes even more strict.

Stoupal tu stěží královského rodu syn
po příkrých skalách, pěšinách úzkých,
těsných stezkách, tajemnými cestami,
přes srázné útesy, útulky oblud.²⁶

Zdolal pak rek rodu vznešeného
srázná skaliska soutěsky, kudy jen
jeden prosmykne se, neblahé prostory,
příkré ostrohy nad doupaty příšer.²⁷

Then the man of noble lineage left Heorot far behind,
followed narrow tracks, string-thing paths
over steep, rocky slopes – remote parts
with beetling crags and many lakes
where water-demons lived.
.....²⁸

So the noble prince proceeded undismayed
up fells and screes, along narrow footpaths
and ways where they were forced into single file,
ledges on cliffs above lairs of water-monsters.²⁹

23. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Sen o rytíři*, trans. Martin Pokorný (Praha: Jitro, 2007).

24. Jan Čermák, ed., *Jako když dvoranou proletí pták: Antologie nejstarší anglické poezie a prózy, 700–1100* (Praha: Triáda, 2009).

25. Richard North, David Crystal, and Joe Allard, "Why Read Old English Literature?," in *Beowulf & Other Stories: A New Introduction to Old English, Old Icelandic and Anglo-Norman Literatures*, ed. Richard North and Joe Allard (Harlow: Pearson-Longman, 2007), 23.

26. *Bēowulf*, in Mathesius, *Dějiny literatury anglické*, I, 16 (II. 1408–11).

27. Jan Čermák, trans., *Béowulf* (Praha: Torst, 2003), 130 (II. 1408–11).

28. Kevin Crossley-Holland, trans., "Beowulf," in *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology*, ed. Kevin Crossley-Holland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 109 (II. 1408–12).

29. Seamus Heaney, trans., *Beowulf* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), 46 (II. 1408–11).

The same approach is employed for the translation of Middle English alliterative verse, as can be seen in this extract from William Langland's *Piers the Ploughman*.

V letní době, když slunce mile hrálo,
v hrubý jsem se oblékl šat, jako bych ovčák byl;
v oděvu poustevníka nesvatého činy
do světa jsem se vydal, abych divy slyšel.³⁰

Svitlo světlé léto, Slibně hrálo slunce,
Odřeným šatem oděn, Jak ovčákem bych byl,
Měl jsem hrubý šat mnicha, Málo svatého díla,
Daleko do světa šel jsem Divy a zázraky hledat.³¹

In a summer season, when soft was the sun,
I clad myself humbly, clothed like a shepherd,
In habit like a hermit unholy of works,
And went wide in this world, wonders to hear.³²

Nevertheless, occasionally a very different approach is encountered. For his version of *Beowulf*, David Breeden has selected what has been called organic or content-derivative form, by which the original is treated very freely and the text is given a new shape: some passages are omitted, free verse is used, etc. He has justified his approach as follows:

The following is not a line-by-line translation of the original poem. Rather, I have attempted to recreate the poem as a contemporary poet would write it, a practice assumed in the oral tradition. Paradoxically, however, this translation is 'truer' to the original than many scholarly works. . . . This is not an exact translation of the poem but rather a new version, close to the original but a poem in its own right.³³

One night, after a beer party,
the Danes settled in the hall
for sleep; they knew no sorrows.
The evil creature, grim and hungry,
grabbed thirty warriors
and went home laughing.³⁴

As can be seen in comparison with standard English and Czech translations (Seamus Heaney and Jan Čermák, respectively) in six short lines Breeden summarizes eighteen long lines of the original, limiting the poetic diction to a few adjectives.

So, after nightfall, Grendel set out
for the lofty house, to see how the Ring-Danes
were settling into it after their drink,
...

30. William Langland, "Vidění o Petru Oráči, Prolog," in *Dějiny literatury anglické v hlavních jejích proudech a představitelích: II, Zápas o národnost*, by Vilém Mathesius (Praha: G. Voleský, 1915), 154 (v. 1–6).

31. William Langland, "Vidění Vilémovo o Petru Oráči, Prolog," in *Metody středověké alegorie a Langlandův Petr Oráč*, by Ladislav Cejp (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1961), 57 (v. 1–6).

32. William Langland, "The Vision Concerning Piers Plowman," in *Medieval English Verse and Prose in Modernized Versions*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis and Rudolph Willard (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), 294.

33. David Breeden, "Beowulf: A Note on Translation," *Beowulf*, 2013, <http://www.lone-star.net/literature/beowulf/breeden.htm>.

34. David Breeden, trans., *Beowulf*, 1998, <http://www.lone-star.net/literature/beowulf/beowulf1.htm>.

greedy and grim, he grabbed thirty men
 from their resting places and rushed to his lair,
 flushed up and inflamed from the raid,
 blundering back with the butchered corpses.³⁵

Když snesla se noc, Grendel namířil
 k hrdému domu, odhodlán zvědět,
 jak vede se Dánům, když dopřáli si piva;
 ... Zlomocná bytost,
 hnána zuřivou, lačnou záští,
 chvatně zchystala se a spících zchvátila
 třicatero mužů. Pak táhla zas pryč,
 plesajíc nad lupem, nazpět k příbytku,
 s mnoha mrtvými k domovu mířila.³⁶

To make Old English poetry more attractive to contemporary readers, similar non-academic approaches have been adopted by some contemporary poets contributing to the anthology *The Word Exchange*.³⁷ Another method of making long medieval compositions more accessible to modern readers is a combination of verse and prose, i.e., the replacement of several passages by short summaries of the action. This is, for instance, the case of Zdeněk Hron's translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseyde* (2001)³⁸ or Michal Bareš's *Sir Orfeo* (2001, early-thirteenth century)³⁹ and the final version of František Vrba's *The Canterbury Tales* (1970). Modern editors of Italian classics have also used this method, e.g., Italo Calvino for *Orlando Furioso* by Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533)⁴⁰ and Alfredo Giuliani for *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595); these editions are available also in Czech translations.⁴¹ English translators also often use unrhymed lines, blank verse or free verse, and prose, in particular for translations of long medieval poems from foreign languages. Harry W. Robbins (1883–1954) rendered the Old French *Romance of the Rose* (*Le Roman de la Rose*, thirteenth century) by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun in blank verse⁴², and the latest version translated by Frances Horgan is in prose.⁴³ *Beowulf* also exists in prose versions, e.g., the translation by E. Talbot Donaldson or S. A. J. Bradley. Recently also Peter Ackroyd has “translated and adapted” *The Canterbury Tales* into prose.⁴⁴ There are

35. Seamus Heaney, trans., *Beowulf* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), 6 (II. 115–17, 130–33).

36. Jan Čermák, trans., *Béowulf* (Praha: Torst, 2003), 68 (II. 115–17, 128–33).

37. Greg Delanty and Michael Matto, eds., *The Word Exchange: Anglo-Saxon Poems in Translation* (New York: Norton, 2011).

38. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus a Kriseida*, trans. Zdeněk Hron (Praha: BB art, 2001).

39. Michal Bareš, trans., *Sir Orfeo*, in *Dary krásných stromů: Výbor překladů ze staroanglické a středoanglické poezie*, ed. Mariana Housková, Miloš Komanec, and Jan Čermák (Praha: Kruh moderních filologů, 2001), 97–115.

40. Lodovico Ariosto, *Zuřivý Roland*, trans. Jaroslav Pokorný (Praha: Odeon, 1974).

41. Torquato Tasso, *Osvobozený Jeruzalém*, trans. Jaroslav Pokorný (Praha: Odeon, 1980).

42. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Harry W. Robbins (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962).

43. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

44. E. Talbot Donaldson, trans., *Beowulf* (London: Longmans, 1967); S. A. J. Bradley, trans., “Beowulf,” in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: An Anthology of Old English Poems*, ed. S. A. J. Bradley (London: J. M. Dent, 1982),

also simplified and shortened versions for children. In Czech is Robert Nye's (*1939) *Béowulf* and Eleanor Farjeon's (1881–1965) "bowdlerized" version of *The Canterbury Tales*, removing erotic and scatological motifs.⁴⁵

In conclusion, the process of introducing medieval English literature to Czech readers can be generally characterized as the development from short informative digests to artistic translations of complete texts or abridged versions, which nevertheless seek to suggest or preserve the principal qualities of the originals.

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408–94; Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. and adopted by Peter Ackroyd (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

45. Robert Nye, *Béowulf*, trans. Petr Onufer and Martin Pokorný (Praha: Plus, 2011); Geoffrey Chaucer and Eleanor Farjeon, *Canterburské povídky*, trans. Hana Skoumalová (Praha: Albatros, 1976); Eleanor Farjeon, *Tales from Chaucer Re-told* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

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