TEODOR MATEOC

editor

Cultural Texts and Contexts in the English Speaking World

(VI)

New Perspectives

EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII DIN ORADEA

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CULTURAL TEXTS AND CONTEXTS IN THE ENGLISH SPEAKING WORLD

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Introduction

Old Wine in New Bottles

The biennial conference organized by the English department of the Faculty of Letters in Oradea has reached its sixth edition. For twelve years, every March academics working in the field of Anglophone studies meet and reconvene here to share their interests in and passion for English and American literature, Cultural Studies, Linguistics and/or Teaching English.

In an almost ritualistic manner, we gather around the fire to tell our stories and listen to the stories of others. Stories about other stories already fictionalized in the more or less recent past, stories about real, political events that have marked or that mark our time, stories about words and the way the help us make sense of reality, stories of success and failure, courage and resignation, hope and despair. Behind them, passion and hard work, commitment to the profession and an unwavering belief in the power of the word

The five articles grouped under the rubric *British and Commonwealth Literature* focus on topics that exceed imagination in the sense that they deal with real-life situations which are re-incorporated into fictional narratives whereby they acquire a new, heightened meaning. This is the case of Elisabetta Marino who, in her key-note speech and then in the article, looks at the way in which the present-day issue of the refugee crisis is mirrored in two novels. Starting from the idea that such individual stories 'are…hardly heard, concealed and sanitized behind the accuracy of figures and statistics', she looks at 'what lies beyond' in an effort to give 'a clear and powerful voice to the silenced ones.

An interesting example of 'liminality' is offered by Eva Szekely's article on the modernist Elizabeth Bowen and her possibly best novel, 'The Heat of the Day'. Interesting in the sense that the liminality of her own Irish-British identity is somehow translated both into the liminal space that is London during the war and, at the level of characters, into 'liminal relationships and behaviour'.

War and its aftermath are also present in the correspondence between Lawrence Durrel and Patrick Leigh Fermor. Dan H. Popescu lifts

the Iron Curtain and allows us a glimpse into the Romanian scene by evoking an affair of the heart between Fermor and a local princess who'belonged to an aristocratic family with roots in imperial Byzantium and with branches all over Europe'.

In her article, Delia-Maria Radu reflects on food, just like the narrator in Lanchester's novel while travelling around France. Cuisine is here 'linked to the idea of art, of artwork' and what appears to be a 'cookbook' turns into a narrative with unexpected revelations. In her article, however, the author focuses primarily on 'French culture, food and places, and on the narrator's 'comparative criticism of British mores'.

Last but not least, Saukayna Alami revisits the immensely popular Victorian novel *Lady Audley's Secret*and looks at the representation of madness in relation to class and gender. Further, she demonstrates how, in this patriarchal society,'transgressive acts are translated to insanity and vice versa'.

Revisiting the past, reading the present is at stake in two of the articles in the *American Literature* section. Ioana Cistelecan sees the American West both as a timeless Arcadia and as a surrogate for a usable past, a foundational myth in a country with an excess of geography and a shortage of history. The writers under consideration in her article undermine 'the traditional paradigm of the Western short story' by focusing on 'marginal heroes and thus adding a 'psychological dimension' to the 'ritualistic confrontations between good and evil'.

Teodor Mateoc writes about Raymond Carver's stark, minimalist stories and argues that beyond their blunt realism they do allow for a metaphorical meaning and illuminate human emotions released mostly in limit situations or moments of crisis. In form, these stories illustrate the idea that less is more; in content, love as the arch emotion is here replaced by its contraries: confusion, falsity, betrayal, hatred and violence.

Starting from the triad author-text-reader, Sangjun Jeong looks at several critical stances that have considered the issue of 'textual objectivity', from the New Criticism to the reader-response school. The variety of critical interpretations and the 'the multiple responses to the same text on the part of the reader' leads him to the conclusion that, in the long run, 'interpretive anarchy cannot be avoided'.

As usual, the *Cultural and Gender Sudies*is the most substantial section. The topics of the article bear witness to their authors diverse interests: childhood, religion, feminism, advertising, politics or book marketing.

Andrada Marinau's article takes us back, to the Middle Ages, and the dark times of witchcraft. She intends to look at 'how witchcraft was viewed and dealt with in medieval England' and, by foregrounding the

figure of the witch, looks at the image of the sorceress from a feminist perspective.

Paloma Tejada Caller uses brand new critical tools to look at stereotypical representations of infancy and childhood in Early Modern England, such as Cultural Linguistics and Age Studies. The motivation of her research is that earliest childhood is 'un under-researched life stage' which came into focus rather late, in the sixteenth century, when 'the child was discovered in social practice'.

Childhood and teenage is also the age period that interests Neha Hooda, but from a totally different perspective. Her research intends 'to demonstrate how foreign made localized content finds acceptance in Indian television for children' and 'how their…understanding of life is shaped by the content they watch'. She gathered her data by resorting to interviews, questionnaires and content analysis administered to several hundred children 'from urban middle-class homes of North India'.

A somewhat unusual article is that of Blessing Datiri for it shows how a recent violent episode perpetrated by a radical Islamist group occasioned a semiotic approach applied to the texts, slogans, images and hashtags posted on media platforms. These are analyzed by using 'structural semiotics from narrative, enunciative, figurative and pathemic concepts' in the idea of highlighting the utility of social media in advancing the objectives of activism'.

Cultural studies via literature could well be the description of the approach in other three articles. First, Cristina Zimbroianu looks at the reception of a classical English novel in Franco's Spain and in communist Romania .taking into account specific 'historical and social determinants' but also, as Jauss' reception theory claims, the 'horizons of expectations' of the two readerships.

Irina-Ana Drobot's contribution brings together two novels and two cultural spaces, Australian and American. The first, typical for the genre of young adult fiction, the second a historical, epistolary novel- both portraying 'reading communities kept together through relations of friendship and even love'. A clever parallel is thus established between characters and 'the readers' own lives and…feelings.

From the perspective of gender studies, Anemona Alb writes about feminist taxonomies in two 'chick lit' novels. In both narratives, she argues, 'the protagonists' straddle both professional lives and the penumbral traditional, prescriptive housewife role they have relinquished'.

In his article, Daniel Nyikos, by borrowing from Lyotard and Baudrillard, speaks of ways to re-enchant the world 'by artistic practice'. His case study is an unfinished graphic novel whose text'defies the

rational urge to impose a single meaning or interpretation'. Because 'the excess of meaning that exists in the imagination in connection with the signifier means that the imagination will always function with a superfluity of meaning in comparison to the object'.

Giulia Suciu brings us back to immediate and local reality. 'The power of advertising' is the topic of her contribution and the aforementioned power is seen at work in a very popular and successful retail hypermarket present in her home town. The success of the enterprise, she suggests, is that, unlike other similar DIY advertising campaigns, this one 'chose to appeal to the emotional side' more 'by presenting situations people can identify themselves with'.

The last section of the present volume brings together three articles on *Language and Translation Studies* and one on *Teaching English as a Foreign Language.* Csillag Andreea's contribution investigates 'the language of fear' in a narrative of escape by resorting to 'a cognitive semantic investigation' and argues that all emotions, fear foremost, are ultimately described by 'linguistic expressions of certain metaphors and metonymies'.

In a thoroughly documented research Alexandra Liana Martin looks at how time is construed in thirty languages. Her assumption, based on linguistic evidence is that, in order to make sense of it, time has to be mapped 'unto the domain of space'. Consequently, the paper 'explores different metaphors of time that are spatial in nature' by using the linguistic theories of 'image schemas'.

In her article, Madalina Pantea speaks about the 'doubts' and 'limitations' in the otherwise 'blooming' field of computer translation. Factors such as speed, wordage, expense, subject matter and accuracy/consistency of vocabulary may quickly become mutually clashing vectors' impacting the qualityof the translation process.

In the concluding article of the volume, the two authors examine the way the Internet 'is reshaping the nature of literacy education'. Since the new technologies require 'additional skills to effectively read, write and learn', they intend 'to analyse some practices in teaching and assessing these new literacies of the Internet and other ICTs that define the future of the nowadays' students.

BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH LITERATURE

Exploring Migrant Lives in the Narratives of Monica Ali and Sunjeev Sahota

Elisabetta Marino
University of Rome"Tor Vergata"

The tragic images of Syrian families fleeing the horrors of the civil war, the plight of migrants and asylum seekers drowning in the Mediterranean or lost at sea, as countries refuse to open ports and provide shelter, are broadcast almost daily in the media. Yet, in the general turmoil of the global refugee crisis, individual stories are, with rare exceptions, hardly heard, concealed and sanitized behind the accuracy of figures and statistics, reflecting the exact numbers of casualties and survivors. Literature has, somehow, contributed to filling this major void. As Christopher Schaberg (2018: 3) has recently elucidated, "literature is *work*: it takes work to create, read, disseminate, and preserve": the last task is of crucial importance in "locating firm footing in the wild rapids of this time" (Schaberg 2018: 2), in stating (and sharing) the unspoken, thus raising awareness of what lies beyond the shocking pictures published in newspapers, or the distressing footage on television news.

In his 1984 essay on Günter Grass, Salman Rushdie (1991: 277) had already identified the migrant as "the central or defining figure of the twentieth century"; more than thirty years later, Monica Ali and Sunjeev Sahota, two writers whose families originally came from the Indian Subcontinent, have devoted intense efforts to casting light on the personal ordeals of migrants, whose vicissitudes they have pieced together and re-invented, by lending a compassionate ear to first-hand accounts and handed-down stories, while carefully reviewing the available sources of information. In two of their novels which this paper sets out to explore, namely *In the Kitchen* (2009) by Monica Ali, and *The Year of the Runaways* (2015) by Sunjeev Sahota, they have focused their attention on illegal migrants and informal workers, whose uncertain and vulnerable existence has been finally exposed, without oversimplifications, biases, and distortions. Judith Butler's notion of *precarity* and Guy Standing's idea of the *precariat*, *the new dangerous class* (as in the subtitle of his 2011 seminal treatise), will provide the necessary theoretical framework to better understand and analyze the two novels and their characters.

In *Frames of War* (2009), Butler explains the difference between the two intersecting concepts of *precariousness* and *precarity*; the former denotes a general ontological condition of fragility, as an inherent trait of being human: as she observes, "there is no thinking of life that is not precarious" (Butler 2016: 25). On the other hand, *precarity* indicates "that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (Butler 2016: 25). Precarity is, therefore, primarily experienced by the disenfranchised, the poor, the marginalized, even though, as Butler (2015: vii) has recently pointed out, it has turned into "a new form of regulation [*or a new hegemonic regime, we may be tempted to add*] that distinguishes this historical time"; in Isabell Lorey's words (2015: 1), nowadays "precarization is not an exception, it is rather the rule", it has been *normalized*. Indeed, in the post-Fordist era, characterized by the adoption of neoliberal models of development, and marked by extreme flexibility, aggressive competition, and high levels of job insecurity (aimed at maximizing profits, regardless of social consequences), a new class has emerged: the *precariat*, a term merging *precarity* with proletariat. According to Guy Standing (2011: 113), migrants, "the light infantry of global capitalism", while forming a large share of the world's precariat, are actually "in danger of becoming its primary victims, demonized and made the scapegoat of problems not of their making" (Standing 2011: 90). Especially illegal immigrants, in fact, are willing to accept significantly lower wages and poorer working conditions than other labourers; moreover, they cannot claim any rights to healthcare, nor are they entitled to occupational benefits such as sick pay, maternity leave, severance pay, or pensions. They are not real citizens but *denizens* (a word used in the Middle Ages to indicate permanent residents who did not have political and socio-economic rights) or, worse, *margizens* (people without any permanent residence status, underprivileged because marginalized). In Standing's view (2011: 91), "too many interests benefit from an army of illegal migrants, and too many populists depict attempts at legalization as eroding the security of citizenry". In truth, the illegality of non-documented workers is widely exploited to the employ99ers' advantage: they are cheap, unpretentious labour, easily blackmailed if recalcitrant, and instantly replaceable.

Even though, in *Brick Lane* (her 2003 debut novel), Monica Ali had already explored the grim life of the British Bangladeshi community in Spitalfields (an area in the East End of London), it is in her third novel, *In the Kitchen*,that she delves into the issues of illegal immigration, human trafficking − "the third largest organized crime on a global scale" (Sagher,

Hamdan 2016: 43) − and their dramatic impact on the labour market and society.

Born in Dhaka in 1967, of an Eastern Pakistani father and an English mother, she moved to Manchester in 1971, when the war that would lead to the independence of modern-day Bangladesh broke out. Since her first publication, the Oxford-educated writer has been forced to bear "the burden of representation" − borrowing the words of Kobena Mercer (1994, 91) −, often placed on the shoulders of so-called minorityartists who, apparently, are not fully qualified to cross the cultural boundaries of their own ethnic group (their skin colour operates as the dominant signifier of identity). Hence, as A.F.M. Maswood Akhter (2012, 98) has underlined, Monica Ali is "still been iconised as the trademark *Brick Lane*-writer", despite both her later achievements and the bitter controversy on the dubious authenticity of her Bangladeshi immigrant characters, due to her own mixed background and privileged upbringing. In a 2003 article for *The Guardian*, Ali herself (https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/jun/17/artsfeatures.fiction) replied to her detractors by arguing that, far from being a liability, her liminal position (neither an insider nor an outsider to the community) granted her the extraordinary possibility to adopt more than one perspective: "standing neither behind a closed door, nor in the thick of things, but rather in the shadow of the doorway, is a good place from which to observe".

Shifting from the stifling environment of London's Banglatown (a monocultural enclave), the writer's eye has actually embraced a much wider cultural horizon in *In the Kitchen*. In order to craft her suspenseful text, variously categorized as a *Bildungsroman*, a thriller-oriented story, or "a therapeutic narrative of personal transformation" (Brouillette 2012: 538), Monica Ali has drawn from several scholarly sources (as stated in the "Acknowledgements" section of her volume), including *Contemporary Slavery in the UK; Overview and Key Issues* by Craig, Gaus, Wilkinson, and Skrivankova, and *Trafficking for Forced Labour: UK Country Report*, by Klara Skrivankova. Indeed, the plot is centered on the exploitation of illegal migrant workers and sex slaves, primarily coming from those Eastern European countries that became EU members in 2004 and 2007. *In the Kitchen*, therefore, reflects "the most recent flow of immigrants into Britain", as Pei-Chen Liao (2012: 244) has emphasized. Moreover, the social function performed by the novel is all the more significant since the volume was composed at a time when victim-based legislations and measures had not been introduced yet, such as the UK Modern Slavery Act of 2015, demanding more transparency from companies operating in the UK, and their commitment to eradicating modern forms of slavery from their supply chains.

Set in contemporary London, the novel chronicles the progress of a white executive chef in his early forties, Gabe Lightfoot, from being thoroughly indifferent to the trials and tribulations of the numerous migrants that toil under his orders in the kitchen of the Imperial Hotel, to becoming increasingly aware of their vulnerability. Once confronted with the impotent fragility of the *precariat*, stripped of its dignity and of the essential human rights, Gabe responsibly abandons his project of starting his own restaurant, not to feed the very monsters of abuse and exploitation that are invariably connected − as he slowly learns − with any business venture. His newly acquired sense of solidarity is what makes the previously overlooked "ethical encounter" (Butler 2012: 134) possible. This series of reflections and changes in the chef's mind is initially triggered by a seemingly unimportant episode, which marks the beginning of the novel and a "turning point" (Ali 2009: 9) in his life: the death of a Ukrainian porter, Yuri, which accidentally (albeit mysteriously) occurs in the hotel basement, where he secretly lives.

In her narrative, Monica Ali is at pains to depict the collective feelings of precariousness, insecurity, and impermanence that characterize modern life. Long-established cotton-mills in the north of England that, for centuries, had provided employment opportunities for nationals and newcomers alike, are now rapidly closing down, transformed into tourist attractions or short-lived shopping malls. The widespread fear of an impending terrorist attack causes people to become suspicious of whoever has "dark skin, [a] bear[d], [a] big coa[t]" (Ali 2009: 189). Isolation is the only feeling that is paradoxically shared by people who dwell, temporarily, in impersonally furnished apartments, where anybody could be locked "for a month and no one would know" (Ali 2009: 119). The very hotel where most of the story is set is the emblematic icon of present-day transience: it is a contradictory space where dwelling and travelling overlap, where there is no clear-cut distinction between the public and the domestic sphere. Besides alluding to the time when it was first founded (the Victorian age), its extravagantly pretentious name, Imperial Hotel, is indicative of the power relations that underlie its functioning, thus serving as a symbol of "the imperialism of global economy" (Liao 2012: 246), as Pei-Chen Liao has maintained. The hotel kitchen is, therefore, equated by the author to a "workhouse" (Ali 2009: 25), where mouthwatering delicacies are serially produced by underpaid and overworked labour for the greedy consumption of the upper-class, feeding not just on beautifully presented dishes but also on the workers' exploited lives.

Gabe's kitchen staff is, at first, presented as a perfectly functioning body, as a "United Nations task force all bent to their work. Every corner

of the earth [is] represented [t]here. Hispanic, Asian, African, Baltic and most places in between" (Ali 2009: 129). Nonetheless, Ali's metaphoric description, misleadingly "suggesting the harmonious collective idealism of tolerance and rights" (Connell 2017: 236), as Liam Connell has noticed, clashes with the plot, whose climax is reached when the chef uncovers a double scheme designed by Mr. Gleeson, the hotel restaurant manager, to further capitalize on the lives of freshly supplied workers. Behind his impeccable professionalism, proper manners, and feigned integrity, he actually tricks newly-arrived maids and cleaners into prostitution, while forcing informal workers to slave on his brother's Norfolk farm, after deviously confiscating their passports. Accordingly, the kitchen turns into the place where "immoral recipes are prepared" (Sagher, Hamdan 2016, 49), as Sagher and Hamdan have observed, into a hellish cave where human flesh is selected, seasoned and glamorized, only to be quickly devoured by cannibalistic customers. Even the highly commended sustainability of organic food production reveals its disquieting side when Gabe realizes that, in the effort to contain costs without lowering the quality of products, only informal workers are hired, "supplies which [employers] can turn on and off as necessary without raising the unit price" (Ali 2009: 421), as Mr. Fairweather (ironically a member of the Labour party as well as Gabe's prospective sponsor) bluntly explains to him.

Through the prejudiced comments of elderly characters, such as Gabe's maternal grandmother and his father, Monica Ali describes and denounces the typical scapegoating of immigrants (the so-called *Pakis*, regardless of their real origin) who are held accountable for the growth of criminality and unemployment, since they *steal* the jobs of British citizens. All the same, Monica Ali's portrayal of the racialized Other is much subtler and more complex than that. In truth, the position of every member of Gabe's "pirate crew" (Ali 2009: 264) coincides with that of the *homo sacer*, according to the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. In the ancient Roman law, a man who had crossed certain lines was banned from the community and deprived of all rights; consequently, his *nuda vita* (bare life) could be taken by anybody without legally committing a murder, even though he could not be sacrificed (*sacer* also means *accursed*). Immigrants who have crossed the borders of both geography and legality may be perceived as *homines sacri*: they dwell in an ethical twilight zone, where they are granted no protection even if their very existence is at stake, for the very reason that their existence is deemed less valuable, deficient, marred. In Cristiana Cimino's opinion (https://www.doppiozero.com/materiali/la-nuda-vita-dei-migranti), they are like zombies. Hence, despite their deeper moral stance and higher

education (Gabe's immigrant staff hold either diplomas or university degrees), they are downgraded to the rank of brutes and viewed as "wild dogs" (Ali 2009: 137) or as a pack of rats (Ali 2009: 21) burrowing underground "in the bowels of the Imperial" (Ali 2009: 294). In addition, when depicted as human beings, they are almost divested of their humanity. Before his fatal accident, Yuri used to live in the hotel basement, which Monica Ali calls "the catacombs" (Ali 2009: 29), an evocative epithet that recalls the concepts of secrecy, persecution, martyrdom and, of course, *nuda vita.* The Ukrainian's puzzling death keeps haunting Gabe's dreams for the very reason that "it is insignificant" (Ali 2009: 463), as Nikolai (formerly a doctor and now part of the kitchen staff) crudely explains to him. Indeed, those who are subjected to bonded labour are considered "disposable people" (Bales 1999): in the words of Judith Butler (2016: 31), their "lives are not quite lives, cast as 'destructible' and 'ungrievable'. […They] are 'lose-able', or can be forfeited, precisely because they are framed as being already lost or forfeited".

Lena, the Belarus dishwasher that, after fleeing from her pimp, eventually finds shelter in Gabe's flat, is another forgettable and seemingly inconsequential figure. The fragility of her "cadaverous little frame" (Ali 2009: 106) is constantly highlighted; as Oona, the executive sous chef from Jamaica, remarks, "she so skinny that girl she pass under doors, she so thin she hard to see" (Ali 2009: 23). Ephemeral and invisible, Lena acts like a ghost, caught in what already seems to be a posthumous life. When Gabe first perceives her, she is in the basement (which she used to share with Yuri), "standing in the doorway in the jumble of shadow and light" (Ali 2009: 33), as if she was an apparition suspended in a liminal position between two worlds. "Her face was thin and rigid and her hands, which she held twisted together at her chest, were fleshless claws" (Ali 2009: 33). The marks of suffering and deprivation are inscribed onto her body: she adopts the posture of a mummified corpse, the carcass of a mutant creature that has been disposed of, after gorging on its flesh. At first, Gabe behaves just like the last of her exploiters: he is not really interested in her past; he does not ask too many questions and, despite the occasional guilty feelings (instantly suppressed), he trades his protection for loveless sex. In one of his dreams, he seems to perform a cannibalistic ritual of possession: he kisses Lena so hard that "there was blood all over her face" (Ali 2009: 46). The control he manages to exercise over her life is such that the girl, almost a prisoner in his apartment, is transformed into a mere inventory of body parts that Gabe only, her master, can join together to form a whole: "He would take the pieces of her, like a jigsaw puzzle, and arrange them,

every fragment. […] He appraised each toe, the pearly nails, each little knuckle, the delicate articulation of each joint. […] He worked slowly up her body, connecting every part of her, putting her back together again" (Ali 2009: 306-307).

Lena's only defense against annihilation is telling stories, keeping even painful memories alive to stir Gabe's reaction, to forcefully awaken his sense of responsibility "for the kind of world in which there will always be more Yuris, struggling to exist" (Ali 2009: 376), as Nikolai observes. Lena does not just tell her own story of cruelty, repeated rape, and abuse. Thus challenging Gabe's indifference, she provocatively lingers on the appalling vicissitudes of the countless women with no name who share the same underworld where she lives: the prostitute from Moldova, who turned to the police for help, only to be questioned, repatriated (since she was illegal), and met at the airport by the very thugs she was striving to release herself from; or the Romanian girl, whose front teeth had been removed so that she could more easily have oral sex with her clients – incidentally, her father, who initially believed she worked in a London restaurant, would shoot himself out of shame; or the fresh girls, prepared for 'working' through massive gang rape. The main storyline of *In the Kitchen* is punctuated with numerous digressions, corresponding to the individual narratives of the various migrants (both legal and illegal) featured in the novel. With increasing attention as the plot progresses, Gabe listens to Benny (one of his kitchen helps from Liberia), while chronicling the life struggles of a boy called Kano (actually Benny himself), whose mother, father, and siblings had been butchered; Kano's life had been spared only to swell the ranks of child soldiers: "this is what my country is famous for" (Ali 2009: 156), as he poignantly points out. Gabe is also struck by the alarming story of Nikolai; before becoming one of the commis chefs at the Imperial Hotel, he had happened to discover a connection between the chemicals dumped by a nearby factory into a local river and the birth defects that, as an obstetrician, he was investigating. Charged with espionage (the factory supplied military parts), he had escaped persecution and imprisonment by fleeing to London.

Monica Ali's efforts to emphasize the humanity, the dignity and the worth of either invisible or demonized immigrants (especially if illegal) are coupled with her intention to offer insights into the inner workings of neoliberal policies and practices. Gabe's "touching faith in government" (Ali 2009: 327) is openly ridiculed by Mr. Fairweather, who candidly explains to him the mechanisms underlying present-day economy: "bonded labour, […] a form of slavery […] for the twenty-first century. Taking away passports, debt bondage, threats of violence, that sort of

things", reassuringly adding that, as long as there are no "more mass drownings and other *spectaculars*, then nobody's really going to notice or mind. Nobody's in favour of rising food prices" (Ali 2009: 327). Nonetheless, only when Gabe is mistaken for an undocumented worker on Gleeson's Norfolk farm, does he finally succeed in moving from sympathy to authentic empathy and, consequently, agency. Once he gains first-hand experience of the harsh living and working conditions of the precariat, the comforting distance between his privileged life and the precarious existence of the Other is thoroughly erased. By sharing animal sheds for shelter, by facing the same toil and hardships, by standing up for common rights when trampled upon, Gabe Lightfoot eventually manages to form solid bonds of solidarity with his fellow creatures, thus fulfilling Judith Butler's vision of a "sustainable interdependency on egalitarian terms" (Butler 2012: 149) among human beings.

Identified by Katy Shaw (2017: 264) as "one of the leading lights of contemporary British literature", Sunjeev Sahota was brought up in a Punjabi family settled in Derbyshire. He acquired a degree in mathematics from Imperial College (London), and then moved to Sheffield, where he worked in the insurance business, devoting evenings and weekends to writing. Selected by Granta as one of the twenty best young British novelists in 2013 – for his debut novel, *Ours are the Streets*, published in 2011 −, Sahota was then shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize for his second novel, *The Year of the Runaways* (2015), which also received a nomination for the Dylan Thomas Prize, and won the Encore and Southbank Sky Arts Awards.

In recent interviews, the author has underscored the pivotal role of literature in restoring the complexity of reality, in allowing for nuances beyond oversimplifications, especially when it comes to sensitive subjects such as fundamentalisms, the global migration crisis, and illegal immigration. As he states, "The media and government want a simple narrative that comes with easy hooks, and gets easy catchwords and slogans out there, which will make people think that they're on top of the situation" (Shaw 2017: 266) when, normally, they are not. He firmly believes that "the ultimate responsibility" of every writer is "to the truth" (https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/sunjeev-sahota-interview-rise-and-rise-of-the-man-booker-shortlisted-author-10514444.html), while shunning the dangers of sensationalism, didacticism or partiality. In his opinion, novels still play an important role today: they continue to "hol[d] a mirror up to society,[… thus] show[ing] facets of life that society might otherwise not see" (Shaw 2017: 265). As he asserted in a 2015 interview with Andrew McMillan, "if novels can do anything […] it is shining a light into that dark tunnel, faces, histories,

stories" (https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/sunjeev-sahota-interview-rise-and-rise-of-the-man-booker-shortlisted-author-10514444.html). The reader Sahota envisions is never passive: if novels are a bridge between an author and his/her readership (or a table around which they have a conversation), then "writing is half the act but readers are the other half" (Shaw 2017, 269). Accordingly, finishing a volume is like emerging from the bottom of a pool: one may feel "slightly dazzled", but finally capable of seeing the world, "the local and the global – as fundamentally different to the way it was when [one] started reading" (Shaw 2017: 265).

Set mostly in Sheffield and in India, around 2003, *The Year of the Runaways* is focused on four protagonists: Tochi, a *chamaar* (a dalit sub-community) who arrives illegally in England after the slaughter of his family by a group of Hindu nationalists; Avtar, who emigrated with a student visa he paid for, to actually support his family with the proceeds of his casual jobs, and Randeep (Avtar's friend, coming from a wealthy but disgraced family), who enters into a scam marriage with Narinder (a British national with a Punjabi background, eager to help the others) to be entitled to settle in the UK, thanks to a marriage visa. The three boys end up living and working together on a building site, and their paths cross and diverge several times as the plot unravels.

Starting from the very choice of genre, Sunjeev Sahota challenges his readers to think beyond conventions and embrace a plurality of points of view and interpretations. In fact, he chooses to blend the characteristic traits of the *novel of immigration* − which, as Janet Wilson has observed, is "about arrival and relocation" (Wilson 2017: 8) − and the typical attributes of the *refugee novel*, dealing with "departure and flight" (Wilson 2017: 8): both aspects are equally tackled in *The Year of the Runaways.* Moreover, as Parul Sehgal (https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/13/books/review/new-ways-of-being.html) has remarked, the immigrant novel tends to be "optimistic by nature – stories of upward mobility tinged with nostalgia for the motherland and animated by the character's struggle to balance individual desires and the demands of the family or community". Conversely, the expected binary oppositions between *us* and *them*, *here* and *there, tradition* and *modernity* are replaced with general feelings of uprootedness, precariousness, and isolation, and with a notion of restless mobility that acquires a global dimension. First of all, the routes followed by immigrants (especially by illegal migrants) are rarely linear and straightforward: Tochi, for example, travels to Ashgabat, then to Turkey, then to Italy, to France (where he initially plans to stay), and at last to England. Later on in the narrative, he sets out to leave for Spain, in an

endless search for a job that, in the end, will take him back to India. Secondly, in *The Year of the Runaways* the land of origin is never idealized nor do migrants ever really suffer from homesickness. India is often portrayed as a ruthless and crooked country, where anything can be sold to the highest bidder (including visas and job opportunities), where Tochi will never be released from the stigma of being a *chamaar*, where fair treatment and wealth are intimately related concepts (Avtar, for instance, is fired for a crime actually committed by his employer's son). Far from being a promised land, England becomes India's mirror image for the three main characters. Indeed, there is a striking continuity between the two faraway lands: discrimination (which Tochi continues to endure), the huge gap between the rich and the poor, urban degradation, and social segregation are wide-reaching phenomena, not in the least confined to the Global South. As for the issue of longing and nostalgia, it is not love for their families that prompts Sahota's migrants to venture abroad and seek fortune: as Avtar notices, in the very first pages of the novel, it is duty: "We're doing our duty. And it's shit" (Sahota 2015: 7). If alive, relatives are a source of emotional strain and preoccupation for the migrants: both Randeep and Avtar have to make sure they can send substantial remittances home every month, and they are forced to lie on their lives and occupations, not to lose face in front of their own people. Furthermore, Avtar is constantly concerned for his parents' safety, since he borrowed money from a moneylender to purchase his way to England, and he knows they will be hurt, unless he pays his debt. No feeling can be disclosed to friends and partners either: as the story moves forward, Avtar loses touch with his girlfriend in India, simply because they lead different lives now and belong to worlds apart. The novel records his phone calls to her, which grow increasingly rare until they finally stop: "He had nothing, absolutely nothing, to say to her" (Sahota 2015: 436).

Sahota's characters are not stuck in *imaginary homelands*; yet, their identity is not firmly located in any one place. Given the precarity of their work lives, they lack what sociologists define occupational identity which, in Martina Parić's view (2016: 4), "not only offers a sense of community, but also one of purpose". Even though twelve-thirteen immigrants share the same crammed flat, their closeness is only skin-deep: in truth, in their daily struggle to survive, they are lonely, watchful and wary of one another, since their savings might be stolen, and each of them might turn into a competitor, if fewer workers were needed the following day. To quote the comment of one of the side characters, "This life. It makes everything a competition. A fight. For work, for money. There's no peace. Ever. Just fighting for the next job. Fight, fight, fight" (Sahota 2015: 225). Just like Monica Ali, Sunjeev Sahota also describes

the way undocumented workers are dehumanized and robbed of their goals, hopes, and aspirations: every immigrant identifies solely with his body, his *nuda vita*, as the mechanism that enables him to carry on through each day, which repeats itself over and over again like in a Dantesque circle of hell. This is how one of the *oldies* summarizes the existence of an informal labourer to the *freshies*: "No future but death. Just a body needed to be clothed and fed" (Sahota 2015: 89). Bodies are interchangeable and easily replaced with cheaper specimens if profit margins can be increased: hence, Tochi can take Avtar's place in the chip shop where he used to work because the *chamaar* sells his labour-power for half the price; no guilt feelings are involved, as "guilt's a luxury [no immigrant] ca[n] afford" (Sahota 2015: 387). One may even capitalize on his own body parts, as if they were hard-to-find components of a costly machine: Avtar sells one of his kidneys to raise money for his venture abroad, and he is not the only character in the novel that resorts to the organs black market to buy his chance for a better life. If exploitation is no longer possible, bodies can be unceremoniously thrown away. One of the many subplots that constantly disrupt the main storyline is centered on another Indian boy, Kavi, and his attempt to "make it across" (Sahota 2015: 291), hiding, with two other derelicts, in a gap they had opened into the ceiling of a coach. The three of them had suffocated: "They found their bodies in Russia", his sister said, "They just dumped them in the snow" (Sahota 2015: 291).

Equated to either production machines or beasts of burden, even the immigrants' sense of time and space (supposedly fixed categories) is profoundly altered. As the title of the novel suggests, the year of the runaways is simply different, in the way it is perceived and articulated. The succession of seasons would pass almost unnoticed, were it not for the unbearable cold of British winter; the only time of the year everyone pays his utmost attention to is the so-called "raid season" (Sahota 2015: 87), when police checks intensify, and the chance of being caught and repatriated by the authorities increases dramatically. Holidays and time off work are also dreaded by the immigrants, since neither daily wages nor benefits are granted. Lastly, the speed (and ease) of global travelling experienced by the social elite is replaced with the lengthy and tortuous routes of the "subaltern cosmopolitan" (Ranasinha 2018: 238), as Ruvani Ranasinha defines the members of the *shadow class*, condemned to secrecy, invisibility, and perpetual drifting. The novel also explores the issue of *spatial inequality*, as investigated by political geographer Edward W. Soja (2010, viii). The organization of space is such a critical aspect in human societies that justice and injustice are clearly detectable in it. Since they are separate *and un*equal, undocumented migrants have restricted

access to urban infrastructures – namely, healthcare, safe and hygienic working and living conditions – which, in any event, are not evenly distributed across the city. Being a *margizen*, therefore, Avtar has no right to go to hospital, to cure a serious infection that has started to develop into septicemia; he is eventually treated by an underworld doctor who, naturally, demands to be paid. One of the *leitmotifs* of *The Year of the Runaways* connected with the category of space is the icon of the map (from maps of the globe to simple tube or city maps), a recurring image throughout the novel, signifying the immigrants' craving to take possession of a place in the world, as well as their loss of orientation in novel environments. Possibly, it is not by chance that the volume ends in Kanyakumari, the southernmost town of India that is mentioned several times in the narrative, while pointing at a map. Kanyakumari is depicted as the symbolic end of the Subcontinent, as an emblematically open space where the inequalities and the precarity that bind the Global North and the Global South together may ultimately cease to be: "Kanyakumari. The place of ends and oceans. It seemed amazing to [Tochi] that there could be an end to India, one you could point to and identify and work towards. That things needn't go on as they are forever" (Sahota 2015: 72).

As one of the characters of *In the Kitchen* explains, "there is more truth in fiction than in fact" (Ali 2009, 346). I would like to conclude my essay by going back to where it started from, namely the *work* of literature and its relevance today. In an age of populisms and alternative facts, books such as Monica Ali's and Sunjeev Sahota's are entrusted with a tremendous responsibility; they succeed in restoring a clear and powerful voice to the silenced ones, while treating a still widespread disease: indifference.

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Aspects of Liminality in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Heat of the Day*

Éva Székely
University of Oradea

Abstract: Set two years after the London Blitz, Elizabeth Bowen 's novel: *The Heat of the Day* portrays the particular psychological climate of ruined London at a time when the war seemed unending. Drawing on Arnold van Gennep's and Victor Turner's definition and description of liminality and liminal spaces, my paper examines, on the one hand, the ways in which post-Blitz London becomes a liminal, fragmented space attracting characters engaged in transition, and, on the other hand, the ways in which the ruined city breeds liminal relationships and behaviour.

Key words: liminality, London Blitz, Elizabeth Bowen

As an Irish-British authoress, Elizabeth Bowen was ambivalent about her ethnic identity. She was a member of the wealthy land-owning class: the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy, therefore spatially and financially she was connected to Ireland, but, like so many members of her class, she spent most of her adult life in England. Her loyalty was torn between Ireland and England. In public she identified herself as an Irish woman and as an Irish novelist, yet, during the Second World War, she also worked as a spy on Ireland for the British. Neither British nor Irish, but a hybrid of both, Bowen did not belong to either country, but existed instead in an unstable, liminal sphere between the two. The liminality of her position as an Anglo-Irish, is reflected in the pervasiveness in herfiction of themes of belonging and exile, in the prevalence of a sense of homelessness, in the frequency of marginalized characters uncertain about their identities, and her focus on places and spaces of transition: hotels and rented apartments and rooms, waiting rooms, platforms, doorsteps, windows, mirrors etc.

Her novel *The Heat of the Day*, set two years after the London Blitz, portrays the particular psychological climate of ruined London, at a time when the war seemed unending- "the lightless middle of the tunnel" --, its inhabitants going about their business in an atmosphere of fear,

uncertainty and hopelessness. Much more than a passive backdrop to the unfolding plot and storyline, London's Regent's Park and cafes, the ghastly, desolate, streets and bombed-out buildings, as well as the apartments the protagonists temporarily inhabit buoy the characters from one scene to the next, altering their perception of themselves and of the others, giving their thoughts and actions new purpose and meaning while showcasing their ever-changing mood.

Drawing on Arnold van Gennep's and Victor Turner's definition and description of liminality and liminal spaces, Ali Madanipour's analysis of the interconnection of public and private spaces in the city, as well as Elizabeth Grosz's insight that place and the individual are mutually constitutive, my paper examines on the one hand the ways in which post-Blitz London became a liminal, fragmented space in which the Blitz, the black outs, the wartime radio broadcasts etc. blurred the boundaries between public and private, and on the other hand, how the ruined city determined the protagonists to adopt liminal identities, liminal relationships and behavior.

The words liminal and liminality are derived from the Latin "limen," which means "threshold". The idea was introduced to the field of anthropology in 1909 by Arnold Van Gennep in his seminal work: *The Rites of Passage*. Van Gennep described rites of passage such as coming-of-age rituals and marriage as having the following three-part structure: separation, liminal period, and re-assimilation. The initiate (the person undergoing the ritual) is first stripped of the social status that he or she possessed before the ritual, inducted into the liminal period of transition, and finally given his or her new status and re-assimilated into society.

It was not until the second half of the 20th century, though, that the terms "liminal" and "liminality" gained popularity through the writings of Victor Turner. Turner first introduced his interpretation of liminality in 1967, drawing heavily on Van Gennep's three-part structure for 'rites of passage'. He focused entirely on the middle stage of rites of passage—the transitional or liminal stage. He noted that "the subject of passage ritual" was "in the liminal period, structurally, if not physically, 'invisible'" (Turner, 95). That is, the status of liminal individuals was socially and structurally ambiguous. He developed this idea further in a concise definition of liminality: "Liminality may perhaps be regarded as the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but as in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, as a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise" (Turner, 97).

Turner also pointed out that liminal individuals were polluting, and thus dangerous, to those who had not gone through the liminal period. In addition, liminal individuals had "no status, insignia, secular clothing,

rank, kinship position, nothing to demarcate them structurally from their fellows" (Turner, 98). While in the liminal state, human beings were stripped of anything that might have differentiated them from their fellow human beings — they were in between the social structures, and that it was in the gaps and intervals between two well-defined social structures that they became most aware of themselves. Turner perceived liminality as a "midpoint of transition... between two positions" and as a temporary phase rather than a permanent state.

Elizabeth Bowen's Blitz novel: *The Heat of the Day* is focused on the experience of the liminal attwo levels: at the level of the setting and the time: ruined London between the two Blitzes, and at the level of the characters: drifters, marginalized people: spies and counterspies, all of them struggling with a sense of loss and uncertainty as regarding their identities. Published in 1948, *The Heat of the Day* has been named the ultimate novel of the war. Paradoxically, the book does not present the reader with any war scene. The setting is mainly London two years after the Blitz, so roughly between September 1942 and spring 1944.

The main plot of the novel is very simple: the protagonist, Stella Rodney, is employed in "secret, exacting, not unimportant" (Bowen 26) intelligence work. Her son Roderick, who is in the Army, comes in the course of the narrative to inherit from a cousin Francis (whom he has never met) Mount Morris, an Irish country house. Parent and husbandless, Stella is having an affair with Robert Kelway, also working in intelligence. She is approached by another intelligence man, called Harrison, who tries to persuade her that Kelway is actually a spy, a traitor to his country, and that she might do well to drop him and take up Harrison instead. She does not submit to this bizarre form of blackmail - although its twisted effects might be seen to culminate in Stella's later offering herself to Harrison and being refused. But the seeds of Bowenesque uncertainty have been sown. Kelway is like "a young man in Technicolor" (Bowen 114). His enigmatic nature is paralleled by his family home, Holme Dene, where his mother lives with his sister Ernestine and the children of another sister, Anne and Peter. Holme Dene – which Stella and Robert visit in the midst of her uncertainty regarding him - is a house "full of things that seem like touring scenery" (Bowen 121), inhabited by people for whom "Mum is the word" (Bowen 113), and who appear to Stella "suspended in the middle of nothing" (Bowen 114). Eventually Stella confronts her lover with the explicit suggestion that he is "passing information to the enemy" (Bowen 189). Kelway for a while passionately denies the charge but later acknowledges its truth. Convinced the authorities are closing in on him, after a final meeting with Stella at night in her Mayfair apartment, he tries to leave by the skylight.

His death is officially recorded as "misadventure, outcome of a crazy midnight escapade on a roof" (Bowen 301). Harrison in the meantime has disappeared without trace. The closing pages of the novel shift rapidly from the end of 1942 through to 1944. Harrison turns up again in London and visits Stella; but in an oddly inconsequential climax or resolution to the novel, we discover that she is shortly to marry someone else, the "cousin of a cousin" (Bowen 321).

Apparently marginal to this narrative are two other characters. First there is Stella's cousin Nettie, who used to live at Mount Morris but who has since been transferred, for mental health reasons, to a 'home' called Wistaria Lodge. Cousin Nettie is important because, while representing a derangement threatening the apparently established,'normal' orders of the world of the novel, she is also a figure of health and benignity. Roderick's visit to Wistaria Lodge, for example, allows him to gain a more informed, clearer understanding of his family and its history, but the presence in Bowen's novel ofthis woman with "the eyes of an often-rebuked clairvoyante" (Bowen 207) is also more pervasive than this. Cousin Nettie provokes a powerful and affirmative destabilization of those assumptions of self and meaning, of society and order that are elsewhere shown as so coercive and constraining. Second, and in significant respects supplementing this force, there is Louie Lewis, the seemingly "moron" (Bowen 14) young woman who happens to meet Harrison in the opening chapter of the novel and who becomes inadvertently woven into the story of Stella and Harrison. Louie's husband, Tom, is out fighting in Italy. In his absence she finds company in other men as well as in a girlfriend called Connie. The potentially tragic effect of the discovery, near the end of the novel, that Louie is pregnant by a man other than her husband is uncannily overcome by the arrival of a telegram: Tom has been killed in the fighting. *The Heat of the Day* ends, as it begins, with a scene involving Louie: she is with her baby, who is named Thomas Victor in what seems to be at once a strange celebration of her dead husband and a cryptic tribute to Stella's first husband, Victor. The novel closes with Louie out in the country with Thomas Victor, observing the flight overhead of three swans "disappearing in the direction of the west" (Bowen 330).

In spite of the fact, that two main male characters in the novel are a spy and a counterspy, and in spite of the fact that the plot is moved by Stella's concern to uncover the truth regarding her lover, the novel is not spy fiction because it does not evince the characteristics of a spy novel: there is no sense of adventure, no sense of mission, no mystery, and no clear-cut differentiation between 'the good' and 'the bad'characters etc. Rather, *The Heat of the Day* is an atmospheric novel concerned with the

specific atmosphere that dominated London[1] and impacted its inhabitants during and between the two Blitzes. The emphasis in the novel falls on the description of the period of in-between-ness, and the effect that ruinous, disintegrated London had upon the psyche of the people, especially on the psyche of women. Therefore, we actually see London during World War II from a feminine vantage point. The London of the *Heat of the Day* is not the space of loss, tragedy or horror but a transitional space/ a liminal space of freedom and opportunity, a space where they can try to play or define, at least for a while, new roles for themselves.

Characters in the Novel

As regarding the characters in the novel, all living in London but none of them actually Londoners, they can be divided in two categories. The first group is made up by characters that for one reason or another adopt liminal roles (they chose London as the most appropriate setting for the role they adopted for themselves).

> These were campers in rooms of draughty dismantled houses, in corners of fled-from flats--it could be established, roughly, that the wicked had stayed and the good had gone. This was the new society of one kind of wealth, resilience, living how it liked--people whom the climate of danger suited, who began, even, all to look a little alike, as they might in the sun, snows and altitude of the same sports station, or browning along the same beach in the South of France. (Bowen, 102)

These people are affluent drifters, people with shattered identities, problematic families for whom wartime London is a holiday resort, where they can take a break and experiment with alternative identities. Stella Rodney, the Anglo-Irish divorcee and alleged femme fatale, is the main representative of this group. She does important work for the government but at the same time she lives in luxury apartments (we have a quite detailed description of the interior design of one of her flats, which is neo-Regency), dines in luxury restaurants, and makes it a point not to get attached to or identified by any of the places that she inhabits.

The other group that the novel brings into focus is the people that are in London by accident, and feel dislocated, uprooted and also trapped because they have nowhere else to go. The representative of these people is

[1]London is not the only setting of the novel, there are scenes that are set in Cork, the Midlands, Kent, but they function mainly as foils to the main setting.

Louie Lewis, a country girl from the village of Seale-on Sea of Kent. Her husband, who is a Londoner, left her in"a double first-floor room in one of those houses in Chilcombe Street" close to Marylebone station, where she could hear the "nocturnal train-sounds, shunting, clanking and hissing, from the network of Marylebone lines". The proximity of her flat to the train station, gives her and the reader the sense of 'newly arrived', of the stranger in London. Throughout the novel, and after three years of stay in London, she remains a stranger and an outcast, despite her very serious attempts to adapt and to blend in. She works in a factory, but she does not manage to communicate and form friendships with her workmates; she brings random men to her flat, not because she is promiscuous, but because she misses her husband and the intimacy that they had. She picks up her random sex partners in Regent's Park, and brings them to the spots where she used to walk with her husband. "To this spot, to which Tom had been so much attached, a sort of piety made her bring any other man: she had thus the sense of living their Sundays for him." (Bowen 16)

Besides the attempts to overcome her loneliness and isolation, Louie is also concerned with forming a new identity for herself

Left to herself, thrown back on herself in London, she looked about her in vain for someone to imitate; she was ready, nay, eager to attach herself to anyone who could seem to be following any one course with certainty. (Bowen 13)

Eventually she forms a kind of friendship with one of her neighbours: Connie who is an avid newspaper collector. Under the influence of her new friend she starts reading the papers to get a perspective, to get a better perception of the war and of her. She is very naïve and credulous and she takes the articles, which are mainly war propaganda, very personally

> Dark and rare were the days when she failed to find on the inside of her paper an address to or else account of her. Was she not a worker, a soldier's lonely wife, a war orphan, a pedestrian, a Londoner, a home and animal-lover, a thinking democrat, a movie-goer, a woman of Britain, a letter-writer, a fuel-saver and a housewife? (Bowen 146)

The Setting

According to Ali Madanipour, there are three main ways in which we can look at the city: which is "an agglomeration of people and material objects". "We can see the city as a collection of artefacts: buildings and our material possessions therein." In this case we focus on architecture

and the interior design of the buildings, and also on the specific arrangement of clusters of buildings. We can see the city as a historical phenomenon, and then we focus on how it got its specific character in the course of history. And, last but not least, "We can also see the city as an agglomeration of people. We can look for what brought them together in the first place and the forms that this congregation has taken" (Madanipour: Design of Urban Space 1-3). In her study: Space, Time, Perversion, Elizabeth Grosz points out that people are engaged in a constant interaction with the spaces they inhabit to such an extent that spaces affect and construct them as much as people affect and construct them. Grosz claims that not only do we impact on the city-space around us through building, renovation and design, but that also 'different forms of lived spatiality […] must have effects on the ways we live space and thus on our corporeal alignments, comportments, and orientations' (Grosz 108).

In The Heat of the Day, Elizabeth Bowen ignores the architectural aspect of the city. During the Blitz the iconic buildings of London had lost their quality as landmarks, and none of them are mentioned. The London of the novel is seen from two points of view: as the outcome of World War II and from the point of view of the inhabitants and the reasons that made them to stay in the ruinous capital, and the ways in which they cope with the air raids and the aftermath.

Furthermore, London,a quintessentially liminal space and the main setting of the novelbecomes much more than a stage upon which the plot unfolds. It molds experiences, galvanizes a sense of shared history, fate, and identity, and creates contexts for a range of encounters, from interactions and reprisals for past crimes to opportunities for banding together in the face of common challenges. It lends shape to people's memories, sights, emotions, and experiences, conditions their choices and sense of self, and mitigates their day-to-day encounters with fellow citizens.

Wartime London and its impact on its inhabitants are described in the following words:

> War moved from the horizon to the map. And it was now, when you no longer saw, heard, smelled war that a deadening acclimatization to it began to set in. The first generation of ruins, cleaned up, shored up, began to weather--in daylight they took their places as a norm of the scene; the dangerless nights of September two years later blotted them out. It was from this new insidious echoless propriety of ruins that you breathed in all that was most malarial. Reverses, losses, deadlocks now almost unnoticed bred one another; every day the news hammered one more nail into a consciousness which no longer

> resounded. Everywhere hung the heaviness of the even worse you could not be told and could not desire to hear. This was the lightless middle of the tunnel." (Bowen 93)

In the novel London is represented through the district of Marylebone and Regent's Park. Elizabeth Bowen, had first-hand experience, because during the war she lived in Marylebone, and in 1940 she wrote an essay about the immediate experience of the Blitz. Her essay, entitled "Britain in Autumn", highlighted the positive aspects of the Blitz: the fact that it contributed tothe renewal of relationships among neighbors who, in the aftermath of the bombings, started to care for each other. Furthermore, her essay celebrated the fragmentation of London, pointing out that the capital with its damaged infrastructure ceased to be a city and turned into a cluster of isolated or loosely connected villages:

> London feels all this year, as she contracts round her wounds. Transport-stops, roped-off quarters and "dirty" nights, and the intensified love we each feel for our own place, have made her, these last weeks, a city of villages – almost of village communes. (Bowen. "Britain in Autumn" 50)

Wartime, fragmented ruinous London did not separate people but draws them together.

Among the characters of The Heat of the Day it is Stella Rodney who shares Bowen's viewpoint from "Britain in Autumn". Whenever she discusses or remembers the Blitz, she feels elated, liberated and strong:

> She had had the sensation of being on furlough from her own life. Throughout these September raids she had been awed, exhilarated, cast at the very most into a sort of abstract of compassion--only what had been very small indeed, a torn scrap of finery, for instance, could draw tears. (Bowen 102)

She interprets the Blitz as a social opportunity, a means of bringing together people, who otherwise would not have met, and would not have loved each other. She met Robert Kelway at the beginning of the air raids, and they start a war romance: "They were the creatures of history, whose coming together was of a nature possible in no other day" (Bowen 194-195). When Robert dies, Stella seems unaffected. During the second Blitz, she remains in her apartment, reads a book and comments to Harrison who is visiting "Quite like old times" (Bowen 272), as if she was feeling nostalgic.

The first episode of The Heat of the Day is set in Regent's Park on the first Sunday of September 1942. The setting of the opening scene was carefully chosen for its theatricality and anachronism. In an essay entitled "Regent's Park and St. John's Wood" Elizabeth Bowen said about Regent's Park:

> Regent's Park is something more than an enclosed space; it has the character of a terrain on its own – almost, one might feel, a peculiar climate. The impression, on entering by any one of the gates for the first time, is of dreamlike improbability and a certain rawness; as though one were looking upon a masterly but abandoned sketch. The first thought is, "Can I be, still, in London?" – for, in this enclave as nowhere else in London, British unostentatiousness drops away, to be succeeded by something stagey, bragging, foreign; none the less drenched in and tempered by northern light. (Bowen, "Regent's Park and St. John's Wood" 100)

Another characteristic of Regent Park's is its anachronism, the fact that Regent's park was built/meant for a 'beau monde', a social class that was already on decline.

> Nash's voice is the swan-song of an age in which culture was linked with wealth, taste with breeding. He conceived Regent's Park for a beau monde which was in fact already on the decline – which possibly had never existed, really – and Regent's Park was finished just in time to be an anachronism. (Bowen, "Regent's Park and St. John's Wood" 102)

Regent's Park may have appealed to Bowen for another reasons as well: because the Regency period when the parks was planned coincided with the end of the Napoleonic wars, which were the wars that in scale resembled most the two World Wars.

In the opening chapter of the novel Bowen is trying to convey something of the sensuality of the park's social and material environment at a particular time of the year, and sets the mood of the people: apathy, confusion and hopelessness. Evening is approaching and the visitors of Regent's Park: lonesome foreigners and shabby Londoners, who have spent the afternoon there, are approaching the gates when they hear music coming from the open-air theatre. They return to listen to the concert of a Viennese band playing waltzes and marches. In spite of the fact that they still dread the night and the dark, the music helps them to dissociate themselves from the bleak reality of damaged London, and from the apathy and confusion that is in them, and provides them with a false impression of a sense of purpose

> The people lost their look of uncertainty. The heroic marches made them lift up their heads; recollections of opera moulded their faces into unconscious smiles, and during the waltzes women's eyes glittered with delicious tears about nothing. First note by note, drop by drop, then steadily, the music entered senses, nerves and fancies that had been parched. What first was a mirage strengthened into a universe, for the shabby Londoners and the exiled foreigners sitting in this worn glade in the middle of Regent's Park. (Bowen4-5)

While Bowen does not describe emblematic sites, buildings in London (with the exception of Regent's Park which is theatrical and rather foreign and strange in its impact) she does give detailed description of the flats that her characters (the women) inhabit. These private spaces are no less foreign and estranging in their impact on the inhabitants than un-Londonish Regent Park is. These are no homes, just temporary abodes.

> Stella Rodney had taken this flat furnished, having given up the last of her own houses and stored her furniture when the war began. There had been an interlude, up to the late autumn of 1940, in which she had lived in London lodgings. Here in Weymouth Street she had the irritation of being surrounded by somebody else's irreproachable taste: the flat, redecorated in the last year of peace, still marked the point at which fashion in the matter had stood still--to those who were not to know this room was not her own it expressed her unexceptionably but wrongly. (Bowen22)

Stella finds comfort in the empty, abandoned streets, the town that is in a liminal period is just the kind of setting that fits her status and state of mind. She feels connected and comforted

> Never would the peacetime lighted windows and lamps of city autumn late evening have been more comforting. Muteness was falling on London with the uneasy dark; here and there stood a figure watchfully in a doorway; or lovers, blotted together, drained up into their kisses all there was left of vitality in this Saturday's end. She began to feel it was not the country but occupied Europe that was occupying London--suspicious listening, surreptitious movement and leaden hearts. The weather-quarter tonight was the conquered lands. The physical nearness of the Enemy--how few were the miles between the capital and the coast, between coast and coast!--became palpable. Tonight, the safety-curtain between the here and the there had lifted; the breath of danger and sorrow travelled over freely from shore to shore. The very tension overhead of the clouds nervously connected London with Paris--even, as at this same moment might a

> woman in that other city, she found some sort of comfort in asking herself how one could have expected to be happy? (Bowen139)

At the end of the war the social barriers go back into their original place. One evening, Louie meets Stella by accident in a restaurant and manages to have a brief conversation with her. She even accompanies Stella back to her flat on Weymouth Street, and is totally owed by her. She seems to have found her role model. But after a few days, on a celebratory Sunday, when all the bells are rung to celebrate the Allied landing in North Africa, she returns to Weymouth Street, and as she examines the magnificent facades of the buildings, she becomes aware of the social barriers between Stella and her. In spite of the fact that this is the saddest and most moving scene in the novel, it is also the first occasion when Louie realizes something about herself by herself.

> She had had no notion that Mrs. Rodney lived so far from her; and, worse, it was impossible to be certain at the foot of which of those flights of steps they had said goodbye--for goodbye, and nothing but that, she now saw it was. The chattering variation of the architecture, from house to house, itself seemed to cheat and mock her--she looked at Dutch-type gables, bronze-grilled doors, leaded casements, gothic projecting bays, balconies, discrepantly high parapets, outwitted. Outwitted, but only just--for, anything ever to be remembered here would be never, never to be forgotten. One unity, this morning, the empty Sunday street had, up and down its length--the sunless toneless reverberation, from planes of distance, of the victory bells. Thatcould but be being heard--from behind which window out of this host of windows?--by Mrs. Rodney. Louie stood still to listen again, in company. She stood face up, one hand instinctively grasping one of the spearheads of railings topping an area, as though to bridge, forever, in some memory of the body's, the sound and scene. But then instantaneously she was struck, pierced, driven forward into a stumbling run by anguish--_an__ anguish, striking out of the air. She looked round her vainly, blindly, for her assailant. Flee?--no, she was clutched, compelled, forbidden to leave the spot. She remained pacing to and fro, to and fro, like a last searcher for somebody said to be still alive, till the bells stopped. (Bowen 292)

In conclusion, Elizabeth Bowen had started writing The Heat of the Day in 1944 but at one point she stopped, and finished her novel only in 1948, at a time when she considered that she had managed to get some distance from the events that she intended to describe, and had a more objective perspective on what had happened. The novel was a huge undertake, and

she was very worried about the outcome, because what she fore grounded in this novel was the specific atmosphere in London during the Blitz. By presenting London as governed by time, by introducing the city from the perspective of the daily lives of the individuals and also through the distorted, tortured way in which she constructed her phrases (because of the syntax the novel is not an easy read) she has managed to plunge the reader into this atmosphere specific to London during the Blitzes: elation in the beginning, apathy in the end. She has managed to make the impalpable palpable

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France rather than England or Reflections on Food in John Lanchester's *The Debt to Pleasure*

Delia-Maria Radu
University of Oradea

Abstract: John Lanchester, a British novelist born in Hamburg, a former restaurant critic, talks about the importance of food in the process of self-invention and became famous for his first novel, 'The Debt to Pleasure', in which Tarquin Winot, his narrator, travels through France and shares his thoughts on food and his memories in a kind of non-conventional cookbook, warning his readers that "a menu can embody the anthropology of culture [...] it can be a way of knowledge, a path, an inspiration [...] a memory, [...] an evasion".

Key words: food, France, art, tastes, England

Introduction

'This is not a conventional cookbook'

Wondering about the distinguishing characteristics of the literary artwork, David Davies (in Stephen Davies, 2009: 85-86) reaches the conclusion that we might try to distinguish literary artworks from other texts in terms of how their authors intended them to be read, expecting their readers to adopt the relevant kinds of reading strategies. John Lanchester's first novel, *The Debt to pleasure*, is full of details about food, recipes, variations, tips about cooking, so that it may be initially taken for a cookbook.

Comparing community cookbooks with single-authored autobiographies, Anne Bower writes that community cookbooks project their authors' sense of achieved status, which they are proud of, while autobiographies usually contain personal histories, which lack from the cookbooks, as "we are only granted small portions of the recipe donors' lives" (Bower, 1997:31) Cookbooks have many elements of a story, they

have "setting", with the serving of food, to which various locations are attached, the setting in the region, historical time and social milieu, characters, and a plot when reading the full cookbook as a text. However, more recent 20th-century books deliberately propose themselves as narratives (Bower, 1997:37) Listing possible plots, Bower mentions *the differentiation plot*, which occurs more in the 20th than in the 19th century, in which the authors define themselves as in some way different than other women, and celebrate their difference. Food is also linked to the idea of art, of artwork.

In an article entitled *Challenging Contemporary Narrative Theory: The Alternative Textual Strategies of Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Cookbooks*, Andrea Newlyn talks about the narrativity of cookbooks devised by women, pointing to the fact that private manuscript cookbooks often do adhere to many of the organizational principles central to conventionalist approaches to narrativity. The cookbook is both literally and metaphorically a canvas (often containing actual drawings and sketches), a frame in which to situate and arrange forms to evoke both artistic and social meaning. (Newlyn, 1999:36)

Tarquin Winot's definition of the cookbook adds to Newlyn's idea: "The classic cookbook borrows features from the otherwise radically opposed genres of encyclopedia and confession. On the one hand the world categorized, diagnosed, defined, explained, alphabeticized; on the other the self-laid bare, all quirks and anecdotes and personal history". (Lanchester, 2014: 11)

But in his *Preface* to the book, Tarquin Winot, the narrator, starts by warning his readers not to take his work as a conventional cookbook, as, at the repeated request of many people, over the years, he was eventually persuaded to write his counterpart to Brillat Savarin's *Physiologie du Goût*. His book is, therefore, meant to be a guide for good taste, and readers should pay attention to all its details to avoid a humiliating fiasco such as the one suffered by Winot's brother, Bartholomew, while trying to impress a 'hapless love object' with his cooking. The narrator's assertion that 'this is not a conventional cookbook' can be seen in the sense that it resembles more a menu, from which the readers may choose whatever they want, the theories and explanations related to food and recipes, or the story 'simmering' within the text.

Following Tarquin Winot's story, woven among the many details and artifices related to certain dishes, their various names in different languages, how to cook them and what ingredients to use, we get to know a character with a penchant for killing people, for various reasons and in various ways, so as to avoid suspicion. The novel could, thus, be read as a

detective novel, in which the murderer reveals his crimes and *modus moperandi*, and the reader gradually finds out who (and how many) his victims are.

A second reading perspective reveals itself later on, when the narrator talks about the aesthetics of absence and confesses about an abandoned project of his, that of writing a novel in which the artistic conventions are shattered, the characters, their actions, the background mix, transform, become chaotic, and the only constant thread remains the style of the narrative:

> I had in mind a project for a novel which would begin in the usual manner [...] except that gradually the characters' identities would begin to slip and to blur, and so would the geographical surroundings. [...] Only the style of the book would remain consistent [...] its stable nature underlying the chaos and limitless mutability of everything else in the narrative [...] the collapse of the very idea of plot, of structure, of movement, of self (Lanchester, 2014: 102)

Our article focuses, however, on Tarquin Winot's fondness for French culture, food and places, and for his comparative criticism of British mores, which corresponds with the differentiation plot Anne Bowers was mentioning previously.

An unreliable narrator

Talking about the criteria for detecting unreliability in narratives, Vera Nünning prefers the structural and cognitive narratology ones (Nünning, 2015: 18), which are – in her view – more explicit, distinguishing between the text-internal, text-external and paratextual clues (such as signals in the title or forward). The text-internal clues are inconsistencies concerning the story and/or discourse level, deeply emotionally involved, obsessed or disturbed monologists, they appeal to the reader by direct address and explanations.

"In all memory there is a degree of fallenness; we are exiles from our own pasts, just as, on looking up from a book, we discover anew our banishment from the bright world of imagination and fantasy" (Lanchester, 2014:16).

Like Salman Rushdie's, John Lanchester's narrator sometimes contradicts himself or points out to the fact that his lines had been written elsewhere or at another time that they pretended to be. At some point,

Tarquin Winot confesses to his plan of writing a novel beginning in the usual manner but gradually blurring the characters' identities, the geographical surroundings, the characterization etc., until 'it would no longer be clear if the book was a narrative' (Lanchester, 2014:101)

The aesthetics of absence

The narrator sees himself as an artist with a unique artistic philosophy defined by absence. Unlike artists who continue to crown the world with useless objects, he proposes an aesthetics of absence, of omission, an art which exists only through and due to the presence of a witness. In the case of his project, this witness is Laura, a young woman wishing to write the biography of his late brother, Bartholomew.

To the artist's desire to leave a permanent impact on the world by his works of art, Tarquin Winot opposes the image of the murderer who, instead of leaving an achieved work leaves an absence, something that is not there anymore. So, if Bartolomew is the artist remembered by his works of art, Tarquin will apparently prove to be the murderer, as many of those around him seem to end their lives in strange circumstances.

Born in a disfunctional family, moving a lot during his first decade due to his father's (unmentioned) profession and with a former actress as a mother who treated parenthood as a role she was forced to play, which was why "a considerable amount of one's emotional space was left vacant" (Lanchester, 2014:16), the narrator admits to an early penchant for vandalism just for the sake of it and to sibling rivalry. (The rivalry and envy worsens, as time goes by and Bartholomew becomes an appreciated artist, passing from painting to sculpting, and even having a little local museum of contemporary art nasmed after him in the litle town of Kerneval.)

Dislikes define us by separating us from what is outside us, they are a triumph of definition and distinction. Winot defines himself through what he dislikes, considering that he is a refined, special being, a special artist, but like many other of his countrymen, he is fond of France, French food and places.

France

Lanchester's narrator, an admirer of French food, is a gastronome, who loves and knows how to appreciate good food, as in talking about food he

"moves from effects to causes, analyzes, discusses, searches, pursues the useful and the agreeable" (Schehr, 2001: 15)

Tarquin Winot criticises Brits, British food and mores, chosing France, his spiritual home, and French tastes as a sign of his distinction and difference from others:

> my artist's nature isolated and separated me from my alleged fellow men. France rather than England, art rather than society, separation rather than immersion, doubt and exile rather than yeomanly certainty, *gigot à quarante gousses d'ail* rather than roast lamb with mint sauce. (Lanchester, 2014: 14)

The superiority of the French is obvious even in their manner of speaking, difficult to understand by someone who is not as well-versed in their culture as Winot proves to be. He admires the things for which French aristocrats are remembered – the Vicomte de Chateaubriand's cut of fillet, the Marquis de Béchameil's sauce (unlike the cardigan, wellington and sandwich of the Brits), 'the level of ordinary culinary competence in France' unsurpassed by any other country, and the hedonism of the French who take two hours off for lunch.

Taste in food is considered as an indicator for the personality and character of an individual, as well as his social membership. The quality of the food expresses social identity, a sign of nobility and distinction Winot seems to arrogate to himself. He remembers his first restaurant experience, his *rite de passage*, when he became aware of the idea of restaurant, with the place as a stage, everything there for their comfort and pleasure and people ready to minister to their needs.

The narrator feels a strong connection to France, and everything seems to remind him of it. The smell of spring air takes him back in time and to the South of France, to his first solo visit there when he was eighteen, winter transports him to their Parisian flat in the rue d'Assas. He has settled in France, living on the property bought after the death of their parents which lies an hour and forty minutes from Marseille,

> my humble abode in the Vaucluse hinterland village of St-Eustache, hardly more than a shack really, with its five bedrooms and the swimming-pool that so added to my popularity with certain of my neighbours. (Lanchester, 2014: 32)

While he is appreciative of Pierre and Jean-Luc, his "Provençal semi-neighbours", feared and respected eaters, who keep bringing him game, victims of their passion for hunting, Tarquin Winot is quite critical of his British neighbour, Mrs. Willoughby, who shows up uninvited at his home for drinks or for a swim in his pool. Like him, she professes her admiration for France, while detesting everything connected to the British, although she is described as an obvious quintessence of the latter (with her essential Englishness and cluelessness never failing to shine through, as the narrator states). In Tarquin's words, her

> theoretical love of all things French, […] which was matched only by her actual incompetence with all aspects of the language and culture, was rooted in a primal distaste for what she always […] called 'the English'. […] So her lucubrations on the subject of the English – their small-mindedness and philistinism, their lack of culture, the terribleness of their politicians, the dreadfulness of their past imperial misdeeds, the badness of their cooking, dirtiness of their cities, absence of significant artists in any of the century's major media, lack of clothes sense, dislike of bright colours, automatic contempt for anything they don't know about or don't understand, failure to learn foreign languages, instinctive conservatism, provincialism, and empiricism (I paraphrase slightly). (Lanchester, 2014: 64)

British food

Winot deplores "a certain brutalization of the British national palate and a concomitant affection for riotous sweet-and-sour combinations, aggressive pickles, pungent sauces and ketchups" (Lanchester, 2014:13). The English culinary disaster culminates with the dishes served in British boarding schools. The scene in which Winot and his parents are invited to stay for lunch at his brother's school reminds us of similar scenes in Charlotte Brontë's or Dickens's novels:

> We then sat down to a meal which Dante would have hesitated to invent. […] The first course was a soup in which pieces of undisguised and unabashed gristle floated in a mud-coloured sauce whose texture and temperature were powerfully reminiscent of mucus. Then a steaming vat was placed in the middle of the table, where the jowly, watch-chained headmaster presided. He plunged his serving arm into the vessel and emerged with a ladleful of hot food, steaming like fresh horse dung on a cold morning. For a heady moment I thought I was going to be sick. A plate of *soi-disant*

> cottage pie – the mince grey, the potato beige – was set in front of me.(Lanchester, 2014: 13)

Later on, the ill chosen décor of a French restaurant arouses other comments on the matter, as its "hunting-lodge motif" reminds him of the English bad taste, with oak panelling, a huge fireplace, a stuffed pike and an elk's head mounted on the wall, besides a stuffed fox and an arsenal of weapons, "a stock big enough to fight a prolonged siege in the event, say, of an un-*communautaire* reinvasion of France by the English" (Lanchester, 2014:70)

Lack of refined taste in matters of food is also betrayed by the dislike of an inability of making salads in British cuisine. In the same school his brother attended, St Botolph's, the salads consisted of

> a few melancholy slices of cucumber, an approximately washed lettuce which appeared to have been shredded by wild dogs, two entire raddish heads (served whole, presumably to avoid the risk of their proving edible in sliced form), a pale and watery quarter of tomato, the whole ensemble accompanied by a salad cream […] the byproduct of an industrial accident. Variation on this salad are eaten up and down the British Isles every day (Lanchester, 2014: 68).

The refined Winot also criticises the English fondness for spices and spicy food. Spices used to help hide the taste of decaying meat, but excessive use of spices or particular combinations should be avoided:

> The dominant theme in English cuisine is the use of spices for their own sake, […] English eating is dominated by the pursuit of sweet-and-sour tastes together; national specialities such as the practice of serving mint sauce with lamb – regarded by the French as an incomprehensible perversion, closely linked to the national tastes for flagellation and cryptic crosswords. (Lanchester, 2014: 55)

Conclusions

Throughout the novel, John Lanchester's narrator talks about food, personal memories, projects and perspectives, gradually revealing his penchant for murder and the fact that he is planning to strike again.

The very good opinion he has about himself makes him distinguish himself from the others by his passion for France, where he lives in fact, for French dishes and tastes, for the way of being of the

French, who feel and act as if they are superior to the others. An artist of absence, i.e. of nothing else than his murders, he addresses the readers and gives them clues of how to read his text.

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Layers of the private epitext: Lawrence Durrell and Patrick Leigh Fermor's correspondence

Dan Horaţiu Popescu
Partium Christian University

Abstract: The paper aims at highlighting significant episodes from the lives of Lawrence Durrel and Patrick Leigh Fermor, as reflected in their correspondence. With a focus on their concern for the craft of writing, the paper also touches some of the major political issues of the time, in the years after WWII. The Cold War period is referred to with letters from behind the Iron Curtain, by Patrick Leigh Fermor's first great love, the Romanian princess Balasha Cantacuzène.

Keywords: correspondence, biographer, letters, paratextual, political issues.

1. When Larry met Paddy or, instead of introduction

According to his biographer, after the evacuation of Crete, in May 1941, Patrick Leigh Fermor "spent a few days in Alexandria before moving to Cairo, where he found himself in a room at the Continental hotel" (Cooper 2013: 138), and in a world that might have seemed unbelievably remote from the horrors he had just managed to escape. A world of glamour, in which dining with "two hundred most intimate friends…by candle light at small table in a garden" (in Cooper: 139) was not something out of place. Such a "shady garden" belonged to Walter Smart, the Oriental Councillor at the British Embassy, to whom Patrick Leigh Fermor, aka Paddy, had been introduced by Marie Riaz, the bohemian wife of a sugar magnate and a cousin of Paddy's old friend, the Greek photographer Costa Achillopoulos.[1] And, just like Paddy, a frequent visitor of the Smarts was Lawrence Durrell, aka Larry, whom Paddy could also meet at the Anglo-Egyptian Union, where he encountered other British men of letters in exile, i.e. due to war circumstances:

[1] They had met before the war, as Costa was sharing a house in London with the Romanian Princess Anne-Marie Callimachi, the one who had invited Sacheverell Sitwell to travel in Romania in 1937. Costa Achillopoulos was also going to illustrate Paddy's first travelogue, *The Traveller's Tree* (1950).

> We met in 1942... under a tree in Amy and Walter Smart's garden in Zamalek, and talked far into the night. He was at the heart of a group of gifted poets and writers – Robin Fedden, Bernard Spencer, Terence Tiller, Charles Johnson and several others – who were working between Cairo and Alexandria (...) They were the joint producers, contributors and editors of *Personal Landscape*, the remarkable literary periodical..." (Bowen 1995: 186)

Although Paddy's attempts to get published in *Personal Landscape* were politely rejected, whereas Durrel had already started to build a reputation for himself, the two remained in touch after the war, both of them being assigned posts for British institutions and/or authorities. In a dificult political context, which was going to reach its peak during the Greek Civil War, they continued to exchange funny and beautiful letters from their various locations. In one of those letters, from 18th December 1946, while writing from Athens, Paddy begins by remembering his last days of the summer in Rhodes that year, where he had been a guest of Larry's, who was at the time Public Information Officer there. He continues by describing an enchanting shipwreck on the island of Arki, and then expresses his amazement with regard to the multi-ethnic environment in Greek villages – "In the same *kafenion* [coffee house] you hear Greek, Lázika [Pontian], Rumanian, Turkish, (…), Georgian and Gheg [an Albanian dialect]" (Sisman 2016: 22).Yet he ends in a note of anguish, as the British Council had decided to give up his services – "I'm leaving in about a fortnight, feeling angry, fed up, and older than the rocks on which I sit. F…g s…ts." (ibidem)

As for Larry, he would begin working for the British Council in 1947, first in Buenos Aires, then in Belgrade. Just like Paddy, he had his reasons for dissatisfaction, yet mostly because of the Argentinean weather. "I've been ill in this filthy climate and have resigned my post", he writes in an undated letter, probably from 1948, and he advises Paddy to never accept a job there, as "It is pure hell." Nevertheless, the worst was yet to come. In another undated letter, this time from the capital of Yugoslavia, he conveys his feelings of shock and anger with the British international politics, blaming Churchill above all – "We are <u>mad</u> [underlined in the letter] in England to go playing leftwing position. You <u>showed</u> [underlined in the letter] me what can be done to a human being by a nationalized economy." It would be interesting to know whether at the time Paddy had managed to get relevant information about the friends he had made before the war, while travelling across Hungary and Romania – and also living there for sometime –, countries that had remained behind the Iron Curtain. Or if he could share that kind of information – on the sordid life of people living in communist

countries –, with Larry. The latter continues his epistle from Belgrade by comparing Yugoslavia with Greece under royalists and its climate with the rotten one back home in England. Still, every now and then he strikes a note that might recall his magnificently funny *Esprit de Corps* – "The puritanism [underlined in the letter]… would drive you crazy. Pas un bordel! Tous les poutains sont nationalisées".

2. Layers of the private epitext or, Stendhal & Lamartine resuscitated

Letters between authors or would-be authors who happen to be friends – and sometimes even more than that – differ from other types of correspondence. "Flaubert does not address Louis Bouilhet as he does Louise Colet", says Gerard Genette, also noticing that, despite their intimate relationship "Flaubert and Louise Colet are separated by his notorious discipline". (Genette 1997: 372) Larry and Paddy belonged to the same generation, had been very close during the war years, and shared the love and fascination for the Greek speaking world and its Hellenistic-Byzantine facets. They were also budding or aspiring writers, and as a result the topics of their correspondence vary from expressing concern with regard to the fate of a common friend, for instance, to the avatars of finding or *building* – why not? – the best ivory tower within the frame of the Mediterranean world.

Xan Fielding, Paddy's former brother-in-arms in Crete, is often referred to, as in Paddy's 1946 letter to Larry – "With you, Eve, Joan and Xan altogether, it was [the] perfect ending of a lovely summer" (Sisman 2016: 20); in the already mentioned letter from Buenos Aires, Larry seems to be extremely worried after having asked Xan for Paddy's address, and receiving nothing "except a card from Athens", then hearing that a "Major Fielding of the UNO Observers Corps had been wounded"; in a 1954 letter from Hydra, Paddy is happy to have got Xan's book "*Hide and Seek*, a very lively and dashing account of wartime adventures in Crete" (Sisman 2016: 101); and in a postcard from 20th October 1959, addressed to Joan, who was going to Ischia[2], Larry finds it "maddening to miss Xan", i.e. not being able to meet him, and he concludes that "next time I come I shall be rich enough to take a month or two off and just hang about until you are all sick of feeding and boozing me".

The last document also addresses the issue of the best place for writing, Larry being a kind of envious on Paddy, who was "able to write and move about". Unlike Paddy, Larry had "to stay in one place to get the right leverage of work." The truth was that Paddy also suffered from

[2] Actually, the address – 13 Chester Row, London, S.W. England –, is crossed out, and another address, from Ischia, is written over it.

certain restlessness, even anxiety because of always being in search for the perfect place. His 1954 Hydra letter is from November, at a time when he had already been living for five months in the house generously placed at his disposal by his Greek friend, the painter Nico Ghyka. It was there where he was expecting a copy of his translation of *The Cretan Runner*, and where he wasworking at his second book.

In another undated – probably 1958 –, letter from France, after congratulating Paddy for the long-awaited *Mani*, a copy of which he had just received, Larry remembers his working for the British institute in Kalamata, where "people were gloomy, sullen". By contrast, in France he was enjoying himself in "a sort of caravanserai in the Avignon-Uzès-Nimes area, hugging [his] anonymity and starting on volume four of [his] quartet." The Mediterranean frame is not overlooked, as he reveals to Paddy the *writing* potential of Ragusa – "A complete empire blossoming and fading in two generations; pirates, poets, corsairs, rich men. A literature of its own. It has never been done".

Such letters from a writer in most cases "bears on his work (…) and it exerts on its addressee a paratextual *function*" (Genette 1997: 373), emphasizing the trials and tribulations of the author. Not every time does the author have the exact idea of what he intends to say "to a definite individual correspondent" (ibidem); or, he/she may be reluctant to uncover all the secrets of the alchemic process. In the long run, the impact is perceived by the readers as well, although, according to Genette, the effect "more remotely, on the ultimate public" is "simply a paratextual" one. (ibidem)

"Simply" may not be the most appropriate label for such documents, once they get published. It is true that letters preserved in an archive may have lost their initial addressee, that they are de-contextualized from their initial frames (Assman, in Erl & Nünning 2008: 99) Nevertheless, they still have a story, sometimes even a counter story, to tell. Archives are, in this respect, between forgetting and remembering, between *no longer* and *not yet*, "deprived of their old existence and waiting for a new one" (idem: 103) They are a world of paper that, according to Margaret Atwood, must be taken care of, and without archivists and librarians "there would be a lot less of the past than there is" (Atwood1997: 31-32)

Larry and Paddy's past in these letters triggers more than their individual stories. In the October 1959 postcard, for instance, Larry advises Joan to "walk up Punta della Imperatore and visit the little wine press" where he used to live for the summer of 1950. He is so enthusiastic about the place that he projects all of them within a bookish frame of reference "we may come back one year. Imagine Stendhal and Lamartine meeting there over a fire of brushwood." In his answering letter from 28th October 1959, Paddy adds to the frame by mentioning Addison's essays and Christina Rossetti's

poems, and "the huge Tennysonian waves, breaking in fans of spray" (Sisman 2016: 182); and, as they had "just been on a pilgrimage to Punta della Imperatore", checking for Larry's house, he found it as "the very place, indeed, for a Stendhal-Lamartine encounter over a cauldron of simmering broth." (ibidem)

Both Stendhal and Lamartine visited Ischia, but it seems that they were never there at the same time. According to Stefan Zweig, a penniless Stendhal went to Italy in 1827, after having corrected the last proofs of *Armance*, and in September he reached Naples. "Here, remembering the advice of his Italian friend (…) Stendhal crossed over to Ischia, where in a peasant's cottage he spent a glorious ten days in donkey-riding, (…) and hobnobbing with the rustics." (Zweig 1940: 199) In November he met Lamartine, who was working at the French embassy in Florence and to whom he had been given a letter of introduction. They met for the next three months "nearly every evening at the poet's house, over a fire of myrtle logs"[3] (idem: 200), but it is hard to tell whether they ever met in Ischia. In this respect, Ischia, just like the space of a letter exchange, becomes a place of *non-meeting* in terms of physicality, but somehow stays with us as a symbol of a palimpsest with layers upon layers of spiritual encounters: Stendhal & Lamartine, Auden & Neruda, Durrell & Fermor, etc. One can retain as a sample of both pointing to and mocking at this palimpsest Paddy's closing paragraph of his October 1959 letter:

> We trod reverently round the precincts, pondering where they will put the plaque in the fullness of time, then back through the dark, meeting nothing but a crone or two carrying sticks, and a rather good looking vineyard idiot hopping down the steps astride a very elaborate *brushwood*[4] hobby horse he must have just made… (Sisman 2016: 182)

3. Times of joy and times of sorrow

3.1. Political turmoils

The 1950s posed their challenges to the two (pen)friends, who nevertheless benefited from the privilege of moving and expressing themselves freely in democratic societies. They were also expats, and that definitely augmented their perspective. Except from the Greek Civil War

[3] During these meetings, according to Zweig, "Stendhal held forth brilliantly on literature and art, whilst Lamartine (…) sought to persuade his guest (…) to give religion another chance."
[4] Italics ours.

and the Cyprus prolonged episode, Larry and Paddy had very little to do, in the Mediterranean area, with situations that would force them to adjust the way they shared their opinions, caught as they were in between their Greek friends and their status as British subjects.

In the 1954 letter from Hydra, after inquiring Larry about his work – "a very delicate business" –, on the *Cyprus Review*, Paddy was lamenting that "both the English and the Greek conduct themselves like complete lunatics, and grotesque caricatures of themselves" (Sisman 2016: 101). He could not envisage a way out for the British government, as each and every measure adopted or imposed by it actually increased the counter effect (read hatred and violence). "I wonder what feelings prevail in Cyprus" (Sisman 2016: 120), he was asking himself in another letter to Larry, from 14th March 1956. "Away the British, I imagine, jubilation followed by a sort of *post-coitum-triste*", he continues in a somehow post-colonialist note, "deflation and doubts beginning to creep." (ibidem)

Larry, who was going to leave the island the same year, and who had come to Cyprus in 1953, had been through a comparable tension before, yet of a different type, in Tito's Yugoslavia, while working for the Foreign Office in Belgrade. There he was a citizen and a representative of the free world, trying to suppress his comments when meeting the communist officials, though in a country whose leader was not exactly following the line desired by Moscow. In spite of that, "It is quite impossible to describe the moral and spiritual death and stagnation of the place", wrote Larry in his undated letter from Belgrade, about an experience he eventually came to consider necessary, i.e. rewarding for a writer, but unarguably beyond comprehension – "Spy mania, loss of liberty, bad food, slavery".

The communist threat had become a palpable reality after WWII. In 1946, Paddy had visited Corfu as part of a lecture tour on behalf of the British Council. They were trying to counter the anti-Western propaganda of the communists. More than three decades later, in a letter to Xan Fielding, he narrates an episode in Crete, where he had been invited to attend a ceremony in the memory of the members of the Cretan resistance who had died during the German occupation. His "car had been blown sky high" (Sisman 2016: 329) by the communists, still active, yet Paddy believed that they were "only a small minority in Herakleion: but it shows what hatred and organization can do." (ibidem)

3.2. From the other side of the curtain

Unlike Greece, which western powers eventually succeeded to keep out of the red specter, Romania had been abandoned to a degree of organized hatred never experienced and imaginable before, except for fascism. All

of Paddy's friends there, most of them upper class people, suffered the horrors of a diabolic plan of extermination, carefully elaborated. "We are forced to till the land", wrote Balasha Cantacuzène, Paddy's first great love, in a letter from July 1947, "yet our horses, tractors, sowing and mowing machines have all been taken up, the oxen also. (…) There is no hope wherever you turn..." (Cooper 2013: 216)

Balasha belonged to an aristocratic family with roots in imperial Byzantium and with branches all over Europe. She had studied fine arts in Paris, married a Spanish diplomat with whom she had just parted when she met Paddy in Greece before the war. "She was 32, and I was 20. We met at just the right time and fell into each other's arms. It was instant, we clicked immediately.", remembered Paddy during a conversation with William Dalrymple."We went off together and lived in a watermill in the Peloponnese for five months. I was writing, she was painting. It was heavenly." (Dalrymple 2008)

Paddy reffered to the other heavenly time, the one he spent in Romania at Balasha's estate for almost four years until 1939, in just a few, very few actually, pages. They were scattered among articles he published during the Cold War period, as if he was trying to protect the people who had once been such a significant part of his life. His correspondence also bears testimony of how censorship affected his channels of communication with them."Darling B," he began his letter from London, 20th April 1965, "I'm so *dreadfully* sorry that you haven't heard from me before this.", and he continues by announcing his visit to take place in the summer and expressing his enchantment with her letters, which proved – "so gloriously unchanged, morale so high and serenity intact, it's miraculous." (Sisman 2016: 231)

It was indeed miraculous, as in 1965 Balasha had been under surveillance for about fifteen years. In a note from 1962, for instance, in one of the files I could find in the archives of the former Securitate, the infamous secret police of Romania before 1989, it said the she was suspected of working for the French espionage. Knowing foreign languages in those days was a very sound reason for being placed under surveillance. Among the measures adopted against such an odious enemy of the people there was also the interception of all her correspondence, both from Romania and abroad, "in order to find out about all the links she has either at home or abroad" (I320665/1: 6).

It all started on the night of 3rd March 1949, when the members of all aristocratic families across Romania had been forced to abandon their homes and move to locations where they would be confined by authorities. "They were advised to take warm clothes, and told they would be leaving in fifteen minutes" (Cooper 2013: 329), a pattern that sounds

creepishly familiar, with some of them unknowingly that they were in the antechamber of death. Balasha, her sister and her brother-in-law, after being relocated in Bucharest for a while, were eventually transferred to an attic in the small town of Pucioasa, in the foothills of the Carpathians.

In that attic, Balasha would write more than two hundred letters to Paddy, trying to avoid censorship by not giving many details on the hardships of everyday life, and sharing her opinions on people she had happened to meet before the war or on the books she avidly continued to read. Actually, after their first encounter in twenty six years, in 1965, when he had finally managed to visit communist Romania, Paddy arranged with John Sandoe Ltd to send to her books in English and French. He was aware of the fact that both Balasha and Pomme, her sister, were trying to survive by teaching the two foreign languages to children in a country that, apparently, had started to open even to such *negative* influences.

4. Reading Proust and Durrell in communist Romania

4.1. An owlish face with huge black eyes

In his letter from 15th November 1965, Paddy lets Balasha know about a parcel containing a Chambers' Dictionary, two Brontë books, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, and the two volumes of George Painter's book on Proust[5], which were "simply fascinating; incidentally, there is a lot about Rumanians in it (…) Anna de Noailles, Hélène Morand, but the real interest is Proust himself" (Sisman 2016: 234), and he concludes the paragraph by asking Balasha to give the French author "another chance"(ibidem).

In her letter of response, from 28th November 1965, Balasha was amazed that Paddy had remembered her old distaste of Proust. In the meantime, her opinions had changed, so she confesses that "Last winter I read all his work of which I had read one or two volumes only, now and then." She praises Proust for his ability to "recapture childhood, dreams, doubts, weakness", for his descriptions of nature and buildings, "of a Faubourg atmosphere with its artificiality and refinement of the ageing of his characters from year to year". Could that have been possible because Proust's nostalgia for *his* lost world somehow matched Balasha's nostalgia for *hers*,lost one? Anyway, she seems to be a kind of relieved for giving up on Gide – pointing to *Paludes* and *Si le grain ne meurt* –,the

[5]*Marcel Proust: A Biography*, published in 1959 and 1965.

other French author who used to be a major influence on Romanian intellectuals and artists in-between the wars.

Her comments on Proustare enriched by her recollection of the only time she had met him, at Hélène Morand's place at the Ritz. She feels remorseful and ashamed because of not having been able to master her "antipathy for the man's exterior" and for having allowed that to find its way into the antagonism towards his "wonderful *oeuvre*". She is aware of the fact that no excuses could be invoked, as she could have shared "the joy of his incantation and the profit of his acute intelligence, tremendous culture and almost *écorchée* sensibility all those years." While in her mid-sixties at the time of writing the letter, re-discovering Proust was, in a way, for Balasha, a means of lifting the burden of her everyday life in the oppressive regime. Her portrait of the French writer remains one of the most beautiful literature *aficionados* can ever come across:

> As a girl, I was confronted in a stuffy rooom (...) with the following vision. Against a background of crimson silk, huddled up in an arm-chair, (...) in a black overcoat with a fur collar, an owlish face with huge black eyes under heavy lids stared fixedly. Now and then he would shudder, smile a twisted, probably a charming, or heart-rending smile. „But I was young and foolish..." and I only saw his terrifying black hair, black stare, morbidity and probably, reflected on his countenance, the result of a life of (...) vice. When one is young, all this is repelling. And I must xxx that sometimes even now certain pages of his are quite revolting to me.

4.2. How can these two be brothers?

Proust wasn't the only one whose pages Balasha would sometimes find revolting. A few months before remembering her encounter of the third degree with Proust, in a letter from 21st August, she had let Paddy know that she had "read *Justine* in Livre de poche by Lawrence Durrell and loathed it." Apparently, there was too much "not really erotic" stuff, the characters did not have enough consistency, and the quality range of descriptions varied dramatically, from good to ridiculous. Durrell's intelligence is not doubted, but he is labeled as an <u>impuissant</u> [underlined in the letter] who "dropped out every emotion." By contrast, Gerald, whose books on Corfu depict Larry "with a certain antagonism", is praised for his charm and his "heavy sense of humour". Balasha ends her letter by asking Paddy, or herself, "how can these two be brothers?"

She gets even harsher in an undated letter, probably from 1966, after re-asserting her admiration for Proust, "the greatest genius I think of

this century.", whom again she finds "Enchanting & sometimes revolting in his flattering and snobbishness. But what a poet!" The writers to whom she remained faithful make up an intriguing triad – James Joyce, Sean O'Casey and Virginia Woolf. Hemingway is also mentioned, along Cocteau, St. John Perse, whereas for Esenin and Sartre she has a limited opening. But she has no mercy for others – "I loathe[underlined in the letter] Robbe Grillet – Butor – Durrell's „Justine".

One can assess the significance of Balasha's opinions against the background of promoting, in communist Romania, authors from the western world. It was mostly after 1965, when Ceauşescu took power, that western authors started to enjoy popularity, benefiting from a great number of very good translations. They replaced the Russians, almost the only ones allowed after 1947, in the conscience of Romanian readers. Proust's first book from *In Search of Lost Time*, *Swann's Way* was translated in 1968, but Durrell had to wait until 1983 for the Romanian version of *Justine* and *Balthazar*.

Anyway, Balasha was not an average reader, and besides she read very little in Romanian. She belonged to a very old aristocratic family in Romania, and in many such families, French, for instance, was not the second, but rather the first language they spokestarting with the 19th century. English had been added in the first decades of the 20th century, coinciding with the intensification of economic and cultural contacts. Balasha, as well as other members of the upper-class in Romania, could feel quite at home in both London and Paris. One of her comments, in the same 1966 letter, with regard to George Painter's biography of Proust, says it all – "And the atmosphere of those times! In the last volume so many I knew when young."

Unfortunately, after the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic, in 1947, she found herself cut off from almost all cultural channels, therefore unable to follow and thoroughly comprehend the latest developements in the field of arts. And that may account for her passionate and sometimes biased opinions – "He nearly had the Nobel Prize – I believe Durrell is a friend of yours – Can he be?" Doubly isolated because of her social status and of the political situation, Balasha was unconsciously taking refuge in her Golden Age Europe, when topics such as eroticism and violence had been less outspoken – "I am unfortunately impermeable to the beauty of the erotic literature in fashion today."

Even the concept of *humanity* is placed under doubt when considering the artists who were her contemporaries and their works within the frame of the 20th century historical turmoils – "I think that the tribes of New-Guinea and Papua are more innocent in their ways than

those of our civilization when they go back to violence and bestiality, out of boredom." (ibid) The ultimate *refuge*, a swashhbuckling past, seems even more remote, and as a result, helplessly naive – "Drake, Jean Bart les corsaires et pirates avaient tout de même certain grandeur – ces crimes modernes sont sordides."

4.3. One's taste changes as life goes on

As we said, Balasha was not an average reader. So, not surprisingly, in less than a year she overcame some of her prejudices and reconsidered her perspective on Larry's works. "Lately I have been steeped in Durrell's „Mountolive". It is a wonderful book.", she wrote to Paddy in a letter from 16th July 1967. She appreciates Durrell's style, which she thinks is magic, and his *humanity* as reflected through his irony and kindness. But she also feels a certain sadness and she is glad, in a peculiar way, that Paddy and Joan are Larry's friends, as "He must be a very lonely person in spite of thousands of people who read his books". Her reading of *Clea* makes her ponder over the notion of "grande amore", and she comes to the conclusion that "Il fallait que ces choses sont dites.", even if the language employed by the writer is not always a pleasant one. ",Justine' que j'avais lu en francais m'a repugne",she admits, but"Il faut croir que chacun a ses repugnances", and even reffers to "les mots les plus crus en Shakespeare".

Her interest in Durrell and other contemporary authors was sustained by Paddy once they had resumed their channels of communication after his visit to Romania in 1965. Besides, Balashas's niece, Ina Catargi had been allowed to emigrate, together with her husband Michel, establishing themselves in France, and she occasionaly either visited or joined Paddy at events that would make her aunt recall fond memories of the years before the war – "When we all got back to London (…) we went up with Ins and Michel to a party of Diana Cooper's", wrote Paddy in a letter from 26th November 1968, "and ended up sitting on the floor singing to John Julius Norwich – D's son – playing the guitar". (Sisman 2016: 258) In a way, he was helping Balasha to transpose herself in a world she no longer had access to because of political circumstances. "There was another lovely dinner at Barbara's [Ghika]", continues Paddy pointing then to one of the guests, "a great friend of ours called Lady Smart" (ibidem), and after providing a sketchy though sharp portrait of the person, he comes up with more relevant information – "She is the widow of an enchanting man, Walter Smart, a great wartime friend of ours in Cairo (…) and a great friend of Larry Durrell's – he's the model for Mountolive –" (ibidem)

For Balasha, the books from Paddy or other friends abroad were the major source of escapism, apart from writing letters. Given the political detente from the first decade of Ceauşescu's regime, she could read and re-read and follow the main trends and authors in the world literature of the time, even if it was during the Cold War years."Books from Sandoe are the greatest joy for us. Please let us know what new novels we should read (in Paperbacks)", she was writing to Paddy in a letter from 29th August 1969. Yet she maintained her bias against writers who would experiment beyond her sensitivity limits. She wanted "Nothing too horrible. We dislike Beckett, „The Lord of Flies" by Golding & that sort of moderns." And she was very decided upon some of the values that had to be preserved – "We like Durrell. Not [underlined in the letter] H. Miller. We've read Colossus of Maroussi. Such a vulgar sex-ridden mind (...)The world of today is rather ghastly, isn't it?"

5. "Is it sainthood coming over me at last?" or, instead of conclusion

The ghastly world had been shaken in May 1968 by the students' revolt in Paris against capitalism, consumerism and American imperialism. In Prague in the same year the Czechs were fighting,strangely enough, for democratic values within a non-capitalist, a so-called socialist society, and as a result, not much later, they *benefited* from the Soviet invasion. In Romania, Ceauşescu had a last-minute wisdom not to join the invasion, and therefore he would build himself a lot of political capital in the western democracies.

An anticonsumerist note is to be found in a letter of Larry's from 13th November 1968. He had just come back to Sommières after "three weeks filming in Paris" where he had collaborated to a documentary by BBC, and he seemed to agree with a previous remark of Paddy's, striking the same note – "you were perfectly right about films raping places". Larry makes the observation though that it was mainly through films with stars, and not documentaries, that such damages occurred – "Sophia Loren raped Hydra and Mykonos, not Paramount; Rhodes was raped by Quinn and Taylor etc." And even the sanctuary of his young adult life was in danger in 1968, as "they are filming *My Family and Other Animals* in Corfu this year, so we can kiss that island goodbye."

Larry was disconcerted for the way everything turned into a show during the filming for *Paris by Candlelight* documentary – "had Notre Dame lit up for me for a fiver", he writes, noticing that nature had not been spared also, "Then we took high speed boats down the Seine to enter the fair capital by water at high speed in terrific rain." The spirit of

consumerism affected both average people and the most prominent of the Durrells. “I had a mad driver who was so infected by the thrill of being filmed at speed from the other boat”, remembers Larry from the Paris episode. And his brother Gerry, who had just spent a week at Sommières, apparently could not cope with success – “he is longing for just one good failure to see how it feels. I could tell him.”

As time went by, the vision tended to grow cloudier. In a letter from 18th November 1973, Larry thanks Paddy for an answer he didn’t seem to expect, even from friends – “I suppose because we are getting pretty thin on the ground and writing less.” He was not writing less. Actually, he had just finished *Monsieur: or, the Prince of Darkness*, which was being typed for Fabers, but he didn’t appear to have a clear image on it – “since I stopped being lush critics tend to find me arid” He was envisaging a new poetics, a change of perspective and register – “I am hunting for bone structure now under the surface glitter of prose or verse.” Getting married for the fourth time had been another attempt, just like physical exercises, to avoid solitude and bad moods – “Yes, I tend to get tired; in spite of intensive yoga full of life-giving head-stands.”

On 11th April 1975 he felt lucky to have got two letters from friends “who haven’t written for a while”, Paddy being one of them. In a typed text covered, for more than half of it, in capital letters, Larry was complaining about the insanity of embarking, given his age, he was 63, “ON A BLOOD GROUP OF FIVE NOVELS”. Nevertheless he encouraged Paddy to move on with his own projects, “I FEEL MORE STRONGLY THAT THIS IS YOUR BIG WORK, THE BOOK OF YOUR LIFE SO TO SPEAK [I.E. *A TIME OF GIFTS*]” He pays Paddy an extraordinary compliment – “AS THE BEST PROSER IN ENGLAND YOU WILL BE OBLIGED DESPITE YOURSELF TO STEP FORWARD AND MAKE YOUR CLAIM ON OUR ATTENTION.” Some practical piece of advice is given with regard to the struggle with form, i.e. to avoid potting too many details, as they might “HOLD UP FLOW” Another element to be considered is timing – “YOU WILL COME ON THE SCENE JUST AT THE RIGHT TIME TO PUMP US ALL FULL OF HOPE AND OXYGEN.”

All in all, the feeling is one of reassurance, as he had also taken to painting, exposed under a pseudonym and even “SOLD TEN BIG GOUACHES.” The yoga exercises, combined with prolonged walking, had started to pay off. Yet the trickster in him was there, prompting a half-rhetorical question – “Is it sainthood coming over me at last?” Maybe it was. Or maybe he was just pretending. In a strange way his questionn resonates with a comment by Balasha, in her 29th August 1969 letter to Paddy, in which she confessed of “re-reading *Bitter Lemons* by Durrell,

and find great pleasure in it." Later on, in a PS., another re-reading, of Paddy's *The Violins of Saint-Jacques*, but this time with one of her pupils, comes to the surface – "It was so much above her understanding of English, but somehow made her float along as one does when one pretends to do life-saving."

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Madness in the Female Character of Mrs Audley in *Lady Audley's Secret* by Elizabeth Braddon

Soukayna Alami
University of Debrecen

Introduction

In the nineteenth century the female madness became an element that characterizes the sensational novel by giving it a new perspective from which people read and interpreted it. According to Patrick Brantlinger (1982:1), the sensation novel is a subgenre that emerged in 1860s and was controversial in the kind of content it provided to the reader; it deals with bigamy and crimes as well as other transgressive acts that were "sensational" at the time. As this genre triggers the senses of the reader and creates the shock that comes mainly from the intensity and sensitivity of events

Nineteenth century literature written by female writers records the historical and cultural aspects of the period. This process could not be possible without the efforts of women writers who struggled to speak about the injustices of the age using the most powerful tool which is the pen. This latter is exclusively masculine as explicitly symbolizes the phallus. This point is questioned by Susan Gubar and Sandra Gilbert in their book *The Mad Woman in the Attic*in which they argue that if the pen is a metaphor for the penis and the author "fathers" his text just like God fathered the world (1979:4), then what would be the organ that female writers can use to "mother" their texts. Accordingly, men's writings are characterized by patriarchal language which makes women writers such as Julia Kristeva, Lucy Irigary and Hélèn Cixous think of creating a language of their own called 'écriture féminine'.

Victorian literature is a literature of experiences par excellence. Female writers raise their voice to speak about the private sphere and its socio-psychological effect on women through literature to reach a wide audience. Some writers had to disguise themselves in male pseudonyms to speak about their life experiences and have their works read either by gentlemen or by middle-class Victorian women who used to see the world from the perspective of these fictitious narratives. Nineteenth century

fiction reflects realities of women restricted to certain gender roles; endure confinement and injustices that drive them to insanity or criminal madness.

In this essay, I intend to write about the representation of madness *in Lady Audley's Secret*, a nineteenth century novel written by Mary Elizabeth Braddon. I will explore how class and social status can contribute to mental illness. This essay will also focus on gender as a determining factor of insanity in a patriarchal society. Finally, I will draw a connection between transgression and madness in the sense of reflecting upon how transgressive acts are translated to insanity and vice versa.

Gregory Shafer defines madness as "a severe and perhaps dangerous state of mind, leading the possessor of the madness to break rules, threate3n the status quo, and provoke a general state of anxiety and unrest" (2014: 42). Shafer looks at insanity as something dangerous that one possesses. If we consider his point of view, madness would be a natural state of mind and a constituent of human mind, yet it needs to be triggered to produce danger. However, it is questionable that madness can lead to breaking rules since humans are transgressors by nature and at the same time rebel against norms can be the process and the outcome of insanity. In this respect, one can wonder whether solely people with mental problems break law and what could be the limits of transgression based on which to consider someone normal.

Normal behavior is a standard of normality for every human being and this normality is determined by individuals and society. The way people see normality is different from one individual to another due to educational background, cultural environment and other reasons. In this respect, judging a person as being normal or not relying on certain criteria that are socially constructed bring to the fore the idea that madness is a social construct. The act of identifying an abnormal person could be done by psychotherapists and experts in the field, however; society helps individuals to develop some mechanisms with which they can this man or woman is insane. The concept of madness is changing over time; what was considered an abnormal thing has become normal at a certain point. For example, a few years ago, going out with torn jeans was seen as an unacceptable act whilst nowadays it is totally normal and fashionable.

Consequently, insanity is not only socially constructed but rather gender-biased. Since the beginning of time madness or insanity has been associated with femininity and female anxieties. whether this claim is based on scientific findings or just some prejudices from ancient times. Elaine Showalter is one of the feminists who discussed madness from the perspective of gender-bias and named it as "female malady". In her groundbreaking book *The Female Malady*, Showalter contends that some

psychiatrists and specialists in the field of hysteria claim that women are more likely to be affected by madness for several reasons.

First, they feel exhausted by the pressure that the social order exerts on them, that is to say, the social conditions of women and their confinement to social roles by a male-dominated world. The second reason is that their sensitive nature which is part of their femininity contributes in their irrationality and vulnerability. In fact, Showalter criticizes psychiatrists and scientists such as Richard Napier who deduced from some statistics and studies an alarming number of mad women in asylums between the seventeenth century and the mid of nineteenth century. From these results, Napier came to the conclusion that madness is a mental condition exclusively for women.

In an article written by some scholars from the department of public health and medicine and molecular medicine in Italy, hysteria is historically investigated to refute the claim that madness is a feminine attribute. Some scholars contend that "19-20th C studies gradually demonstrate that hysteria is not an exclusively female disease allowing a stricter view to finally prevail" (Tasca et al2012: 110). The article explores the historical timeline of hysteria as it dates back to ancient times and how different civilizations approached it for the first time in relation to the female body. For example, in the Middle Ages physicians and psychotherapists used to relate hysteria with the uterus, the female organ; with the rise of science and enlightenment, medical science witnessed a revolution of philosophers and physicians who came up with findings that revolutionized hysteria as a disease attached to the role of uterus and proved that the former is related to the brain.

Elaine Showalter supports Anglo-American feminist philosophers and social theorists' viewpoint concerning the construction of madness as a female malady. Their argument revolves around the duality in systems of language and representation and how women are always situated on the side of what is incomplete, irrational and natural, while men are situated on the rational, complete and intellectual side (Showalter 1985 3-4). All that is negative is associated with men while positive attributes are given to men. These dichotomies reveal how madness as a mental disease is constructed in a gendered society that labels men as "rational" and women as "hysteric" according to certain laws.

Showalter introduced the idea of hysteria in the nineteenth century as an implicit or unconscious form of feminist protest (malady 5). On the one hand, women's hysteria is a way of revolting against laws and regulations of patriarchy; on the other hand, hysteria or madness is seen by others as weakness and escape from reality as well as from the boundaries that confine women to their "natural" roles. Women find

empowerment in insanity, that is to say if they cannot resist in their right mind, they resort to violent and criminal madness as a form of rebellion.

However, Showalter criticizes psychiatry for contributing to the 'female malady'. Psychiatry as a medical science differentiates between male mental disorder and female mental disorder. The malady of men was mostly associated with intellectual and economic pressure while their counterparts were seen as naturally insane (1985:7). Thus, even in the case of mental disorder, men are believed to be more rational than women. If we assume that the sensible nature of women is the cause of their madness, then what is the connection between sensitivity or sensibility which is a human trait and hysteria which is a disease related to the nervous system? In fact, the patriarchal system creates the bond between women and hysteria through the roles that are assigned to women. A woman has to reproduce, be a housewife, and stick to her private sphere; all the roles that she has to perform can result in anxiety, trauma, collapse and eventually mental problems. Therefore, madness as a natural phenomenon is questionable as long as society puts pressure on women.

In the nineteenth century, some middle class hysterical Victorian women were even seen as evil. They were not only locked up in lunatic asylums and chained but also seen by physicians as dangerous creatures. In her article "Diagnosing Difficult Women and Pathologising Femininity: Gender Bias in Psychiatric Nosology", Jane M Ussher pointed out the demonization of women saying that "some went as far as to describe such women as 'evil', with the physician Silas WeirMitchell,declaring that 'a hysterical girl is a vampire who sucks the blood of the healthy people around her'" (2013:64).

The image of a mad woman changed from abnormal to even frightening and aggressive in the sense that in the 1960s and 1970s borderline personality disorder replaced hysteria. Both of them were applied to women more than men based on gender stereotypes; however, the difference between borderline disorder and hysteria is that the former "is the inclusion of the more masculine characteristic of 'inappropriate intense anger' as acriterion for diagnosis" (Ussher 2013: 65). One is regarded as destructive and the other is seen as dangerous. Ussher asserts that nineteenth century physicians legitimized men's madness and related it to work pressure and other intellectual factors while madness in women was seen as completely resulting from emotional sensitivity. Being emotional is biologically to women given the example of menstrual period as something related to the feminine body that causes anger, mood swings and anxiety. All these symptoms trigger emotional feelings for women every month. Therefore, neither a man's body nor his nervous system experience such bodily and psychologically feelings. Accordingly,

not only physicians judged women's madness from their feminine nature but also nature itself has been unjust to women in this regard.

Lady Audley's Secret is a Victorian novel written by Mary Elizabeth Braddon which tackles the phenomenon of women's madness par excellence. Like many other female writers, Braddon raised a psychological issue in an aesthetical manner through writing a sensational groundbreaking novel. The way she linked madness to gender and class is fascinating in the sense that the reader learns that madness was connected mainly to women more than men and lower, middle-class women were more exposed to it. The novel is an investigation into how a poor woman in a patriarchal society was driven mad due to her non-conformity to societal rules.

Lucy Graham is depicted to the reader as a childish woman with bewitching beauty that makes everyone fond of it. Childish beauty is a sign of purity and innocence but at the same time it has mysterious implications. This kind of description leaves the reader perplexed and interested in finding the relationship between childish beauty and insanity. At the beginning of the novel, Lady Audley is an angel-like figure which is a feature of every Victorian woman, however; the angelic face reveals the sensitivity and weakness of Victorian women and their femininity is belittled to something fragile and easy to be damaged. Moreover, prejudices concerning physical weakness haunted Victorian women as they were viewed as soft, fainting and tending to cry for silly things. These characteristics work perfectly for the Victorian patriarchal system since women were not allowed to be masculine or to act like a man. Women were raised to be genteel, shakable and docile; therefore, childlike traits are deliberately attributed to Lucy Graham to show that she is a typical Victorian woman who charms people around her with that innocent childish face. Her charm resides in "her grace, her beauty, and her kindliness" (Braddon 1997: 7). Thus, her fancy dress and golden hair give the impression of a doll figure that fit in the mold of societal standards. Her physical appearance is taken care of more than her intellectual faculties. The reader is faced with a model of Victorian female perfection at the beginning of the novel.

Braddon criticizes traditional gender roles of the Victorian era through the depiction of Lady Audley as a woman who transgresses all boundaries to break off from social confinement. The writer opted for a female character and made of her a woman who strives to build a new identity for her instead of the old one. Before her second marriage, Helen Talboys was a housewife that had to live in poverty. When her husband left for Australia to make money, she had to face harsh circumstances: no income to live on and a baby to take care of. Braddon makes of Helen a

woman that struggled to elevate her social status, first by working as a governess for Mrs Dawson and second by marrying a wealthy powerful man. The stereotype that women need emotional and financial support is refuted in the case of Helen Talboys. If women are naturally driven by their emotional drives, how come that a mother abandons her baby to her drunken father without reflecting upon the outcome? Besides this, Lady Audley succeeded to enter the workforce, which is supposed to be men's sphere, and earn a living for her. Thus, her rebellious character reveals the rejection of conformity.

In Braddon's novel the idea of the angel of the house is shaken. According to Victorian standards, a woman should be an angel in her private sphere. Similarly, Lady Audley should act as a perfect housewife who is supposed to wait for her husband till he comes back from his long journey. However, Helen decides to challenge gender roles that confine women to the domestic sphere and assign them responsibilities, most importantly family. The family plays a crucial role in the decision that Lucy made to empower herself. In other words, she is torn between two choices, either to succumb to the norms of society and sacrifice her life for the sake of being a responsible and respectable wife or to seek power and money to live a decent life. Before her journey towards freedom and power, she was a docile and submissive wife, even her husband George Talboys see her as an innocent, childlike beautiful woman. All these features fit within the criteria of a Victorian wife. Innocence is interrupted by the depiction of the other face of Lady Audley that is mainly characterized by madness.

In Braddon's novel *Lady Audley's Secret*, madness is a theme which perfectly fits in the paradigm of Victorianism. The author attributes insanity to her protagonist to show the inequalities of psychology and science towards women and how these disciplines linked insanity to women's nature. The Victorian woman was kept inside the house as a fragile object under the pretext of protection her from external threat. On the one hand, she is viewed by George Talboys as the lovely childish woman who loves him and is willing to wait for his comeback with passion. On the other hand, Sir Michael looks at his dear Lucy as a precious doll who would crack anytime and surrounds her with maids who accompany her wherever she goes, which is a kind of confinement. However, Lady Audley disappoints both Michael and George in their expectations. In other words, she rebels against the situation in different ways; in the case of Talboys she escapes from wedlock and chooses a new identity for herself, let alone the attempt of murder. So, she gives no room to emotions over rationality. She prefers to remain docile in Audley's house for the sake of obtaining power, respect and wealth.

Lady Audley stands as a character who accepts her rebellious behaviour as a mode of personality that comes to the fore in moments of instability. She becomes mad when she loses self-control. Therefore, Lucy rejects the act of imprisonment and the act of being a doll for Sir Michael by showing the "dangerous" side of her. At a certain point and out of rage she could not control herself and attempted to kill her husband because he threatens to spoil her powerful social status that she got after hardships. Hence, Lady Audley is considered mad by society for the crimes that she committed bigamy and murder. Her respectable position in society is eradicated by Robert Audley who is a patriarchal figure.

She is locked up in a madhouse as punishment for transgressing the laws of patriarchy. She was the perfect woman that everyone admired but after the revelation of truth, everyone abandons her, including Sir Michael, who used to love her excessively, to an unknown fate. For a typical Victorian woman, committing bigamy and murder is over the limits which a woman can trespass. Therefore, alienation and othering are the penalty of every woman who dares to break law. She is a representative of many other women who faced the same imprisonment in lunatic asylums. Women were considered mad mostly by the husband even when they were completely sane; the man has the power to accuse his wife of insanity and put her in asylum. There is a clear reference to this point in the novel when Robert makes Lady Audley face all her crimes, she says "do you want to drive me mad?" (Braddon:219). It is true that Robert is not her husband but he plays the role of a detective who devoted his time to solving the mystery of his friend's missing wife. He did not accuse Lucy of crime and bigamy but he rather preferred locking her in an asylum for the rest of her life to face the same destiny of her mother.

Paradoxically, Lucy considers her husband, Sir Michael, a protective shield against Robert and threats of madness and asylums. While walking in the lime, she says to Robert "you are mad, and my husband shall protect me from your insolence" (216). The powerful status of Sir Michael in society can guarantee her safety and prosperity. Nevertheless, she lost her status as Lady Audley and got a new identity and a new name "Madame Taylor" in the asylum instead. This means that when her husband abandons her after hearing the truth, she loses money and position and becomes poor and miserable again. This kind of ending stresses the fact that women are weak and dependent and the male provider is the source of protection and respectable social status.

Lady Audley's dangerous acts could be justified due to financial problems. For a lonely helpless woman in that period it is hard to live a decent life without any source of income. She had to face the hardships of life and to struggle to transcend her social status. Before she becomes the

wife of Audley, no one gives her respect or value because she is just the daughter of a drunken poor man. For example, George's father broke his relationship with his son because the latter accepts to marry Lucy against the will of his father. If marrying a woman from a lower class can lead to separation between a father and his son, then poverty is a way of imprisonment. The feeling of denigration, rejection and othering generate grudge and hatred inside Lucy that eventually turns into madness.

Lady Audley cannot be regarded as a mad woman. She is a smart who has gone through a lot to achieve her goals. She does not seem dangerous unless someone tries to threaten her new social status, which is something natural as humans become dangerous when someone tries to break into their space. Even her angelic face and physical appearance reveal that she is a normal person. Her madness resides in her power of defying the hegemony of men like Robert who was at some point afraid of her madness. In fact, Robert is convinced that Helen is not a mad woman butshe reacts violently when she loses self-control. This claim is manifested in the conversation between him and DrMosgrave:

> 'You would wish to prove that this lady is mad, and therefore irresponsible for her actions, Mr Audley?' Said the physician. Robert Audley stared wondering at the mad doctor. By what process had he so rapidly arrived at the young man's secret desire? 'yes, I would rather, if possible, think her mad. I should be glad to find the excuse for her'. (299)

The quote demonstrates that Robert does not justify Lucy's deeds in terms of mental disorder but he believes that she is a helpless woman with dangerous thoughts. He makes madness an excuse for Lady Audley to put her in a madhouse with sick people instead of jail with criminals. The lunatic asylum is a place where no one would like to be in, as Emily Clark describes it "Nineteenth-century asylums evoke terrible images of dark and dirty cells, shrieking lunatics, horrible experiments, and abusive doctors" (2015: 42). Braddon uses the Belgian asylum in which Lucy was admitted as a kind of reference to Bedlam, the famous madhouse of England. Showalter also emphasized that "ever since its creation in 1247, Bethlem Hospital, known as "Bedlam", has been the symbol of all madhouses, holding the imaginative place in the history of asylums that the Bastille holds in the history of prisons" (1985:7). Showalter also describes the situation of lunatics in Bedlam in one of her articles entitled "Victorian Women and Insanity" saying that "as late as 1844, the commissioners in lunacy found lunatics confined in dark and reeking cells, strapped down to their beds or to chairs" (1980:158). The feminist

points out the fact that some of the patients could not even find a place in the asylum for treatment. They had to find a lunacy commissioner to somehow guarantee a place for them. Similarly, Robert finds a place in the asylum for Lucy through the assistance of DrMosgraveandDr Val.

Criminality is a transgressive act that Lucy dares to handle. She develops this aggressive character due to her negative experiences in the past and the internalization of the belief that madness is a disease that she inherited from her mother. "[…] and set my heart beating, as it only beats when I am mad" (Braddon 1997:283). Living in a world where man has freedom to travel and explore the world while the woman should be the angel of the house even if she has to suffer in silence is a reasonable reason for lady Audley to become heartless and therefore rebel against societal norms and transgress the limits. She empowers herself by being transgressive and undefeatable even though her cleverness seems to fail her at the end. She is powerful enough to deceive three men: George, Sir Michael and Robert, yet the consequences of going against charted norms have sentenced her to a slow death.

Conclusion

Lady Audley's Secret is an inspiring novel by Mary Braddon that not only explores the dark side of the Victorian period but also depicts madness as a mental disorder that is purely associated with femininity. It criticizes the concept of the ideal woman and the verdict any woman who dares to change the image of the angel of the house. Lady Audley is a representative of every Victorian woman who had been accused of insanity just because she wanted to break free from imprisonment that overwhelmed her life and made it unbearable. In this regard, madness works as a stigmatization of Victorian woman as being hysteric, irrational and "others". Still, Lucy, Helen or Lady Audley somehow succeeded to achieve her goals because at a certain point of her life she reached a high social status and she could live a decent life in a warm house full of maids at her disposal.

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AMERICAN LITERATURE

American Western Hero. Rise & Fall

Ioana Cistelecan
University of Oradea

Abstract: My paper's intention is to demonstrate the way both Bret Harte, the Easterner, and Stephen Crane have improved and modernized the traditional paradigm of the Western short-story, by introducing the so-called "marginal characters" and by attaching a psychological dimension to their new born paradoxical heroes. The paper also intends to prove the originality of both Stephen Crane and Bret Harte in their Western short-story writer poses, pointing out the authors' deconstruction of the traditional Western story paradigm.

Key words: cowboy, Western story, Old West, villain, marginal characters, golden heart heroes, Western fiction

Preamble. The Classic Western Story Pattern.

Each time the Americans are referring to the West, they are constantly taking into account two major connotation dimensions: the West as a country landscape little complicated by civilization, a sort of a "lost paradise", a land without time, eternal because of its simplicity, with permanent verities particularized by elementary and primitiveness[1], on one hand and the West as a kind of a substitute for the absent heroic and tumultuous history, on the other hand. In this latter respect, the readers are dealing primarily with the *cowboy* and his ritualistic confrontations between good and evil, similarly enough to the fairy tale's pattern and inner values. In Ihab Hassan's opinion, that particular uncivilized West "had never really acknowledged Time. Its vision of Eden or Utopia is essentially a timeless vision. Its innocence is neither geographical nor moral: it is mainly temporal, hence metaphysical. This is a radical innocence."[2]

[1] according to Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: the Democratic Experience*, Vintage Books, New York.
[2] Ihab Hassan, *Radical Innocence: Studies in the Contemporary American Novel*, Princeton University Press, 1971, chapter one.

Initially, *the Western story* was meant as a special kind of popular literature that always commands to a large audience. The Western stories ordinarily describe a part of the comparatively recent past, a time that lies somewhere between the Civil War and the germs of modern époque; it really doesn't matter whether the events presented in these stories are indeed real or not: they had to be believed, so they had to be true. The Western stories are focusing on *the individual – the cowboy*. His roots are to be identified in the enterprising and dynamic spirit of the Go-Getters[3], as the cattle industry seems perfectly agreeable for them; the Western story's hero is bright and daring, displaying a strong character covered by a handsome figure. He still is America's first athletic idol. The West has always been the perfect refuge for the bandits: they used to hide themselves from the law, but they could never really hide themselves from the community. The cowboy's task is basically an honorable one: protecting the community, saving the heroine or simply defending his honor. The hero is always alone within his own community, in the sense of a moral model of behavior or in the sense of being individuality. He often lacks family and sometimes he is an orphan, lacking his mother figure and consequently her kindness. The cowboy is never openly searching for love, but he is prepared to embrace it. If there is a woman who does love him, she is usually unable to comprehend his motives, since she is against killing and being killed. Love complicates things for the cowboy and marriage is not quite an option for him, especially in the community's eyes, as it would eventually force him to give up his status and become ordinary, a failure, respectively a non-heroic figure. The cowboy seldom shoots, but he never misses. Opposed to him, there are *the bandits* – they come in the plural, the villains who are committing irrational acts of violence and whose leader always ends up in a face to face confrontation with the cowboy. *The community* acts as a judgmental, neutral witness to the conflict; it represents the collective mind or the collective character and in the Western story's hierarchy it occupies the third position; it does not wish for troubles and complications to its ordinary life. Collaterally there are also the saloon girls, quite sympathetic to the hero's needs; they usually hide a golden heart under the sinful stereotypical mask.[4] These all are the basic and constant elements of the traditional Western story dynamic and pattern.

Deconstructing the classic pattern of Western fiction

Paradoxically enough, the first coherent literary idea attached to the Western paradigm has been associated with an Easterner, Bret Harte, who

[3] See Bryn O'Callaghan's *An Illustrated History of USA*, Longman, 1990.
[4] See McVeigh, Stephen. *The American Western,* Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

was displaying limited experience as far as the mining camps were in question. His 1868 collection of Western stories, *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, made him instantly famous; he was even awarded by critics with the label of the "new prophet of American letters".[5] Nevertheless, his witty and now and then melodramatic stories exploring the Western frontier became popular, not to mention his personal narrative strategy, that of introducing the social outcasts, be it gamblers, drunks, prostitutes or unemployed cowboys, and further focusing the tales on their hidden heart of gold – these dimensions definitely ensured the writer's literary success. One recurrent theme identifiable in the author's Western fiction is represented by the denunciation of the Eastern influence civilization was having on the West; he was also constantly preoccupied with criticizing the way white men were using and abusing the minorities that had helped constructing the West (the Indians, the Chinese and the Mexicans). Although Bret Harte is traditionally regarded as and largely acknowledged as a "frontier humorist"[6], the story *The Outcasts of Poker Flat* is to be read rather as a tragedy, centering on a limited number of characters whose human inner value is tested under extraordinary circumstances, in a relatively concentrated temporal frame.

The Outcasts of Poker Flat was published for the very first time in 1869, within the January issue of the *Overland Monthly* magazine, which was actually edited by Bret Harte himself. The readers are dealing with a rather minimalist and unspectacular plot, at first sight: the events take place in a Californian community known as Poker Flat, near the town of La Porte. During late November of 1850, in the town of Poker Flat (and its name itself represents an obvious symbol of sinful manners), California, a vigilante committee rounded up some "undesirables" and banished them from their town. The "undesirables" are John Oakhurst, a gambler; Uncle Billy, a drunk and a suspected thief and two women - Duchess, a prostitute, and Mother Shipton, her madam. These banished unfortunates are warned that if they attempt to return to Poker Flat, they may be hanged. They have mounts but no food. They decide their best move is to go to Sandy Bar, a small town over the Sierra Nevada Mountains. The route to Sandy Bar is "a day's severe travel"[7]. They make it part way, but Duchess becomes exhausted and needs to rest. They find an old cabin and decide to spend the night there. The classic Western

[5] According to Irina Chirica, Teodor Mateoc, *American Regionalism. An Anthology*, Editura Universitatii din Oradea, 2006, p. 16

[6] According to Gary Scharnhorst, in *Bret Harte*, N.Y.: Twayne, 1992.

[7] Francis Bret Harte, *The Outcasts of Poker Flat* in *The Penguin Book of American Short Storie*s, Edited by James Cochrane, Penguin Books, 2011.

story pattern is abruptly innovated, as the constant elements belonging to its paradigm and above all the traditional protagonists' inner merits and structure are reversed and demolished by the author. By introducing the so-called *marginal characters*, Bret Harte is actually displaying a new psychological dimension to his protagonists and thus to their largely and ordinarily accepted typology. In this respect, John Oakhurst, the gambler, is the one who proves to be the hero of the story, regarding his true kind heart, hidden under the immoral label given by the virtuous committee of Poker Flat. This judgmental committee, acting as the collective character within the traditional pattern of the Western story, proves to shelter sin under its hypocritical mask of rightness. There is a continuous implied opposition between the apparently moral collective character on one hand and the apparently immoral outcasts, on the other hand. Furthermore, the conventional patterns of good versus evil are ironically broken down by the unexpected behavior of the outcasts when faced with extraordinary circumstances: Mother Shipton, the matron, starves herself to death trying to save the pure Piney Woods, for instance. As a logic result, the whole initially given equation concerning virtue and sin is to be eventually and progressively demolished and thus reversed, radically changed. The exclusion of the four outcasts from the so-to-say pastoral village of Poker Flat equals an exclusion from the Garden of Eden[8]. Nature shows no mercy to the outcasts. After Poker Flat rejects them, heavy snow isolates them. The sky clears, offering them hope, only to form new clouds that bring more snow. John Oakhurst may be a poker player par excellence, but he cannot defeat Mother Nature. The "wooded amphitheater" is both "wild and impressive"; the setting of the story is used in order to exploit a variable thematic, such as: appearance versus essence, intolerance versus forgiveness, morality versus corruption, to all these adding the overwhelming power of nature[9].

Stephen Crane, in his pose of a Western story writer, comes and undercuts the conventional perspective on the West, by exploring and exploiting the image of a world slowly fading away and by deconstructing the classic Western paradigm with a touch of nostalgia[10].

*The Bride Comes to Yellow Sk*y was originally published in *McClure's Magazine* in 1898. The story's protagonist is a Texas marshal named Jack Potter, who is returning to the frontier town of Yellow Sky with his Eastern un-named bride. Potter's opponent, Scratchy Wilson, drunkenly plans to accost the sheriff after he disembarks the train, but he

[8] See Irina Chirica & Teodor Mateoc in *American Regionalism...*, quoted edition.
[9] See Idem, p. 27.
[10] According to Irina Chirica, Teodor Mateoc, Idem, p. 50

changes his mind upon seeing the unarmed man with his bride. By the time Stephen Crane wrote the story, the West and its subsidiary clichés had already become in such an extent labels of popular culture that he could easily parody them. Not only does Jack Potter display the traditional gaucheness of the newly married man, but he suffers a vague unrest at the thought of the reception they will receive in Yellow Sky; in some undefined ways he has violated the frontier code. As the train pulls into town, the windows of the Weary Gentleman saloon are being boarded up, against the possible rampage of the town drunk and sometimes bad man Scratchy Wilson – the very fact that the bandit is not constantly a villain, but merely turns into one as a result of alcohol demystifies once again the traditional Western story paradigm. The denizens of the saloon look to Jack Potter as their only salvation from Wilson. As Potter and his bride round a corner, they come face to face with Scratchy, who is about to discover that Potter is married and without a gun, and that a showdown is consequently rendered impossible, because the basic, everlasting code of conflict has been broken. Beneath the accidental fact of Potter's lack of a gun is the subtle realization by the two men that a border has been crossed - a way of life passed into history. Jack Potter, Yellow Sky's sheriff, is uncomfortable because he feels that by getting married, he has failed to live up to the expectations the community holds for its tough lawman.

In the mockery of a Western type story, Stephen Crane's *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* has a simple story line with great meaning against inflexibility. With peculiar humor Crane takes the town of Yellow Sky and their marshal Jack Potter through the change of time, proving nothing can stay motionless. *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* also stands for an ironic comedic literary archetype. Jack Potter may be accepted as playing the role of the Knight to the town of Yellow Sky. The bartender at the Weary Gentlemen's saloon mentions that Potter is "the town marshal" and "he goes out and fights Scratchy when he gets on one of these tears."11 However Jack's knightly standing is not so appreciated by the fellows on the train back from San Antonio. Jack is actually intimidated during his voyage and yet he does not recognize any of it12.

The gap between perception and reality is to be identified on the train: "To the minds of the pair, their surroundings reflected the glory of their marriage." The passengers and the black porter are not impressed,

[11] Stephen Crane, *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* in The Penguin Book of American Short Stories, Edited by James Cochrane, 2011, p. 211.

[12] According to Wolford, Chester L., *Stephen Crane: A Study of the Short Fiction*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989

however, for they see the bride's "under-class countenance," her "shy and clumsy coquetry," and the groom's self-consciousness and lack of sophistication. To Jack, his house is his "citadel" and his marriage is his new "estate." The mock-heroic style is epitomized in the bride's reaction to the meeting with Scratchy: "She was a slave to hideous rites, gazing at the apparitional snake."13 The author elevates the meeting of Jack and his bride with Scratchy to myth: the "apparitional snake" which introduces evil into the new Eden estate is the very drunken Scratchy Wilson.

The narrator would actually offer the reader a very sarcastic perspective when the drummer questions the strange tradition in the town of Yellow Sky that gives the impression of a stereotypical Western town. The plot of Stephen Crane's story displays the type of social insertion and respectively the birth of a new society which may be seen in most comedy archetypes. The birth of the new society occurs at the end of *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* when the two key characters, Scratchy and Potter, finally come face to face. Yellow Sky's social inclusion becomes synonym with the community's rigidity. There are obvious references to sarcasm and humor at the misfortune of others in Stephen Crane's story. Jack Potter refers to that community as a judgmental collective. This very social enclosure may be even better illustrated in the Weary Gentleman's saloon image. The drummer's standpoint as a foreigner to the area proves how rigidly Yellow Sky has already fixed itself in the Western imago without explicitly saying so, thus showing its refusal to change along with time. The setting of *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* has an ironic pattern identifiable also in some literary comedy pieces. When the traveling salesman asks questions because he is unfamiliar with the strange practices of the town, the bartender tells him about the routine and ritualistic fights between Porter and Scratchy. Nevertheless, what had been expected did not eventually occur, so Scratchy turned around and time changing is thus beyond escape into Yellow Sky from that particular moment on. Once the knight is both metaphorically and disappointingly out of town, Scratchy would wander the streets with two skillful weapons in hand. Consequently, the birth of the new society is right there, taming the Wild West14.

In this respect, Stephen Crane would exercise an ironic twist and he would practice some unexpected point of events through characters and settings in the story in order to illustrate a more powerful meaning. One of

[13] Quotations belonging to Stephen Crane, *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* in The Penguin Book of American Short Stories, Edited by James Cochrane, 2011, p. 210- 215.
[14] See Ahnebrink, Lars, *The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction: A Study of the Works of Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, and Frank Norris*, New York: Russell&Russell, 1961

these allusions is the noticeable mention of the East and its progression in the West: “And his boots had red tops with gilded imprints, of the kind beloved in winter by little sledding boy on the hillsides of New England.”15 We are introduced to Jack Potter and his bride, a newlywed couple traveling from San Antonio to Jack’s home in a little Texas town of Yellow Sky. Jack, who is the town marshal, is strongly depended upon for protection and authority. Being such a respected man, Potter feels he has betrayed the community by marrying an outsider. The two of them, un-named bride and the cowboy-groom, would sneak to their home and they are eventually confronted by the town’s relentless outlaw Scratchy Wilson. The way the bandit is forced to acknowledge and respectively accept the reality of a missing final ritualistic fight actually corresponds to both the end of an era and the new beginning for Yellow Sky. As civilization expands from the East, the Wild West is progressively forced to come to an end in its traditional, conservative pose.

In Stephen Crane’s fiction, insignificant man perceives himself as the center of the universe, but the universe seems indifferent to his posturing and pretensions. Scratchy, who had thought of his constant opponent, goes to Jack’s house. There he chants "Apache scalp music" and howls challenges, but the author’s depiction of the house which "regarded him as might a great stone god" comes as a surprising silent echo to the bandit’s noisy threat.

Part of the incongruity between man’s illusions and reality is reflected in the death imagery which infuses the story. Crane describes Jack "as one announcing death" and compares his mouth to a "grave for his tongue”; as Scratchy walks the streets, the stillness forms the "arch of a tomb over him."16 Through the use of such figurative discourse, the writer progressively builds his story up to its anticlimactic scene. As Scratchy walks away, dragging his feet and making "funnel-shaped tracks," the new era arrives: "Yellow Sky," "the hour of daylight," as Stephen Crane defines it, would eventually replace the twilight of the Old West.

Concluding…

Thus, the stories’ thematic is that of civilizing the West or, in other words, that of slowly but surely taming the wild obstinate West. The authors are structuring their plot into several contrasting episodes plunging their characters into new contexts and ending up by reversing

[15] Stephen Crane, *The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky* in The Penguin Book of American Short Stories, Edited by James Cochrane, 2011, p. 214.
[16] Idem.

the readers' expectations: for instance, Jack Potter, the good guy, the hero and the protector of the community simply turns into a respectable man, abandoning thus his heroic aura and consequently shocking the villain, the old timer, who proves to be unable to function outside his traditional code. In the very end of this particular story, the cliché of male violence is also turned upside down by the sobering effects of marriage. On the other hand, the multiple pairs of opposition, i.e. experience versus innocence or civilization versus wilderness are the equivalent of a multiplicity in interpretation as far as Bret Harte's *The Outcasts of Poker Flat is* concerned. The Puritan prudery and the gothic influence – they both place this story in a very influent tradition of American writing, taking into account the sense of irony that satirizes the conventional ideas about Western frontier life. The authors' sympathetic eye along with their vernacular freedom in rendering both authentic and impressive characters and existential crises radically challenged the moral constraints of the Gilded Age and ultimately paved the path for Mark Twain, a master of the genre.[17]

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Literary Criticism in the "Me" Decade: From Text to Reader

Sangjun Jeong
Seoul National University

Tom Wolfe characterized the 1970s as the "me" decade in his well-known 1976 essay "The 'Me' Decade and the Third Great Awakening." More and more Americans moved away from transforming and perfecting their society and the world and turned inward, seeking the realization of the self. This shift of attitude is discernible in literary criticism along with many other areas. Wolfe's emphasis on the self is closely related to the redefinition of reality and the consequent role of a subject, which have been pervasive in almost all disciplines. In other words, it is a response to something in the air. There have occurred fundamental changes in the notion of reality in almost all areas of study since the turn of this century. As epitomized by the rise of new pragmatism and the popularization of quantum theory, not to mention new developments in social sciences and historical writings, the role of subject has been emphasized since the 1970s in the process of perceiving reality in flux (Jeong 1994: 19-46).

With the emergence of the New Criticism, the text became the exclusive focus of critical investigation. The New Critics tried to exclude everything subjective from the text and its interpretation. They exorcised not only the author's intentions but also the reader's responses. This narrow attention to the text itself and nothing but the text has been under attacking from the advocates of reader-response criticism. Stanley Fish, Norman Holland, and others, have stressed the role of the reader's response and experience in the process of reading. According to them, it is the subjective consciousness of the reader that finally constitutes the meaning of the text. A literary text is, Holland contends, "nothing but specks of carbon black on dried wood pulp(Holland 1973: 2),"if it is taken apart from the subjective act of interpretive synthesis. For him the meaning of a text is established only to the extent that it is recognized by a reader. Fish, like Holland, claims that the textual meaning is not "extracted" from the text but "made" by a reader(Fish 1976: 485). That is, the meaning of a text is not prior to the interpretation, but created by it.

For both Holland and Fish there is no text existing prior to the act of interpretation on the part of the reader.

There are differences among those who are called reader-response critics. Their difference centers around the reality status of the text. Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss admit a preexistent text independent of the reader's interpretation. What makes Holland and Fish's theories unique is their thoroughgoing celebration of subjectivism. I take the consequence of their textual subjectivism to be semantic chaos and solipsism, and will argue against it by analyzing what I take to be their central theses: Fish's notion of affective stylistics and interpretive communities, and Holland's theory of transactive paradigm. My discussion will also point out that textual subjectivism of Fish and Holland is an expression of the same interpretive anxiety we find in the works of Harold Bloom and Geoffrey Hartman.

New criticism was based upon faith in the notion of textual objectivity, that is, faith that a text is an objective entity on its own. It was further assumed that this objectivity could be distorted through consideration of matters outside the text itself, for example, the life of the writer, historical and social conditions of his time, and the like. Hence what was needed was to see the text in its objectivity and to investigate what it says. When I. A. Richards distributed some sample poems to his students for their analysis, he withdrew the titles and authorship of the poems. The purpose was to help the students perceived the poems nakedly, "objectively."It was assumed that the bare text would fully reveal its meanings to objective analysis.

Fish rejects the New Critics' premise that the meaning of a text is objectively inherent in the text. He claims that textual meaning is a production of interpretation on the part of the reader. In "*Interpreting the Variorum,*" Fish holds that the formal units of a text are "always a function of the interpretive model one brings to bear; they are not in the text(Fish 1986: 478)." He further claims that the author's intention is not in the text but is made by an interpretive act of the reader. That is, the meaning of a text is determined by the interpretive strategies that a reader decides to adopt in the reading process. The reader has a free choice in adopting his interpretive strategies. The reader can give every text any meaning or no meaning at all. There are limitless possibilities for interpretive models.

If, as Fish suggests, there is no limit to the possible number of interpretive strategies a reader can apply to a text, every text has a potential for an infinite number of equally valid readings. At the same time, all texts, however different, can be made to yield the same meaning. For example, Fish says, "Lycidas" and "The Wasteland" can produce

exactly the same meaning, if they are read with suitable interpretive strategies.

> If I read"Lycidas"and "The Wasteland" differently (in fact I do not), it will not be because the formal structures of the two poems (to term them such is also an interpretive decision) call forth different interpretive strategies but because my predisposition to execute different interpretive strategies will *produce* different formal structures. That is, the two poems are different because I have decided that they will be(Fish 1976: 482).

In Fish's model, all texts can be rendered to yield any meaning a reader desires. The identity of texts is determined by the identity of their meanings, and the identity of their meanings is decided by the identity of the reader's interpretive strategies. Two texts are regarded as identical if they are made to produce the same meaning. Since the texts have no meaning apart from their interpretations, they cannot be identified by themselves. Prior to an act of interpretation, every text is amorphous. Hence with Fish "the notions of the 'same' or 'different' texts are fictions(Fish 1976: 482).

Though Fish's theory provides the reader with an unlimited freedom of operation, it is too wild a program to manage. In order to avoid total anarchy of interpretation, Fish introduces the notion of "interpretive communities(Fish 1976: 483)." When different readers share the same interpretive strategies, he says, they constitute one interpretive community. Thus to say that there is the same text means that the same meaning can be produced by the members of an interpretive community who share interpretive strategies. Since the interpretation of an interpretive community assigns meanings to an amorphous text, the act of interpretation can be considered as an act of writing rather than that of reading. According to Fish,

> [*Interpretive*] *strategies exist prior to the act of reading* and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around. If it is an article of faith in a particular community that there are a variety of texts, its members will boast a repertoire of strategies for making them. And if a community believes in the existence of only one text, then the single strategy its members employ will be forever *writing* it. ...the truth will be that each [of the two communities] perceives the text (texts) its interpretive strategies demand and call into being(Fish 1976: 483-84).

In Fish's model of interpretation, it is claimed that interpretive anarchy can be avoided by appealing to the identity of interpretive strategies by the different members of a community. However, the problem here is that this identity cannot be known through direct observation. As Frank Lentricchia points out, the sameness of interpretive strategies can be known only through the act of interpretation(Lentricchia 1980: 146). Thus the problem of identifying interpretive strategies is as difficult as that of identifying textual meanings. That is, the problem of dis covering whether or not any two readers have the same interpretive strategies is as complex as that of determining whether or not any two texts have the same meanings. Thus Fish's attempt to cope with semantic chaos caused by his theory of interpretive strategies by adopting the notion of interpretive communities is not successful.

Fish's notion of interpretive communitiesseems to presuppose the identity of texts and their meanings. It is conceivable that when two readers read the same text with the same interpretive strategy, they will produce the same meaning. However, if they read different texts using the same strategy, it is not likely that they will produce the same meaning. Moreover, if the identity of interpretive strategies is sufficient for the identity of textual meaning, even the meaning of the text that is not yet written can be known in advance once interpretive strategies of a given interpretive community are discovered (Lentricchia 1980: 147-48). In addition, if every text can be made to yield whatever meanings the reader desires according to his interpretive strategies, the possession of one text would be sufficient. The possession of another test is superfluous. Considering these bizarre results, it is certain that the sameness of interpretive strategies does not guarantee the sameness of the interpreted meanings. The identity of interpretive strategies has a meaning only presupposing the identity of the text. Hence without the notion of objectivity of textual meaning, interpretive anarchy is inevitable in Fish's model.

David Bleich has also sought to advocate the subjective paradigm of textual interpretation using the notion of "the subjective paradigm (Bleich 1976:313-34)." According to him, Thomas Kuhn has demonstrated the inevitable subjectivity and relativity of scientific paradigms. If even natural science cannot avoid the subjectivity of its paradigm, he claims, there is no reason that human science and literary criticisms have to try to do so. Consequently, he accepts the traditional dichotomy between subject and object and chooses the subject, while, like Fish, trying to reach consensus by "extended negotiation" among the subjects(Maillous 1984: 34).

Norman Holland recognizes the consequence of the consistent execution of Bleich's program and suggests his own paradigm. According

to Holland, Bleich's insistence on the "primacy of subjectivity" will not account for relations between subjectivities and other entities, and thus will result in "the familiar dead-end of solipsism or extreme idealism(Holland 1976: 339)." At the same time that he avoids Bleich's subjective paradigm, Holland rejects the old paradigm of objectivity as an illusion. He calls his own a "transactiveparadigm (Holland 1976: 336)," because a transaction takes place between the reader and the text, just as it does between the subject and the object in perception. That is, interpretation is a function of both the reader and the text, as perception is a function of both subject and object. Since the transactive paradigm involves both the subject and the object, Holland claims, the reality that his paradigm presupposes is neither objective nor subjective (Holland 1976: 337).

Central to Holland's paradigm are the notions of identity, theme and unity. "*Interpretation*," Holland says, "*is a function of identity*, specifically identity conceived as variation upon an identity theme(Holland 1975: 816)." When a reader reads a text, he shapes it to fit his identity theme through "defenses, expectations, fantasies, and transformations," which are four aspects of transaction(Holland 1976: 338). That is, in the reading process, the reader synthesizes a meaning unity for a text out of his own identity theme. If two different readers have different identity themes, each will make different unity out of the text, a unity that satisfies his psychological conditions, whether or not the readers read the same text. Likewise, sameness in identity themes will result in sameness in interpretations. Hence, in Holland's model, unity is not in the text but in the reader, and interpretation of a text becomes interpretation of identity theme of a reader.

The basic problem in Holland's model is similar to the problem in Fish's. That is, to know the identity theme of a reader is as difficult as to ndetermine the meaning of a text, because it is not open to direct observation. The process to understand the nature of the reader's psychological state inevitably involves the act of interpretation. Only a critic who has the capability of determining the identity theme of a reader can also determine the meaning of a text. However, according to Holland, critics are "simply another group of readers operating under special stringencies(Mailloux 1984: 29)." Thus, the critic, the professional reader, is also subject to his own identity theme in his interpretation of the transaction between the text and the reader. The textual meaning he determines is the result of his own identity theme. As a result, Holland's paradigm produces as many different versions of interpretation of the transaction as the number of the critics engaged in the interpretation, even though those critics are interpreting the same

transaction. The upshot of Holland's transactive paradigm is. therefore, just the replacement of semantic chaos caused by the multiple responses to the same text on the part of the reader with semantic anarchy produced by the multiplicity of responses on the part of critics. Consequently, in Holland's model of interpretation, like in Fish's, interpretive anarchy cannot be avoided.

Holland's transactive paradigm is as subjectivistic as Fish's theory of interpretive strategies. The difference between the two is only verbal. In Fish's theory, interpretive strategies constitute textual meaning, while in Holland's program, identity themes establish it. Fish's notion of the reader's interpretive strategies is interchangeable with Holland's theory of reader's identity themes.

Despite his repeated denials, Holland's transactive paradigm, like Fish's model, leads to textual solipsism(Holland 1976: 339-40). Each reader has his own version of textual meaning, because it is constituted by his identity theme of by interpretive strategies. Everyone is trapped in a private world of interpretation. Solipsism is the most bizarre consequence of textual subjectivism. In the solipsistic context, even the discussion about the validity of subjectivism becomes meaningless. For the discussion is possible only in the world of intersubjective communication. The solipsistic success of Holland and Fish destroys the intersubjective world which was the presupposition for the formulation of their theories.[1]

In contrast with reader-oriented critics who are rejoicing in their power of interpretation, some descendents of the New Criticism have been obsessed with skepticism in their search for textual objectivity. Harold Bloom, a self-proclaimed "Jewish Gnostic," says, "the word meaning goes back to a root that signifies 'opinion' of 'intention,' and is closely related to the word *moaning*(Campbell 1986: 25)." For him "there are no interpretations but only misinterpretations(Graff 1977: 472)." Geoffrey Hartman expresses the similar despair and impotence.

> *Dejection as disjection.* Doubles and plurals everywhere. *Elohim*, the sexes, two trees in paradise. Nothing hits the mark, or the mark in *Hamlet* — except the play. Construct, then, a mouse trap that will catch a *sublimer* evidence. I see the angel struggling ("you must bless me before dawn") but he has many wings and at cock-crow I find scattered feathers only. a barnyard token. What is it anyway, this fairy trace, but this trace to keep me interpreting? Like a dream we wake up with, fading into a half-life of minutes.

[1]In *After the New Criticism*, Lentricchia calls Fish's solipsist position "aestheticistisolationism (1980: 147)."

> No defense is possible: his countermove works as in chess. Playing his game I scan the fairy-fetish like Kierkegaard the Story of Abraham and Isaac. I who cried "No substitutes" brood on the silences and articulate the missing portions. The constructivist illusion grows in me, like an archeologist's dream. Can I find my way to the mountain of sight-say through the thicket of exegesis? Sinai, both mountain and thornbush(Graff 1977: 470).

As Gerald Graff points out, Hartman's despair at the uninterpretability of *Hamlet* provides as a spectacle more absorbing than anything in the play itself(Graff 1977: 470). Hence, for Bloom and Hartman, the reader cannot grasp the text in its objectivity. In his frustrating attempt to reach the objective reality, Bloom says, "there is a dumbfoundering abyss between ourselves and other selves(Graff 1977: 472)."

On the surface, Bloom and Hartman appear to be in sharp opposition to Fish and Holland. While the former place the text in the realm beyond subjectivity, the latter admit the existence of a text only within subjectivity. For the former, the misinterpretation is inevitable. For the latter there is no possibility of misinterpretation. Fish and Holland are happy about their unlimited power to constitute and manipulate the text. Bloom and Hartman appear to be frustrated in their inadequate interpretive competence.

These opposite attitudes are, however, only different expressions of the identical problem of textual objectivity. The claim that there is no way to truly know the text in its objectivity is used as the basis for textual subjectivism. If the text is unknowable to the reader in its objectivity, then the reader can respond to the text only as an object of his interpretation. Thus, as T. K. Seung suggests, skepticism of Bloom and Hartman opens the way for the emergence of subjectivism of Fish and Holland(Seung 1982: 3). As a result, for the latter, textual meaning as it appears to the reader becomes the whole meaning of the text. The entire difference between skeptics and solipsists turns out to be a difference in their "temperaments," a word that William James used to categorize two different groups of philosophers in the history of philosophy (James 1975: 11). Fish and Holland can simply denounce the old concept of textual objectivity, while Bloom and Hartman cannot. This inability to abandon the notion of textual objectivity, together with their excessive awareness of the impotence to know about it, has generated interpretive anxiety and perplexity among skeptics (Graff 1977: 467). The response-centered critics appear to be free of this anxiety since they are liberated from the old notion of textual objectivity, but this appearance is deceptive.

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Raymond Carver: What He Talks about When He Talks about Love

Teodor Mateoc
University of Oradea

Abstract: Raymond Carver's short fiction is conventionally labelled as minimalist, illustrating an extreme stance of non-figurative postmodernism. My contention, however is that, by cultivating a highly personal style that works through a deliberate choice of language omissions, brevity and understatement his stories do not suspend referentiality but, through thematic linkage and variation do speak of the condition of the postmodern man with deep insight, perceptiveness and sympathy.

Key words: minimalism, understatement, distress, chance, emotions, closure

The collection of seventeen stories that Raymond Carver (1938-1988) published under the title *What We Talk About When We Talk About Love* in 1981 only confirmed the label used to describe the fiction in his first short story collection, *Will You Be Quiet, Please,* 1976, i.e., that Raymond Carver uses a minimalist style and that his stories suspend referentiality and are, as a consequence, almost impossible to decode. Such a style is usually seen as an extreme illustration of a postmodern stance promoted by writers to show that contemporary life is marked by randomness, that there is no underlying, totalizing pattern beyond the visible world, no second meaning or deeper connections.

Critics like Arthur M. Saltzman consider that, indeed, minimalism is a 'tributary' of postmodernism, one which doubts ' the referential adequacy of words ' and refuses 'totalization'. (9-10; 14). Similarly, Chenetier is of the opinion that Carver's texts are marked by 'flatness' and 'indeterminacy', that they retain 'an untranslated quality of experience that at the most allows for illustrative similes but will not resort to metaphorical mutation' (186-77).

However, although Carver's stories seem to speak about the entropy of the actual life, marked by ambiguity, unpredictability and disorder, it is possible to argue that, beyond the stark depiction of various situations in which his anti-heroes find themselves, or the moments of

crisis that the various couples undergo, there is a deeper, symbolic meaning. His characters may not always understand their own situation, but the reader certainly does. More than 'illustrative similes', Carver's hidden imagery reveal a metaphorical dimension that is carefully controlled by the author's rhetorical strategies.

An early example is the shortest, two-page piece in the collection, 'Popular Mechanics' in which a marital couple fighting over the custody of the baby ends suddenly as the two nameless partners are almost tearing the baby apart. The prevalent imagery is one of change and disintegration: 'the snow was melting into dirty water. Streaks of it ran down from the little shoulder high window. Cars slushed by on the street outside'[1]. The domestic violence is shrouded in darkness: they fight 'in the near dark', 'the kitchen window gave no light', but, in one of the rare authorial intrusion Carver adds that 'it was getting dark on the inside too'(103) which is a symbolic comment on the absurd dilemma of the characters.

Details are always important and always carefully chosen. Directness of statement and concreteness of vocabulary together with conciseness of form are distinguishable features of Carver's short fiction. This is a self-conscious effort to leave aside any superfluous, unnecessary word, much in the manner of Hemingway who used to say that it's all right to leave stuff out as long as you know you are doing it. 'For the details to be concrete and carry meaning, the language must be accurate and precisely given', says Carver in 'On Writing'. 'The words can be so precise they may even sound flat, but they can still carry; if used right, they can hit all the notes' (1610). And in the same essay:

> It's possible in a poem or short story to write about commonplace things and subjects using commonplace but precise language and to endow these things- a cloud, a window curtain, a fork, a stone, a woman's earring- with immense, even startling power. It is possible to write a line of seemingly innocuous dialogue and have it send a chill along the reader's spine' (idem1608).

There is, indeed a sense of unrest in most of the stories, an uncanny feeling of something imminent, a'sense of menace' or a sort of quiet despair that the protagonists undergo. This is achieved not only through 'the way the concrete words are linked together to make up the visible action of the story', but also through 'the things that are left out, that are implied , the landscape just under the smooth (but sometimes broken and unsettled) surface of things (idem1609). The effect of such

[1] Raymond Carver, *What We Talk About When We Talk About Love*, Vintage Books, London, 2003, p. 103. All subsequent references will be to this edition..

deliberate strategies on the part of the writer is further enhanced by their being used to depict absolutely ordinary lives and circumstances. In an interview with the French literary journalist Claude Grimal, given during a visit to Paris one year before his death, Carver explicitly speaks of his thematic concerns and his role as a writer:

> … most of the people in my stories are poor and bewildered, that's true…….the people who don't succeed…. Yes, I take unemployment, money problems, and marital problems as givens in life. People worry about their rent, their children, their home life. That's basic. That's how…. God knows how many people live. I write stories about a submerged population, people who don't always have someone to speak for them. I'm sort of a witness, and, besides, that's the life I myself lived for a long time. I don't see myself as a spokesman but as a witness to these lives [2]

Most of the stories in the volume are cases of couples confronted with a crisis, be it divorce, separation, or a re-evalution of their relationships as a result of some external, dramatic event, like in *So Much Water So Close To Home*, or of some quasi-epiphanic experience, like in *I Could See the Smallest Thing.*

Some others stand apart in that they speak of individual stories of failure, loneliness, helplessness, frustration or even death. Take the case of *Why Don't You Dance?* for example. The story seems to defy interpretation, it shows, but does not tell, as it were, it offers 'no resource of significant events' (Brown, 131). On closer examination however, the visible, random facts and gestures do have referential meaning and they point to a recognizable and symbolic human situation. This is the story of an encounter between a middle-aged unnamed man who takes all his furniture and domestic belongings out in the driveway, (including an electric extension cord), as if for a junk sale, and a young couple looking for things to furnish their small apartment. Nothing much happens: the young couple eventually buy the bed, the desk, the TV set, the tape recorder and all the records, almost for free. Whiskey and beer are served. The all get slightly drunk, young Jack is dancing with the girl, and eventually the girl herself is dancing with the old man in the driveway. End of the story. Yet, when the girl tells about it to her friends, weeks later , she adds that 'there was more to it and she was trying to get it talked about. But, 'after a time, she quit trying' (9). The girl senses there is 'more to it', but she is confused as to the meaning of what she and Jack experienced: 'there was something about

[2] Interview with the French literary journalist Claude Grimal, translated from "L'Histoire ne descend pas des nuages," Europe [Paris] 733 (May 1990): 72-79

their faces. It was nice or it was nasty. There was no telling' (7) But we could gain a deeper insight of the situation if we consider two possible oppositions; one between a private and a public space, the other between youth and old age. Although we read that 'things worked, no different from how it was when they were inside (4)" this is far from the truth. It is significant that the first thing the boy does while looking at the sundry display is to plug in the blender and turn the dial 'to MINCE (sic)'. What we see, then are the remains of a minced, shredded life, and the old man (bachelor? divorced? widower?) seems to know, while the young girl only suspects when she says, as they were dancing: "You must be desperate or something' (8). It is dark by now and the implicit conclusion seems to be that all these objects that make up a home and a family: bed, table, pictures, kitchen utensils, television etc cannot always guarantee the permanence of a relationship or prevent its dissolution.

Another case of loneliness and existential failure is that of the protagonists in *Viewfinder,* the most surrealistic piece in the collection. Here, too, there is a pattern of symbolic meaning beyond the bizarre context. Briefly, the story speaks of an encounter between the narrator and a photographer, a man without hands who uses his metal hooks to take instant pictures with his Polaroid camera and who comes to sell the narrator a picture of his own house. The short conversational exchange throws some light on the situation:

> So, why would I want a photograph of this tragedy?
> I looked a little closer and saw my head, *my head* , in there inside the kitchen window.
> It made me think, seeing myself like that, I can tell you, it makes a man think…..
> He said, 'You're alone, right?
> He looked at the living room. He shook his head.
> 'Hard, hard', he said
> He sat next to the camera, leaned back with a sigh, and smiled as if he knew something he wasn't going to tell me. (11)

An unacknowledged relation is established between the two when the photographer tells the host that he works alone ('Always have, always will',) and that "I had kids once, just like you" (12). While the handless man seems to accept his present condition, the narrator is distressed since the pictures somehow freeze him into his suffering. Symbolically, he confronts his alienation and asserts himself through action when he gets to the roof and starts throwing little rocks aimlessly (rocks that the kids in the neighbourhood had thrown while trying to get them down his

chimney). But the narrators's agency is undermined by the photographer's refusal to take pictures of him in action: 'I don't know', I heard him shout. 'I don't do motion pictures'

The Third Thing That Killed My Father Off is less impervious to analysis, more epic and remindful of Carver's native region, as the setting of the events is Yakima, Washington where the writer grew up..This too is the story of a loner, an odd-ball who goes by the name of Dummy, a deaf and dumb handyman at a sawmill married to a woman 'said to go around with Mexicans' (77). Isolated from the other co-workers by his condition, living by the river outside the town, estranged from the wife, taunted by his co-workers (except for Del Fraser, father of Jack, the narrator), taciturn and self-absorbed, he changes when he starts growing black bass in the pond on his plot of land, 'you'd reckon the fool was married to them fish'. (79). When the river floods, the fish, 'his darlings' (84) are carried off, leaving him in state of utter despair. ('He was just standing there, the saddest man I ever saw', 85). Events take a tragic turn: Dummy kills his wife with a hammer and then drowns himself in the pond.

Alienation, the need of love and connection, conflict and guilt are all apparent themes in the story. Weeks later, Del Fraser is left to muse on the events which have affected him, too: 'It seemed to me everything took a bad turn for my father after that. Just like Dummy, he wasn't the same man anymore.' (88).

Feelings of distress and helplessness are particularly intensified by the use of alcohol. In several stories Carver's inebriated characters drink their lives away: 'that's all we do isn't it-look at things and try new drinks' says the girl in Hemingway's *Hills Like White Elephants* (Hemingway, 263) .and her critical remark could very well apply to Carver who, by the way, was an admirer of Hemingway's short fiction. Drinking as a surrogate for meaningful action is very much the case in *Gazebo*. Duane and Holly are currently the managers of a run-down motel. They are irresponsible and unreliable, alcoholic drifters who have amounted to nothing in life:

> Drinking's funny. When I look back on it, all of our important decisions have been figured out when we were drinking. Even when we talked about having to cut back on our drinking, we'd be sitting at the kitchen table or out at the picnic table with a six-pack of whiskey. When we made up our minds to move down here and tae this job as managers, we sat up a couple of nights drinking while we weighed the pros and cons.
> I pour the last of the Teacher's into our glasses and add cubes and a spill of water. (22)

Their present condition gains peculiar significance as it is contrasted to an old memory of a farmhouse which they had once stopped by and which had a gazebo. Transience and precariousness versus stability and comfort is the implicit contrast in the evocation of that moment, together with the longing for a safe haven and communion with others, now when they refuse to open the door even for the rare visitors looking for accommodation:

> …and the woman said that years before….men used to come around and play music out there (i.e., in the gazebo) on a Sunday, and the people would sit and listen. I thought we would be like that too when we got old enough. Dignified. And in a place. And people would come to our door (24).

Alcohol is a destructive agent and sometimes the habit runs in the family: the narrator in *Mr. Coffee and Mr. Fixit* remembers how his dad 'died in his sleep, drunk' (16); Myrna, the adulterous wife, 'was trying to stay sober' (14), Ross , an unemployed aerospace engineer and Myrna's lover 'lost his job and took up the bottle' (16) and the narrator himself 'was out and drinking a fifth of day' (15). Drinking also leads to the disruption of family relations in *One More Thing*. L.D, married to Maxine, is a college graduate and a drunk with a fifteen year old daughter, Rae. An opinionated teenager who refused to go to school for weeks ('another tragedy in a line of low-rent tragedies,) she firmly believes that her father's alcoholism is a matter of self-control ' it's all in his head' (130). Which L.D. obviously lacks, though he wouldn't admit it. After a violent quarrel, he packs his things decided to leave the 'nuthouse', for another life out there' (131). Yet, this is improbable. His habits are stronger than family ties and whatever his farewell words may be, he is unable to articulate them: 'I just want to say one more thing' he adds as he is ready to leave. 'But then he could not think what it could possibly be' (134)

Nowhere is alcohol a more important ingredient than in the eponymous story of the collection, *What We Talk about When We Talk about Love.* The consumption of alcohol has rather different effects here: it is simultaneously a facilitator of social interaction and a hindrance for the expression of emotional tension. The time span of the narrative is a few hours, from early afternoon when the'sun was like a presence in this room, the spacious light of ease and generosity' (120) through the hours when 'the sunshine inside the room was different now, changing, getting thinner' (125) to late evening 'when the room went dark' and the conversation turn into 'human noise' (129).

The room is the kitchen of Mel's house in Albuquerque where the host and his second wife Terry entertain their guests, Nick, the narrator who is thirty-eight and his wife, Laura, a secretary. The forty-five years old Mel Mc Ginnis is a cardiologist who had also studied in a seminary for five years which he treasures now as 'the most important years in his life'. Bottles of gin and tonic water are emptied while the conversation revolves about 'the subject of love' (114). The topic forces them to examine their own lives and experiences, to speculate on the idea only to admit that 'it ought to make us feel ashamed when we talk like we know what we're talking about when we talk about love' (122).

There is no common, shared meaning of what love is: for Mel 'real love was nothing else but spiritual love', 'an absolute' (114-15), but he later further qualifies it as 'physical love', 'carnal love', or 'sentimental love, the day-to-day caring about the other person' (120). Later, and under the liberating effects of alcohol, Mel reveals his inner, bleak perception of love and life as fleeting and ephemeral. In time, love dies out and may turn into hate, but it can also reappear; love is both memory and future possibility:

> You guys have been together eighteen months and you love each other', he says, to Nick and Laura. But you both loved other people before you met each other. You've both been married before, just like us. And you probably loved other people before that too, even. Terri and I have been together five years, been married for four. And the terrible thing, the terrible thing is, but the good thing too, the saving grace, you might say, is that if something happened to one of us….I think the other one, the other person would grieve for a while, you know, but then the surviving party would go out and love again, have someone else soon enough. All this, all of this love we're talking about, it would just be a memory. Maybe not even a memory (121)

The imperrmanence of love as time-related, is contrasted to the deep, life-long emotional attachment of the old couple who survived after a car accident and became Mel's patients. This is how he recounts their story in a somewhat incoherent way and vulgar language:

> Well, the husband was very depressed for the longest while, even after he found out that his wife was going to pull through, he was still very depressed. Not about the accident, though…not, it wasn't the accident exactly but it was because he couldn't see her through his eye-holes. He said that was what was making him feel so bad. Can you imagine? I'm telling you the man's heart was breaking because

> he couldn't turn his goddamn head and see his goddamn wife…I mean, it was killing the old fart just because he couldn't look at the fucking woman (126-7).

Drink clearly affects his understanding of the situation whose emotional significance escapes him. He ends the story with a question- 'Do you see what I am saying?' (127)- but he cannot actually utter what he feels, i.e., that this is the case of a deep-rooted and permanent love that he envies and yearns for but may never experience. And, frustrated, he desecrates it with his vulgar language.

But it is clear that the story unsettled Mel. There is an inner tension here that Mel tries to quench with gin and there is also another, outer conflict between him and his second wife, Terri as apparent in her story about her first marriage. Just like the story of the old couple, this one too speaks of the 'most basic mysteries of human experience that cannot be explained by rational means' (May, 40), like, for example, the complex, puzzling connection between love and violence, Terri tells the others that 'the man she loved with before she lived with Mel loved her so much he tried to kill her' (114) and, later on, he killed, himself.

> "He beat me up one night. He dragged me around the living room by my ankles. He kept saying, 'I love you, I love you bitch'. He went on dragging me around the living room. My head kept knocking on things. Terri looked around the table.". What do you do with love like that?"..
> ' My God, don't be silly. That's not love and you know it", Mel said. "I don't know what you'd call it, but I sure know you wouldn't call it love'
> " Say what you want to, but I know it was", Terri said… Sure, sometimes he may have acted crazy. Okay. But he loved me. In his own way maybe, but he loved me. There was love there, Mel. Don't say there wasn't" (114-5)

But Mel clings to his opinion, he is unwilling to compromise on his view and the tension between them is unresolved. 'Just shut up for once in your life', he says (122). The difference between their outer and inner lives is unmasked by alcohol and there is no new, deeper insight into the meaning of love. They both struggle with it and their emotions are both released and cluttered by drinking. The story ends suddenly, without any resolution; all four characters are left in a state of numbness, shrouded in the darkness that had invaded the room: 'I could hear my heart beating. I could hear everyone's heart. I could hear the human noise

we sat there making, not one of us moving, not even when the room went dark' (129).

In other stories Carver goes on examining interpersonal relations, or rather the human situation, so to say, probing into the deepest recesses of the soul to look for the motivations of the characters' actions, especially for the sources of violence and evil. Dark, murderous impulses are at work in *Tell the Women We're Going* where two old friends suddenly decide to leave the party they are having for 'a little run 'and 'shoot a few balls' (50) . After five cans of beer each, on the way back they see two girls on their bicycles, stalk them and kill them by bashing their heads in with a rock. There is no hint that things will turn out this way. The decision to leave is taken on the spur of the moment;"

> "Anything wrong, man? I mean, you know"
> Jerry finished his beer and then mashed the can. He shrugged.
> "You Know', he said.
> Bill nodded.
> Then Jerry said, 'How about a little run?"
> 'Sounds good to me", Bill said. "I'll tell the women we're going" (50)

It is possible to speculate that Jerry killed the girls because they refused their sexual advances which may have made him feel inadequate and rejected. Or that he feels trapped in his marriage and so women are linked to that representation of marriage as confinement and limitation of personal freedom. Whatever the reason, the violent ending is shocking and gruesome.

In *So Much Water So Close to Home* violence is not explicit but potential, occasioning Claire, the narrator a moment of insight into her husband's nature.and, why not, into human nature. Stuart and three of his friends- ' decent men, family men, men who take care of their jobs' (68)- go out on a fishing expedition to the Naches river. No sooner do they arrive than they discover the dead body of a young woman floating in the water near the riverbank. Pleading 'fatigue, the late hour, the fact that the girl wasn't going anywhere' they go about their business, set up the camp…built a fire and drank their whiskey' (68) and tie a rope around the girl's wrist and around a tree, so that she wouldn't float away. After two days Stuart calls the police, they all return home and Claire finds out about it all by reading the newspaper.

From here on, this becomes Claire's story, as she tries to understand her husband's behaviour and that of his friends. On the other hand, Stuart shows no regrets or shame or responsability: 'Tell me what I

did wrong and I'll listen!', he tells his wife. 'I wasn't the only man there. We talked it over and we all decided…I won't have you passing judgment' (67). When she does not seem to believe him, he reacts angrily, especially after she brings up another case of murder in her childhood days, when a young girl was killed and the body was thrown into the river: "Don't rile me', he says. And then again; 'You're going to get me riled', he says…'You're getting me more riled by the minute' (71). His retorts are a clear signs of a troubled consciousness, while Claire symbolically identifies herself with the dead girl to the extent that she goes to the hairdresser's and then drives a long distance to attend the girl's funeral.

We only have Stuart's version of the events at the river and no matter how accurate the description, Claire seems to questions it. And she comes to believe that her husband is capable of violence, that far from home, in the wilderness, without witnesses, moral judgment can be suspended and absolute freedom of action becomes possible. This conradian speculation is not necessarilysubstantiated by the details in the text but the shadow of menace and violence is pervasive and continues to haunt the reader.

Other stories in the collection deal with similar and, for Carver, recurrent topics. Dysfunctionalrelations in the couple and the incapacity to verbalize and cope with conflicting emotions, are at stake in *A Serious Talk* where Burt comes to visit his wife Vera and the children for Christmas and, after a bout of violence, eventually leaves without clearing up anything, postponing indefinitely the chance of reconciliation: 'The thing was, they had to have a serious talk soon.There were things that needed talking about, important thing that had to be discussed. They'd talk again'(95).

Sacks is about adultery and secrecy. The meeting between a now divorced father who has cheated on his wife and his son occasions a late confession of betrayal of trust and love and a quasi-philosophical comment on human weakness and desire: ' A man can go along obeying all the rules and then it don't matter a damn anymore. His luck just goes, you know?' (36).

The randomness of existence, the feeling and fear that life is tenuous and unpredictable, that glimpse of truth that "the wheel's still in spin/and there's no telling who that is namin'", as Bob Dylan would have us know, are possible themes in *Bath*. ". On his birthday, the eight year old Scotty is hit by a car as he goes to school and then taken to the hospital in a coma. The parents take turns by his bed and both feel the urgent need to have a bath. Symbolically, the bath would cleanse and wash away the pain or worry regarding what might happen to he boy, as in a sort of healing ritual. And the open ending of the story increases the

tension and uncertainty: Scotty's mother's intention to 'take a bath and put on something clean' (45) is not completed because the phone rings and we are left to wonder whether it is the baker calling to say that Scotty's birthday cake is ready, the police to inquire about the incident. or the hospital with news about Scott's condition.

The blows of fate are hard to accept by James Parker in *After the Denim*. He wishes that the young couple whom he saw cheating at bingo were the ones afflicted by illness, not his wife, Edith: 'Why not someone else? Why not those people tonight? he thinks to himself after they return home. 'Why not all those people who sail through life free as birds? Why not them instead of Edith?' (65-6)

What most of these stories have in common is an almost total lack of action. 'Plots' do not develop, there is only stasis and they are to be read as extended metaphors. As for the characters, most of them are unable to control their lives and find a safe haven in a world that, for them, is unpredictable and terrifying. An illustrative example is *I Could See the Smallest Thing*: at night, Nancy, the narrator seems to have heard the gate, gets out of bed where her husband Cliff 'was passed out' (26) and, after having a brief conversation with her neighbour Sam, who is out in the garden sprinkling a slug repellent over his plants, returns to bed thinking 'of those things that Sam Lawton was dumping powder on' and 'of the world outside my house' (30). But here as elsewhere in Carver's minimalist narratives, details or incidents of the past assume a deeper figurative meaning in the present life of the characters beyond the literal level. Here, the event that may explain Nancy's insomnia, Sam's taking up the bottle for a long while ("I quit, you know', he now tells Nancy.'Had to. For a while it was getting so I didn't know up from down', 29) or the estrangement between Cliff and Sam, could be the sudden death of Millie, Sam's first wife and a good friend of Nancy. She had suffered a heart attack just as she was coming home and 'the car kept going and went on through the back of the carport' (28). This may invite an allegorical meaning: the violent penetration of the car into the house is indicative of the destruction of any sense and safety the three may have had before- now figuratively represented by the invasion of the slugs Sam tries to keep at bay. Given all these, this deadpan narration turns into a meditation on loss, fear, loneliness and neurosis.

Carver chooses to write about the existential dilemmas of his heroes in a minimalist style, by understatement, by investing details with a figurative meaning that illuminates human dramas in a fresh and provocative way.

Samuel Beckett, the master of minimalism in its purest form, speaking of this kind of art and of the duty of the artist, memorably

summed them up when he stated that it expresses the idea 'that there is nothing to express, nothing with which to express, nothing from which to express, no power to express, no desire to express-together with the obligation to express'. The statement is part of an article published by John Barth in the *New York Times* (NYT, Dec.28, 1986, section7, pg.1) entitled 'A Few Words about Minimalism' and it refers to the Dutch painter Bram Van Velde (1895-1981) who cultivated an abstract, semi-representational style in his paintings. Raymond Carver, the artist as writer, takes upon himself 'the obligation to express' and give a voice to his antiheroes, puzzled by what happens to them, actors in plays with unpredictable endings, playthings at the mercy of events beyond their control.

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CULTURAL AND GENDER STUDIES

The Power of Advertising or the Secret behind Dedeman's Popularity

Giulia Suciu
University of Oradea

Abstract: The present paper aims at delving into the world of advertising and its persuasive techniques, focusing then on Dedeman's advertising campaigns, in an attempt to account for its popularity in our country.

Key words: advertising, persuasion, Dedeman, campaign, audience

Instead of an Introduction

Dedeman is a retail and construction company founded in 1992, in Bacău, Romania, by Adrian Pavăl and DragoșPavăl. It started as a small private company, with less than 20 employees and has become a hypermarket chain with 100% Romanian capital, offering home improvement and DIY goods. Its motto is "*Dedicatplanurilor tale"* which translates as "*Dedicated to your plans*". It operates over 48 stores all over Romania and has over 10 000 memployees – a spectacular evolution in less than 20 years.

The starting point of this paper was a personal curiosity of mine: why is Dedeman's parking lot always full of cars, while other DIY chains such as Brico, Leroy Merlin, Praktiker, Hornbach, Mathouse – situated in the immediate vicinity, and selling similar products – could not boast about the same number of customers.

Legend has it that an American tycoon was once asked what he would do if he lost his fortune and was only left with 100$. His answer, they say, was, 'I would spend 10$ on production and 90$ on advertising.'[1] Though it might sound exaggerated, it clearly states the impact of advertising.

Knowing that advertising plays a major role in a company's sales figures, I decided to take a look at Dedeman's advertising campaigns – focusing mainly on outdoor advertising - and see whether the answer to my question may lie there.

[1]Vizental, Adriana, 2002. *The Pragmatics of Advertising*. Arad: VasileGoldis University Press. p. 13

The Power of Advertising

An attempt to define or pin down advertising seems superfluous at first sight. Advertising is something we are all exposed to and something we cannot escape – be it in the form of a newspaper or magazine, a TV, or billboards in tram or bus stations etc.It is one of the most prevalent cultural forms of our times, uninvited but aggressive, parasitic but self-confident, the target of bitter criticism, as well as fervent support. Advertising takes many forms, but in most of them language and images play a crucial part in its aim – i.e. to inform, but more often and more importantly to persuade and influence.

Encyclopedia Britannica defines advertising as '*the techniques and practices used to bring products, services, opinions, or causes to public notice for the purpose of persuading the public to respond in a certain way toward what is advertised."*[2]

According to Geoffrey Leech[3], the language of advertising is loaded, aimed at changing the will, opinions or attitudes of its target audience. The basic principles of advertising are the following:

- draw attention to itself
- sustain the interest it attracted
- must be remembered, or at least recognized as familiar
- prompt the right kind of action

The sensible question to be asked at this point, would be why advertising needs to be persuasive. Why cannot advertisers simply inform customers of their products without trying to influence or persuade them in any way? In a consumption society like ours, characterized by overproduction and under-demand, the producers of materially 'unnecessary' goods have to do something to stimulate the market, to make people want to buy these products.

What is more, advertising does so much more than simply inform, persuade and influence its customers; it also reflects certain aspects of a society's values and beliefs. That is exactly why delving into Dedeman's advertising campaigns, in an attempt to account for their popularity in Romania, will bring to light much more than advertising techniques, products and so on; it will also reveal the beliefs, prejudices, attitudesof the Romanian society.

[2]Available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/advertising, accessed on the 27 of February 2019

[3]Leech, G. N. 1966. *English in Advertising*. London: Longman, p. 9

Dedeman's Adverising Techniques

The retail company Dedemanstarted investing in advertising in 2009, coining an image that set them apart from the other DIY companies. They signed a contract with McCann Erickson, Romania, who takes pride in creating famous brands for their clients: "*Brands that capture the customers' and media's imagination. Brands that are talked about shared and desired. That is our way of bringing value to our clients*."[4]

I decided to take a look at Dedeman's advertising techniques in order to find out how they managed to draw and maintain attention, to be recognized as familiar, while setting them apart from the other DIY companies in Romania.

The combination of verbal text and pictures has become increasingly important in our culture. The simplest form of advertising illustration is the iconic image: a picture of the product against a neutral background.[5] At first sight, most DIY companies seem to be using this technique, so what sets Dedeman apart?

Obviously, it is not the image of the product that makes the difference, but the accompanying message. Dedeman's advertising campaigns rely heavily on repetitive phrases, easily recognizable and identifiable. Based on these phrases, Dedeman's campaigns can be classified as follows:

A. Every time you…at least…..

This series of ads presents everyday situations people can very easily identify themselves with, situations that have as starting-points gender stereotypes and gender roles.

- *every time you ask him where he's been, he stares at the walls…at least change their colour* (men going out and not willing to admit where they've been, when confronted by a nagging/jealous wife) – Fig1
- *every time you watch a*

Fig.1

[4]Available at https://www.facebook.com/pg/McCannEricksonRomania/about/?ref=page_internal, accessed on the 28th of February, 2019

[5]Vestergaard and Schroder. 1985. *The Language of Advertising*. Oxford:Basil Blackwell. p.36

football match, she starts to vacuum…at least change the armchair (women being mainly in charge with domestic chores, while men just sit around and watch football matches)

- *ever since you've known her, you work and she gives directions…..at least change the materials* (nagging wives, doing nothing but offering precious advice)
- *every time you plan to go on holiday, she plans to re-decorate the house* (women spoiling men's plans, women's nesting instincts)
- *you dust every single day….he dusts only on your birthday* (women do the dusting, men do it only on special occasions)

B. That moment when….but….

Fig.2

The ads rely mainly on paradoxes, unexpected/ antagonistic alternatives but again familiar to the audience. Even the language used in the ad suggests an air of informality – the term *'ăla'* from the repetitive phrase '*momentul ăla când'* (*that moment when*) is not grammatically correct, being encountered not in formal, written Romanian but rather in informal, everyday language.

- *that moment when you watch chef shows on TV but you order pizza*
- *that moment when you'd like to have a hot bath but cannot heat the water (Fig.2)*
- *that moment when you want to find the best offers but you already have them in your hands*

C. Making everybody happy…

Fig,3

The iconic image against a neutral background takes centre stage as in the previous ads, but this time the message focuses on the accessibility of the product – you can buy whatever you want and you'll be left with enough money to buy her/him something, thus making everybody happy.

- *buy mineral wool and you'll have enough money to buy her a massage*
- *buy a drilling machine and you'll have enough money left to buy her candies (Fig. 3)*

- *buy the floor that you like and you'll have enough money for his gym subscription*
- *buy a chainsaw and you'll have enough money for a romantic dinner*

One cannot ignore the gender stereotype that the bonus is usually for her (massage, candies, romantic dinners etc.) and rarely for him (and even when it is for him it involves physical activities not pampering.)

D. Puns and oppositions

The message that accompanies the iconic image is based on oppositions (fire-cold, complete – incomplete, settle down – stand up etc.) and makes reference to everyday situations in the life of couples.

- *When your heart is on fire but you can't handle the cold inside your home*
- *When the relationship is complete, but your bathroom needs a new tub*
- *When things settle down between the two of you, but you talk of love standing up*
- *When love is ever-lasting, but nothing lasts in your bathroom…*

Round -Up

Inall the ads discussed above, the image of the product occupies center stage –something quite common in the sphere of DIY marketing. But Dedeman's ads do much more than simply present a product. All the ads that we analyzed present the following characteristics:

⇒ readability – the message is easy to grasp and assimilate
⇒ easily recognizable – same font, same colours
⇒ memorability – repetition of phrases
⇒ make it easy for the public to identify themselves with different situations– main protagonists HE/SHE, gender stereotypes, gender roles, innuendos etc.
⇒ grasp the public's attention by using unconventional associations, even grammatically incorrect words

The main idea behind their campaigns is the following: decisions regarding the home are usually taken by the couple; all the building/renovation/landscaping projects usually imply both partners – he focuses on the technical details, she focuses on the finishing touches. While other DIY advertising campaigns focus on prices and promotions

(the rational side), Dedeman chose to appeal to the emotional side, thus suggesting that the home is an asset, it has emotional value. The message sent by their campaigns is that Dedeman puts emotion above the price.By presenting situations people can identify themselves with – most of them based on gender stereotypes, gender roles, oppositions etc. – Dedeman's campaigns raise brand-awareness and gains public sympathy.

Far from suggesting that advertising is the only 'culprit' for Dedeman's popularity in our country, the present study aims at underlying one more time the impact of advertising on our lives and at pointing out how a good advertising campaign can make a difference and set you apart from the competition.

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On new-bornsand babies. The emergence of new lexical age-stereotypes in Early Modern England

Paloma Tejada Caller
Universidad Complutense Madrid

Abstract: This contribution aims at exploring the emergence of early-age stereotypes in Early Modern England from a Cultural Linguistics approach to Age Studies, using the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary as a corpus. I intend to demonstrate that during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries a new modern intersubjective conceptualization ofembryos and new-borns emerged in English, confirming a more general social perception of the child as an autonomous human being.

Keywords: Early Modern English. Childhood. Cultural Linguistics. Lexicon

Introduction

This contribution is part of a wider project aimed to address childhood as a culturally constructed life-stage during sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The project set off to prove that during this period a new modern intersubjective conceptualization of childhood emerges in English, confirming what historians have called the 'discovery of childhood.' (Ariès 1962, King 2007, Dekker 2012, Frijhoff 2012, among others). Following the project's lines of thought, this study is alsomeant to be a linguistic contribution to the so-called Age Studies, an interdisciplinary field where the cross-fertilization of concepts and methods from previously distinct research traditions has given way to a newly shared sensitivity about age and age-stages, revealing additional gaps of research (Charise 2014, Segal 2014, Pickard 2016). Oddly enough, Linguistics has been slow in responding to the age-challenge; some scholars have even suggested that Linguistics has been 'age-blind' up to now (Coupland 2009).

For the purposes of the investigation, a Cultural Linguistics or Ethnolinguistic approach to language was selected as appropriate to unveil the new conceptualization of children before and after birth. More

specifically, the study links to a sustained tradition stemming from Sapir (1921, 1957), stressing the idea that 'vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people'. According to this conceptual model, vocabulary would constitute the institutionalization of social meaning, words representing access nodes to shared knowledge.(Cf. also Brinton &Closs-Traugott 2005, Bartminski 2009, Shariffian 2011, Coleman 2012) Following the above lines, the *Oxford English Dictionary*(OED) and the *Historical Thesaurus of the OED*(HTOED) were used as a source to build up an adequate corpus, as explained below.

We start off from three premises. First, the need to adopt an ageing lens in Linguistics, focusing on age as an analytical and cultural category (Tejada 2019). In our case, the idea that age is a cultural notion implies the assumption that the conceptualization and definitionof life stages varies across time, space and populations. This means that predefined taxonomies of social types, be them children, babies or embryos, should not be assumed. There are no predefined categories which portray an assumed coherence and stability of these groups. The idea of childhood, broadly construed, seems ultimately dependent on common ways of thinking about life-stages. It is, thus, culturally contingent (James&Prout 1990, Mintz 2008, Tejada 2018).

A second premise supporting our research is based on the knowledge that in social research, childhood has been referred to as the 'forgotten category' in the life-course, or the 'silent and obscure years'. Little has been done on the social and cultural construction of the historical child(Orme 2001, Heywood2001, Clarke 2004,Cunningham 2006, and many others).[1] Moreover, very little has been statedin Linguisticson childhood as an age-stage and even less effort has been laid on the linguistic portrayal of the earliest stages of childhood in past periods of English history. This has been so for various reasons, probably one of them being that childhood constitutes a very recent topic in academic social discourse. The child is said to have been *discovered* by historians in the 1960sas an autonomous object of historiography, after the release of Philippe Ariès' controversial and yet ground-breaking essay translated into English as *Centuries of childhood: a social history of family life*.[2]This leads us to the so-called discovery of childhood in

[1]We attend a most recent boom of childhood and youth collective and interdisciplinary volumes (Zwozdiak 2007, Kehily 2008, Qvortrup et al. 2009, Fass 2012, Taylor 2013, Wyn -Cahill 2015, Gheaus et al. 2018, etc), most of them advocating a move away from nature in favour of a social response and cultural understanding of childhood.However they seem basically concerned with contemporary and social issues.

[2]An English translation of the French*L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'AncienRégime* (1960)

sixteenth-century Europe asa third premise for our study. According to Ariès, it is in the sixteenth century that the child was discovered in social practice, becoming separately identified and perceived as an autonomous human being.

Considering the above-mentioned grounds and research gaps, the attempt to castsome light on the social depiction of Early Modern England embryos and infants as deduced from linguistic data seems only germane.

Methodological strategies

To assess on whether childhood is a modern invention in Early Modern English (EME), or more preciselyto see whether a new intersubjective conceptualization of embryos and new-born babies emerges in English during the period under scrutiny, we initially set off to analyse the rate and nature of lexical and semantic innovation registered in the OED and the HTOED for the general concept of 'child' as [PERSON], to which new words and word senses associated with the sense 'child' as [EMBRYO]were added, considering the OED definition of child as'The unborn or the newly born'.[3]

This method implies that the conceptual category 'child'and, subsequently, any 'child' sub-category, may be adequately reconstructed moving from meaning to words, rather than the reverse, from words to meaning, given the blurry nature of dictionary definitions. In other words, the method entails the key underlying assumption that examined together, existing synonyms for the selected HTOED entries, namely, ['child as EMBRYO], ['child as INFANT], wouldbe enlightening about the thinking of the EMEsociety. Alongside, the consideration of data pertaining to theadditional categories of ['child' as CHILD], ['child' as YOUNG MAN] and ['child as GIRL]will allow pertinent contrastive observations.

Following this line of thought, an initial global corpus of over 100 (101) new words and word senses (i.e.extended meanings of pre-existing words), appearing during the EME period (1500-1700) associated with the selected HTOED categories was collected. The focus of the study was then reduced to asub-corpus directly linked to the subcategories ['child as EMBRYO] and ['child as INFANT], jointlyrepresenting 16% of the total amount of data. Subsequently, a chart of 24 study parameters was devised to obtain quantitative and qualitative results, including symbolic nuances; stylistic and axiological information and register connotationsobtained

3Cf. 'child, n.' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, September 2019, ww.oed.com/view/Entry/31619. Accessed 12 September 2019.

from cross-reference definitions of the terms; etymological and word origin details, indicators of word temporal stability or obsolescence, etc. Also, in order to identify the degree of lexical and semantic innovation occurred during the period under analysis, the period was divided into 8 25-year subcategories, running from period 1 (1500-1525) through to period 8 (1676-1700).

With this framework in mind, the first two sub-stages of a globally new EME childhoodwas closely analysed, to ascertain whether new stereotypes of embryos and babies showed up in the English seventeenth-century society.

Results and discussion

Before getting into further detail, it is to note that in absolute terms the period confirms a remarkable growth of English new terms and extended meanings to refer to child categories during the period 1500-1700. The general analysis of vocabulary shows a clear index of novelty, as shown in chart 1.

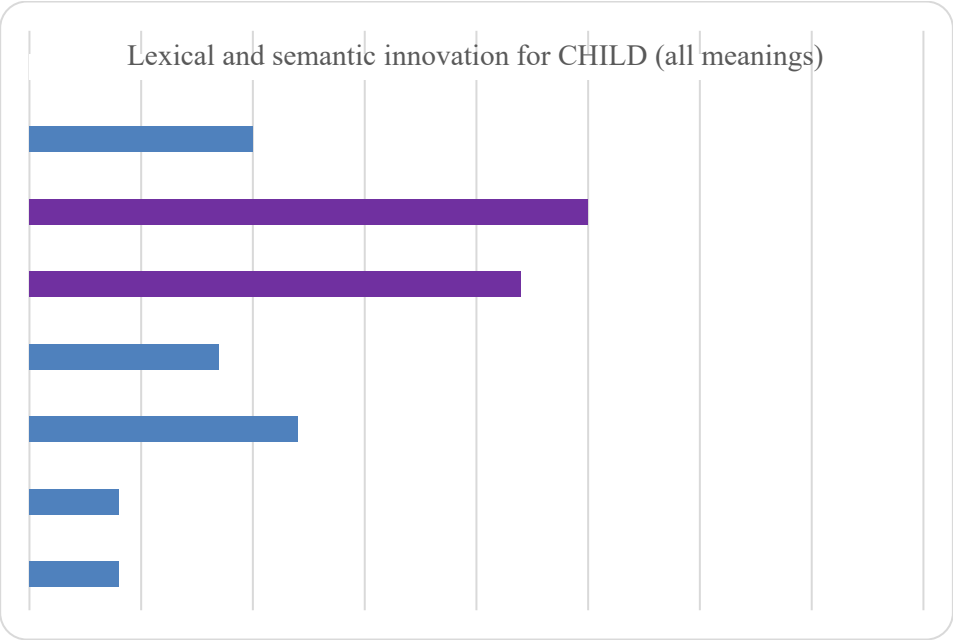

Chart 1: Lexical and semantic innovation for child (all meanings)

However, quantitatively, the distribution of novelty is not balanced. As presented in chart2, neither embryos nor infants represent

core categories of the new conceptualization of childhood, their synonyms representing 6% and 10% of innovation, respectively. Attention seemed to be rather focused on children older than two, that is on the categories of [‘child’ as CHILD] and [‘child’ as YOUNG MAN].

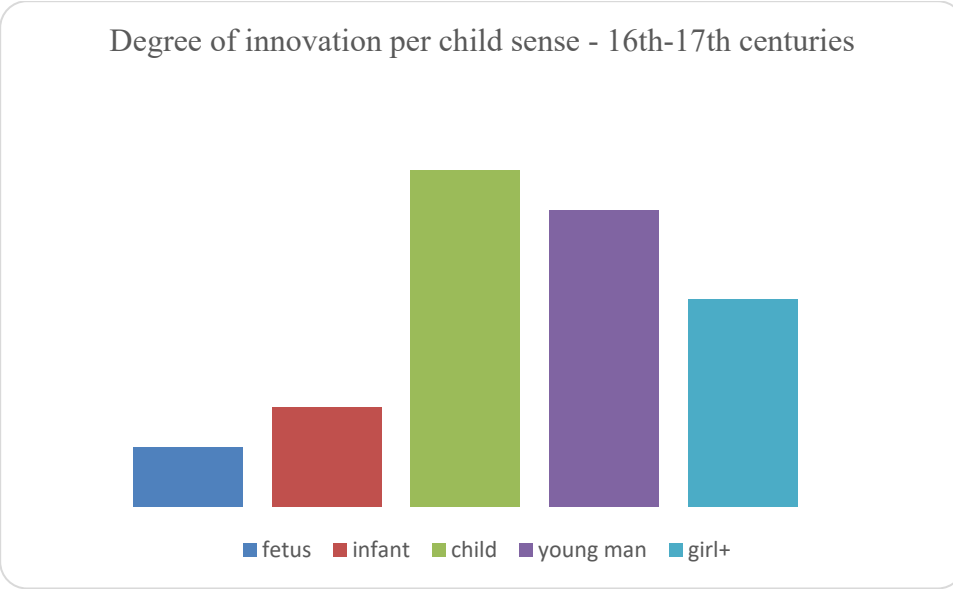

Chart 2: Degree of innovation per child sense - 16th-17th centuries

Alongside, innovation concerning embryos and babies seem to take place comparatively late in the period (1651-1675) that is after a new conceptualization of young men and older children was well on its way. As may be observed in chart 3, a new portrayal of *young men* reached momentum in period 4 (1576-1600) and that of the so-called *lap-child*[4]in periods 4 and 5 (1576-1625), whereas lexical innovation for embryos and babies seem to explode during the mid-seventeenth century (period 7).

[4]An expression stereotypically representing the [‘child’ as CHILD].

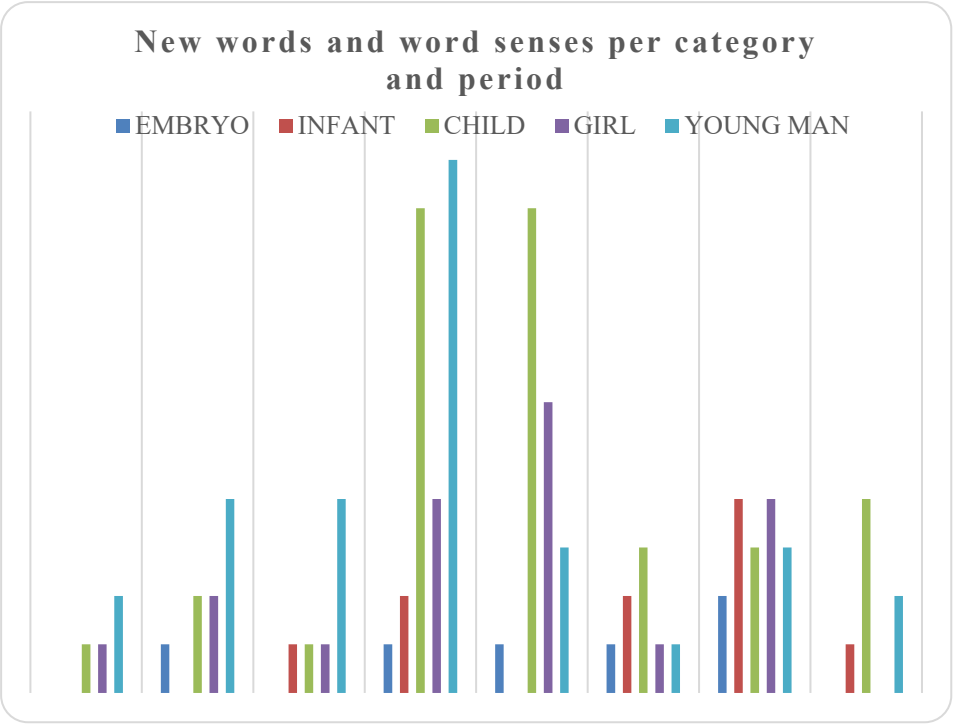

Chart 3: New words and word senses per category and period

Hence, from a general point of view, obtained results on lexical and semantic innovation lead to the conclusion that by the eighteenth-century the child was no longer a vague category, comprising creatures just being shortly-lived or of a short stature–as opposed to old people, fully-sized and having lived for a longer time (Tejada 2019).At the time children of a various nature might be separately perceived, according to their size, their behaviour and their roles in society. The tendency towards a more discreet identification of childhood substages, however, seems to progress gradually and unevenly along the centuries. Embryos and infants apparently constitute a later and less prominent step in the process of childhood discovery.

The [‘child’ as EMBRYO]

Restricting the focus of analysis to the category of [‘child’ as EMBRYO], it is to note that roughly from the last quarter of the sixteenth-centurya few new words for *embryo* appear in English. These terms constitute two most important advances in the separate conceptualization of childhood substages with respect to the previous period. First, in the seventeenth

century the unborn child seems to become separately perceived from the rest of subcategories. And, second, under the new cultural scheme, a new stereotype appears to be created, that of the *womb-infant.*

Before that date, embryos were referred to through the general term *child.* It is only in scientific and religious discourse thatsome direct borrowings from the classical languages had been introduced at the turn of the fifteenth-century, such as *fruit of the loins* and *conception.* However*,* according to definitions in the OED, both terms entailed a vague meaning, and emphasized the idea of 'progeny', thus blurring the difference between the born and the unborn child.[5]Hence, the creation of new words for embryos along the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries contributes to establish a new cultural dividing line between these two entities.

As drawn from the corpus, there seems to be a growing number of English words or expressionsto refer to the unborn child, ever more visible from 1576 onwards. This drive apparently hints an increasing social awareness and interest in the establishing of boundaries. Moreover, from the end of the sixteenth century, new terms and word senses for embryos seem to be divided into two stylistic registers: namely, the specialized and the familiar level, the latter being of singular interest and importance.On the one hand, specialized termsfor embryos becomegradually adapted to English native resources, as evidenced by*feture, embryo* and *geniture*. On the other, a familiar perception of embryos, channelled through popular metaphorsseems to arise in England: more particularly, metaphors of*SMALLNESS*–assimilating pre-born human creatures to animals and plants as living entities getting shaped, as in the diminutive *shapeling*; and CONFINEMENT*, as in womb-infant,* whereby the defining term *womb* would be interpreted as a container, an image also elicited in the more complex *hans-in-kelder (jack in the cellar)*, implying a second metaphorical level. Our contention is that it is the emergence of descriptive and metaphorical words in the familiar register that most contribute to expand the new intersubjective conceptualization of the embryo category, as different from the new-born child. To our view, *womb-infant* operates as an 'anchoring word'; that is, *womb-infant* represents a descriptive term denoting a specific childhood sub stage which stands in contrastive relationship to other focal terms, such as *lap-child*, *man-boy* or *woman-child*.

Before closing this section, a last point in our argumentation concerning the last two terms should be suggested here. The presence of

[5]In this line, one should not forget that the divide between abortion and infanticide had not always been clear, a topic deserving further attention that will be addressed in a future paper.

the formative elements *infant* and *hans* in the novel idiomatic expressions for 'embryo' *womb-infan*t and *hans-in-kelder* feels utterly significant. They not only intensify the personhood nature of embryos; they bring embryos thereby into closer contrast to the new-born child.

The ['child' as INFANT]

Moving on in our analysis into the next category, the ['child' as INFANT], results confirm that this substage emerges as a late perception, similarly to what happened to the ['child' as EMBRYO]. It is only from the seventeenth-century onwards that a more explicit appreciation of babies is proved, through the creation of an increasing number of new synonyms. However, lexical and semantic innovation in this category exhibits some noticeable differences from what was described for embryos. The development of the new stereotype, defined in this study as the *child in arms,* seems more closely aligned with the tendencies observed in the conceptualization of the two core substages of Renaissance childhood: those of the *man-boy* and the *lap-child*.

Among the most significant differences, this category exhibits the largest degree of lexical innovation (i.e. of new words) in the period, assessed in relative terms. Casting a detailed view on the corpus, it is observed that around 78% of the total amount of synonyms for child infant are new coinages, which might lead to the conclusion that this substage represents a most needed or intended invention. If the situation in EME is compared with that of the previous centuries, it becomes evident that before the sixteenth-century babies were referred to through the most general term *child*, or through foreign –also rather vague– terms introduced from French in the fourteenth-century. That would be the case of fourteenth-century *infant*, defined in the OED as 'A child during the earliest period of life (or still unborn)', from which two short-lived, somehow expressive derivations came up*: fauntekin, fauntelet,* both most likely restricted to French-speaking contexts. Alongside, *baban, babe* had also emerged in the fourteenth-century as natural creations reproducing infantile vocalization, with the meaning 'very young child', 'a child of any age', still too vague. It is only in the mid-fifteenth century that a more subjective conceptualizing tendency tentatively appears, with the creation of words like the dialectal and short-lived *lakin* ('plaything') and the semantic expansion of *mop,* a term of uncertain origin and obscure etymology, formerly meaning 'fool' or 'simpleton'.

This leads us to assert that from the sixteenth-century onwards a) a distinctively native lexicalization of babyhood away from French is perceived, and b) both a more complex and precise portrayal of this

childhood sub-stage emerges. The situation in the sixteenth-and seventeenth centuries seems to confirm that during this period babies aroused an increasingly greater social interest in England, promoting not only the nativization of the lexicon for this stage but also a neatly-profiled identity, cast in emotional subjective terms.

From a qualitative perspective results show that the conceptualization of babyhood moves apparently from a religious description to a more expressive and evaluative perception, lexicalized in local terms. At the beginning of the period, there seems to be a need to ratify the babyon a religious and most likely institutional, footing. The creation of new independent nouns like *chrisom* and *chrisomer* (emerged in periods 3 and 4, respectively) suggests an insistence on the religious innocence of babies, symbolically represented by the white robes at baptism. In fact, *chrisom* was already in use as the first element of compounds like *chrisom child* or *chrisom babe.* Then a more physical and descriptive definition of infants appears to be sought: the baby is increasingly understood and conceptualized as a small and fragile being, as illustrated by *tenderling* (period 4)*, or childling* (period 6), and even the later *bratling* (period 7).Finally, and very much in line with the above-mentioned tendency towards subjectivity, a final phase of lexical innovation is reached in period 7, comprising metaphorical perceptions of babyhood, such as those observed in*lullaby-cheat* or (*little*) *stranger*, that would suggest a newly admitted need for affection and care in these entities. That would also apply to the prior*flosculet,* a term apparently coined in period 6. However, *flosculet* would additionally reflect the trend to use nature, and more precisely plants and animals, as a base for child metaphors, a leaning most conspicuously spotted as applied to older children and young men (Tejada 2018). The corpus of new words and meanings emerging in EME to refer to an infant winds up with the term *hoppet*, "a child danced in the arms", which contributes an instance of dialectal terms utterly frequent in the lexicalization of other substages of childhood. As argued in Tejada (2018), the presence of dialectal terms in the total corpus of synonyms for childhood substages, together with the amount of expressions tinged with colloquial and informal connotations, becomes cumulatively significant. The fact that many formations exhibit a popular and emotional nature might explain why the EME vocabulary for childhood did not have a lasting effect on the language, words being either rejected or ignored by the later speech community. And furthermore, the innovative EME lexis of childhood, deeply connected with subjectivity and intimacy, "seems to be a new fashion reflecting individual needs rather than social institutionalization from above."

The above-mentioned remarks help us conclude that in the seventeenth-century, the definition, the perception and the way people felt about babies had changed: a baby seems to have been socially identified as a small child in need for care and arising affection. It is their size and their inability to walk that separates babies from older children, which were already perceived and depicted along similar lines of intimacy and warm devotion. This inference is ratified by the presence in the corpus of a singular term, purposively left aside till now. According to results, the expression *child-in-arms* was coined in period 7 and, to our view, it may be said to represent the lexicalization of a second newly-perceived childhood stereotype, different from both the unborn –the *womb-infant*–and the toddler or walking child: the *lap-child*.

A last and distinctive feature of the substage in focus should be added. It is to note that contrary to what occurs for later substages of childhood, most of them age-blurred, we could fix EME infancy as a childhood category comprising individuals aged between one month and (approximately) two years, as would be confirmed by the definition of *chrisom* ('a child in its first month') and the coinage *two-year-old* emerging in 1595-6 to refer to the sense ['child' as CHILD],according to the OED.

Conclusion

Results have shown that neither embryos nor babies constitute universal, predefined categories, but cultural constructions, subject to temporal, social and ideological changes. The analysis of lexical and semantic innovation concerning the concepts of ['child' as EMBRYO] and ['child' as INFANT] in EME has demonstrated that new common ways of thinking about these two sub-stages of childhood ripen at the time. This is confirmed by the growth in new words and word senses describing embryos and infants, particularly conspicuous in the seventeenth-century. The separate delineation of both embryo and infant sub-categories seem to respond to a subsequent need, following the consolidation of later childhood stages.

In quantitative terms neither embryos nor infants seem to typify core categories in the conceptual transformation of childhood, the number of new terms or extended meanings being significantly lower than those denoting other childhood substages. However, the lexically neat delineation of both embryos and infants reflect a significant qualitative transformation in cognitive and social patterns. By the seventeenth-century two new stereotypes of children had emerged, those of the *womb-child* and the *child-in-arms*, respectively. Boundaries had become thus established.

As for embryos, their separate perception introduces a focal point of novelty, as is the establishment of a new cultural dividing line between the born and the unborn child. Furthermore, embryos are no longer reduced to the scientific realm or to the wider idea of *progeny*. During the period under research there seems to arise a familiar perception of these entities, channelled through popular metaphors of size and confinement. The presence of popular and emotional formations brings embryos to the private sphere of feelings and intimacy.

Concerning infants, the subcategory appears to be a derivation of the ['child' as CHILD]. An infant is basically a small child unable to walk, as described in the expression *child-in-arms* that acts as a substage anchoring word or stereotype. Results seem to confirm that during EME babies aroused an increasingly greater social interest in England, promoting not only the nativization of the lexicon for this stage but also a neatly-profiled identity. The perception of babies moves from ideas of innocence and fragility to more subjective ones, brought about through metaphorical expressions that link babyhood to the sphere of intimacy and emotion. The use of diminutives, cant words or dialectal forms bring the lexicalization of this substage closer to the patterns employed in the EME portrayal of the *lap-child* or even the *man-boy*.

Last, this study has contributed to the definition and meaning of earliest childhood, an under-researched life-stage. Stressing the idea that vocabulary is one of the most conclusive bases for investigating world-view, it also seems clear that Cultural Linguistics tools and methods may contribute to unveil relevant nodes of social and shared knowledge, so much lacking in other humanistic approaches to age. Further studies will be devoted to the EME cultural and lexical borders between the born and the unborn child, considering the idea of personhood, suggested above.

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On Witchcraft in Englandduring the Middle Ages

Andrada Marinău
University of Oradea

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is that of exposing how witchcraft was viewed and dealt with in medieval England. It is imperative to acknowledge the fact that the barbaric, obscure and mysterious practices, as they seem nowadays, bore a divine weight especially in the ancient and medieval cultures and not only. Mentalities do change over the centuries, civilizations evolve, yet a tiny seed of mystery from the past beliefs will always remain inherent in the human mind.

Key words: popular witchcraft, divination, magic, healing, witch, demons

One of the reasons why I chose this topic is because I find it interesting to think about how witchcraft has changed over the centuries, how individuals with knowledge in herbs or astrology and who were once considered physicians, came to be known as the Devil's servants and worshippers. Also, this subject has to do with the fear of the unknown humans have shown throughout the time. If we don't understand a certain thing, we tend to fear it and we see only the vile aspects of it. Witchcraft represents an example in this regard. Early Christians did not understand the harmless practices of the so-called witches, which led them to persecute not only the practitioners but also the innocent.

Moreover, medieval witchcraft also tackles the issue of feminism as the great majority of the individuals who were unjustly persecuted, accused and killed for being witches consisted of women. In addition, the witch is, perhaps, the most despised figure in mythology and it remained a haunting presence in the human consciousness until today. But why? What exactly is a witch and how did it appear?

The more we peek into the occult side of a culture, the more mysterious, obscure and impenetrable it gets and the British culture is no exception. Either we talk about the horrifying ogres, the enigmatic elves or the mystical Stonehenge, England is with no doubt, a portal to an otherworldly realm where fairytales and legends come to life, a portal that many historians tried to access. One folktale that has fascinated people

from all around the world and that terrified generations of children is the notorious witch with her well-known frightening, peculiar appearance.

Hence, up to this day, witches and witchcraft continue to be a controversial subject that has fascinated and influenced communities throughout history. But what exactly is witchcraft and how did the image of the witch perpetuate hitherto? Researches around the world had tried to elucidate this mystery and they have come up with some answers.

Many people are vaguely familiar with the history of witchcraft and magic. The topic attracts regular media interest. Yet it is also a subject around which swirls much misunderstanding, misinformed opinion, and dubious facts. One such perennial notion is that witches were burned in England, and likewise the erroneous belief that millions of people were executed during the era of the witch trials. Over the last two centuries this notorious episode in European history has repeatedly been portrayed as a stain on the medieval age. Yet the vast majority of the prosecutions and executions took place not in the Middle Ages at all, but in what historians refer to as the early modern period, an era which runs roughly from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century. Words like 'hysteria' and 'craze' litter the older literature on the subject, and continue to be widely used to describe the trials. The greatest minds of the era believed in the reality of witchcraft and magic. This was a time in Europe when the Reformation transformed religion and politics, legal systems were becoming more sophisticated, and science made great strides in understanding the natural world. The belief in witchcraft and magic was not some evolutionary stage that society passed through on the way to general enlightenment and scientific progress.

The origins of magic were already being debated in antiquity, and histories of the witch trials were appearing in Europe before the last of the trials and executions had ended.

The history of witchcraft and magic provides rare glimpses into the human psyche and the complexities of human relationships in the past in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, and social status. Less exciting to some, perhaps, but equally fascinating is what the history of witchcraft and magic can tell us about how societies formed, developed, and changed over the centuries. It enables us to see the profound if often subtle interactions between different cultures that are obscured by studying the 'bigger picture' of war, conquest, and the political games between kings, queens, and emperors.

In this paper I will talk about the way in which popular witchcraft was used and perceived.

In the early Middle ages people used and feared magic for the same reasons they used or feared any other sacred ritual: magic was

thought to strengthen or sever relationships between people, to overcome material obstacles, and to spread good or evil by protecting a community or introducing sickness and death. But magic was the name given to a class of inappropriate sacred rituals, which were excluded from normative Christian practice.

In the late MiddleAges, there was a dramatic rise in the number and complexity of magic texts in circulation, which had significant implications for how people thought about celestial and spiritual power in the medieval universe and how it could be manipulated.

Magic is more a concept than a reality. The term is a way of categorizing a wide array of beliefs and practices, ranging from astrology and alchemy, charms and amulets, to sorcery and necromancy, trickery and entertainment, as practiced by both laity and clergy, by those of high and low social status, educated and uneducated, and found in diverse sources and contexts, including scientific and medical treatises, liturgical and other religious documents, and literary texts. How certain practices in medieval Europe come to be labeled magic, as opposed to scientific or religious, depends on the perspective of the person using the label, whether a medieval commentator or a modern scholar.

It must be borne in mind that 'the word "witch", although in recent usage almost invariably applied to a woman, may with perfect correctness be employed of a man, and it seems a pity that the meaning should be narrowed and curtailed.The great *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "witch" (a word of Anglo-Saxon derivation) as "A man who practices witchcraft or magic, a magician, sorcerer, wizard". Also, and today more generally, "A female magician, sorceress; in later use a woman supposed to have dealings with the devil or evil spirits and to be able by their co-operation to perform supernatural acts." The word "sorcerer" is from the Old French, and is derived from a popular Latin term signifying a caster of lots, a diviner, a charmer.' (Summers, 2011: 3)

Before the fourteenth century it had been difficult for clerics to believe that women, 'who were deemed physically, mentally, and spiritually weaker than men and lacked clerical training and literacy, could control powerful, threatening demons.' (Davies, 2017: 16) But this paradox was resolved by an increasing theological emphasis on the satanic pact, a formal written contract which involved the complete and explicit submission of the witch to demons. In exchange for surrendering their souls, witches could call on the assistance of demons using only simple gestures or spells. A high proportion of the people tried in medieval courts for using erotic magic— rituals to secure desirable partners for sex, love, or marriage or to destroy partnerships that were obstacles to passion or ambition—were women. Female sexual powers

were considered more threatening than men's, particularly in relation to political and religious concerns over the stability of marriage.

Five sections organize popular practices according to the results or intended outcome: healing, protection, divination, occult knowledge and entertainment.

Medical Magic

'Magic associated with medicine is the largest, and most amorphous, category of common magical practices in the Middle Ages, existing at the boundary between the natural and unnatural manifestations of illness.' (Jolly, 2002: 30) The distinction between material and spiritual causes of illness is a fuzzy one in medieval medicine, particularly in the early Middle Ages, where the distinction is more between visible and invisible causes. Most folk and classical remedies identified illness with specific material causes and prescribe combinations of herbs or other natural products to cure or alleviate symptoms, often based on rebalancing the four classical humours or on sympathetic association (e.g. liver of the vulture for liver complaints). Other ailments had invisible causes - from airborne poisons, elves, dwarves or demons — that required invisible help from spiritual forces to counteract them and hence required the use of ritual actions derived from ancient practice or from Christian liturgy. In Christian practice, God was the Divine Healer and the ultimate source of health; consequently medieval liturgy was full of prayers for health and relief from infirmity, including blessings and exorcisms of patients and of objects and materials used in healing, such as herbs, holy water and amulets.

Because of this duality of meaning in healing, both spiritual and physical, we have a range of practices that might be declared magic in a later age. 'In the twelfth century, a distinction between natural and supernatural emerged among scientific thinkers that led to a greater distance between natural remedies and those appealing to supernatural forces, with a consequent distancing of elite medicine from folk medicine.'(Jolly, 2002: 31) The classical medical tradition contributed two main conceptual frameworks to medieval medicine: the idea of the four humours which medicine seeks to rebalance, and the medicinal properties of natural objects found in scientific compendiums.

The power of words to effect changes in the material world, now discredited in modern science, is the chief reason why much of medieval medicine is classified as magic instead of science. Nonetheless, the bulk of medical remedies in the medieval tradition do not contain ritual formulas, but use entirely natural, if not scientifically reliable, methods.

'Deliver us from Evil'(Jolly, 2002: 42)

'Operating on some of the same principles as healing, protective magic seeks to ward off invisible causes of illness or harm before it reaches the victim, using natural materials, classical and folk prescriptions and Christian components. These practices include amulets and other talismans empowered by rituals as well as verbal formulas and ritual actions.' (Jolly, 2002: 43) Amulets are constructed from herbs, animal parts, or stones, while talismans utilize written words. These items could be worn around the neck, wrapped around the body, or contained in a ring. The concentrated virtues of gemstones, often engraved with incantations, were popular amulets and talismans among the nobility, while their less potent counterparts, herbs, were more accessible to common folk. Oral formulas recited for protection include blessings, adjurations and exorcisms, often combined with ritual actions such as the sign of the cross. These preventive measures inoculate against disease, keep demonic forces at bay, provide an antidote for curses and sorceries and protect animals, fields and travelers from natural and unnatural disasters. The sign of the cross is the most common ritual action deployed in all protective, as well as healing, remedies, certainly as a consequence of Christian liturgical practice, sermon literature and hagiography to which the general public was exposed. The ritual of the Mass and Eucharistic objects were often used for protection, despite certain church prohibitions, for the very reason that the Church taught that the power of the priests resided in the words and rituals they performed.

Divination and its forms

As with healing and protection, divinatory practices helped connect everyday life with the cosmic structure. They provided meaningful ways to cope with seemingly chance-driven events in a supposedly divinely ordered world. Divination does not necessarily mean predicting the future or laying out someone's destiny; rather it is most often a way to interpret signs and to make decisions as to a right course of action. Next to healing, divination is one of the most common realms of 'magical practices', yet one of the most emphatically rejected by Christian authorities, with or without the Christian components that in healing could shift a remedy from condemned magic into acceptable Christian practice.

'Divination operates on the principle that the microcosm and macrocosm are interlinked, that human experience and natural phenomenon are interconnected, one reflecting the other.' (Jolly, 2002: 53)

Astrology, divination by stars, or predictions based on lunar patterns were strenuously rejected by Christian teaching, partly on rationalist grounds that questioned how the stars or the moon could possibly influence human destinies. Nonetheless, despite these, condemnations, Christian calendars computing Easter, charting lunar cycles, or listing safe days for bloodletting easily came into use as divinatory devices, bringing along with them Christian texts and concepts. 'Divination continued to be one of the first and most frequently mentioned accusations of magic in laws, sermons, stories and historical accounts, indicating its endemic nature.' (Jolly, 2002: 54)

Divination from nature

Based on the proposition that the created world is orderly and that it is connected to human experience, a high proportion of divination looks to nature for answers and advice. An adept could 'read' messages in celestial patterns, weather, geological phenomena, plant life and the behaviour and anatomy of animals. Observations of nature and correlations of cause and effect are common to all human speculation and scientific inquiry. Unique disruptive events such as earthquakes, unusual tides or comets could be read in different ways, depending on the context. Plants, stones and animals could also reveal vital information.

Divination from Human Experience and Man-made Devices

Natural phenomenon can be read as omens of good or evil. Likewise, specific human experiences - a bird call, a dream, finding a horseshoe - can be interpreted as a sign. Stories of good-luck objects that a person finds (a halfpenny, a needle, or a horseshoe, for example) were, and are, common, despite attempts by the clergy to demonstrate their illogicality; usually such practices were condemned as *superstitio* rather than magic.

'More systematic forms for interpreting ones destiny relied on charts and numerical systems. Fortunes could also be read on palms (chiromancy), through numerological analysis of names (onomancy), in dreams (oneiro- mancy) or through talking heads.' (Jolly, 2002: 56-57)

These forms of divinatory practice increased in sophistication and use in the high and late Middle Ages in professional treatises. Treatises with charts and diagrams for interpreting individual experiences are closely related to other man-made divinatory devices for casting lots, such as dice and gemstones.

Occult Knowledge: Sorcery and Necromancy

Sorcery is one of the generic terms used to describe magic that relies on occult powers. Magicians or sorcerers who possess this knowledge provide their expert services to others, for such tasks as finding a thief, recovering lost property, or performing 'love magic'. Necromancy is a slightly more specialized term for magic that gains its power or knowledge from conjuring spirits, whether angels, demons or ghosts; the necromancer forces these spirits to perform amazing feats of transportation or illusion or to provide knowledge of the secrets of the universe. Stories of necromancy and sorcery, manuals containing spells and conjurations and persecution of known necromancers were on the rise from the thirteenth century, reaching a peak in the fifteenth century.

Occult knowledge is at the heart of the way magic is perceived as something 'other' and dangerous. The magician is one who has access to secret knowledge, often derived from ancient, foreign or supernatural sources.With sorcery in general, often the knowledge sought is specific information, such as finding a thief or lost property.

Magic spells that cause male impotence occurred with alarming frequency, along with remedies to undo them. Whether impotence was a common medical problem in medieval Europe is unknown, but most of the documented cases and stories attribute its cause to magic curses placed by jealous women.Magic to seduce is just as common. Positive views of love potions occur in romance literature, where they are a common motif.

Sorcery and necromancy were taken seriously, as evident in the prosecution of magicians, and yet the belief in and practice of conjuring spirits existed in the context of a Christian moral framework that often treated supernatural forces lightly, as motifs in an on-going moral and spiritual drama. This same view of magic is evident in the realm of entertainment.

Magic as Entertainment

Although entertainment may be a modern anachronism, some examples of illusory magic in the necromantic manuals and many of the stories of magic in Christian literature noted above seem to have entertainment as a secondary motive. In addition, magic with entertainment as a primary function occurred in two venues, the court and literature. In both cases, illusions were the focal point, involving deceiving or fooling the mind as a way of exploring ideas and human relationships.

In the sense that magic was illusory, a deception of the mind, magic acts could be considered an art performed for an audience. Most of the evidence comes from courtly entertainment, but the existence of popular entertainers travelling through towns and villages can certainly be posited; certainly we know of minstrels, acrobats, acting troupes and other performers who all, in a sense, create illusions in their performances. Sleight of hand, optical illusions, secret writing and making objects move mysteriously appear in late medieval manuals, along with other more mischievous tricks such as some of the illusions found in necromantic manuals and performed in courts. While magic at court thus had its dangerous side, it also has its light side in entertainment. Tricks as performed in illusory magic by their nature admit to deception and suggest a willing suspension of belief on the part of the audience.

Conclusions

Prophecy and divination, games of power, and love magic are common motifs carried through from Celtic, Scandinavian and Germanic lore into high medieval romance literature and the Arthurian tradition.

The European responses to other cultures bring us back to the definitional problem of magic and remind us that magic is a European construct, the product of a complex social, political and religious history. Two corollaries of this proposition best summarize this history. First, the application of the term 'magic' to other cultures and beliefs outside of Europe should be avoided. Second, an understanding of the evolution of the concept of magic in the Middle Ages is essential for understanding European culture.

Centuries ago, the inquisitors and witch-hunters who executed witches as servants of the Devil believed they were doing a service to God and humanity. They envisioned a society free of witchcraft, which they viewed as heresy, a scourge, an evil and a blight. They would be astonished today to find that Witchcraft—with a capital W—has become one of the fastest-growing religions in Western culture.

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An Indian Perspective on Localized Content for Children in a Globalized World

Neha Hooda
University of Debrecen

Abstract: In this paper I demonstrate how foreign made localized content finds acceptance in Indian television for children as it addresses the needs for infotainment, acquiring life skills and understanding the world; far better than content made in India does. Between September 2017 and September 2018, I studied the media content preferences of children in the age group of 8 to 13 years (201 girls and 249 boys) from urban middle-class homes of North India to understand the perspective of children on how their everyday life and understanding of life is shaped by the content they watch. A total of 196 programs were sampled. Interestingly, of the top five programs from this list, three are localized shows originally made in Japan. In this paper, I present a case study on one such program, Doraemon. The study points to a progressive environment of cross-cultural learning and assimilation due to the support of technology and new content distribution platforms like YouTube and Amazon Prime to name a few. Due to such changes, new content consumption patterns have emerged for children in India.

Keywords*:* Doraemon in India, Indian children, television and YouTube streaming, Japanese localized content

Background

The years post 2000 have seen a drastic change in telecommunication technology, internet growth, economic empowerment and media literacy. All these factors have been crucial in raising the bar for content being broadcasted for the audience of today. The growth of digital media has changed the definition of traditional screen entertainment. Television in the present world is not a mere hardware. The value of the software has become greater and has been adapted for broadcast on other platforms that are based on internet. This has changed the workings of content production and consumption process. The pace at which the content has to be generated has become faster. As of today, around the key program, several other kinds of audio-

visual and text based and often interactive content has to be generated in order to keep the audience interested in a program or a character. The need for archiving content and making it accessible over several platforms has risen. The time of consuming content has undergone a sea change due to a rigorous lifestyle and the possibility given by technology to access content at the tip of a finger. It is all these changes and more that have had a huge impact on the children's television segment just like other segments. Basis FICCI 2018 report, children's television segment has seen a steady growth of 4%. As noted by Valkenburg (2018), over the past few decades, media aimed specifically at children have developed at a staggering rate. Not only have the number of television channels for children multiplied, but also computer games and the Internet have become an increasingly important part of children's leisure activities (Valkenburg, 2008, p. 1).

Methods

I used methods of qualitative research including focus group interviews, expert interviews, questionnaire and content analysis. As a starting point, a questionnaire was administered to 201 girls and 249 boys from an urban school of north India in September 2017. The respondents were between ages of 8 to 13 years and belonged to middle income group where they had easy access to technology and media on a daily basis. Through the questionnaire, the popular program choices were listed. The responses included 196 (Table 1) programs that children watched. From this, the top 5 popular choices indicated the popularity of foreign made content that was distributed on television channels in India at a national level. The choice of programs ranged from animation, live action fiction to live action non- fiction. From the top 5 popular programs, animation made up for three places. Within the animation space, the most popular were shows like Doraemon, Shinchan and Pokemon. This result led to a deeper study of the story line of these shows. The stage of content analysis was followed by focus group interviews with a smaller group of children and expert interviews with producers and executives involved with production and distribution of such content on national platforms like television and internet enabled platforms. This research is ongoing, and interviews indicate the results derived from interactions with twenty children who are from the first group of 450 respondents are in the age group of 8- 13 years. The expert interviews include discussions with four senior industry professionals based in India who are involved with programming and production at prominent television channels with a global reach in the children's entertainment space.

Results and discussions

Some of the key questions that were focal to the discussion with children revolved around their media consumption habits, motivations for consuming media, the impact of media consumption on their lives and their views on quality of media content. All the children who were part of the focus group spoke about using media for more than 1.5 hrs per day and sometimes even longer. Media consumption was as much a part of their everyday life as was schooling. Children divided their day between school time and off school time. The off-school time was spent between attending academic coaching classes post schools (popularly known as tuition class), self-study, video searches on internet and watching television as a means of relaxing. They considered the programming format which constituted large and long number of advertisement-breaks as a hindrance to their media enjoyment experience. Another cause of concern was the kind of programming which they found was limited in case of television. These factors led them to use internet as a means of entertainment and media consumption. Another reason for a shift from traditional television to internet is the need for portability that children felt deeply. The small size of a mobile screen or that of a laptop makes it possible to access content at the convenience of the viewer as against the rigid schedule of the television broadcaster.

Figure 1. (Doraemon, Nobita, Shizuka, Suneo and Gian from the Japanese television series *Doraemon)*

Given such considerations, a program like Doraemon [Figure 1] which has a globalreach scores over several other programs. In the focus

group interview, children were asked what they appreciated about animation programs made in India and those which were acquired from other countries. Children felt the story line as seen in Japanese programs like Doraemon to be relatable. Though a story set in fantasy, the story of Doraemon, has characters and situations that the children could relate to easily. The story of Doraemon is that of a gadget-cat from the future that travels back in time to help a young boy called Nobita through various ordeals of everyday life. Nobita's character is that of a lazy child who does not want to study or finish any of his work till the last minute. Inevitably, Nobita looks at Doraemon from time to time in hope to get a device that would help him finish the task at hand. The other characters in the story include Shizuka, who is the only girl in the group; Gian and Suneo who are both friends of Nobita. All the children live in the same neighbor-hood but their life is far from the image of a happy carefree childhood. As the story unfolds, the characters find themselves in situations like bullying, peer pressure, academic pressure, parental expectations, questions of identity and strength of friendships, learning to accept new people in life, thoughts of running away from home and deciding on what would be the right thing to do. These were the situations that children found in their everyday life as well. Since they encounter such situations in real life, they can easily relate to the feelings and responses of the characters when they see something similar on screen. It is this commonality between the real life of children in the respondent group and that of the reel characters like Doraemon and Nobita that has led to appreciation of such a program. Programs made in India like Chota Bheem and Little Krishna have a similar set up where friends go about their day finding solutions much like in the localized shows like Doraemon. However, the plots are different. Such programs made in India rely on the folklore of being righteous and brave as seen in several mythological stories as well. This is the kind of portrayal that children from the focus group understood to be good and a positive impact however the relatability of a program like Doraemon was found to be higher. This was so as the themes that were discussed subtly in Doraemon were everyday life situations and were felt to be very real by children.

It is interesting to note that the character of Doraemon is over 40 years old andstill relatable to the current generation of children. It is at this point that the perspectives of experts on the content production and distribution side become immensely important for the discussion. To understand the relevance of such old content in today's world, it is important to understand the growth of television-based entertainment in the children's segment globally. Disney became a household name with focus on children at a time when the American society was going through

much trouble. Programs like Mickey Mouse came into being in the year 1928. It was in 1929 that Great Depression set in America and lasted until 1939. Prior to that there had seen World War I until 1918 and post Great Depression, there was World War II that lasted until 1945. In that troubled time, which saw many elders move from their homes to either join the war or look for employment, Disney program provided children with a sense of humor, adventure, fantasy and a happy ending. Götz et al. (2009) notes, fantasy is a powerful psychological process that enables human beings to create new ideas and concepts in their minds by building on existing ones.(Götz et al., 2009, p 3). The faiths in the possibility to achieve happy things and to build a perspective on life were the directions that children took from programs right from the start. Television filled the shoes of an adult who had to go missing from a child's life.

The framework of modern life is still similar to that of yesteryears, where theadults have to spend more time at work to cope with the pressures of modern-day life. This leads to a similar situation when children rely on media content as a means to find information, education, and entertainment. Themes of humor and fantasy are still relevant as they take children on a ride of positivity and help them aspire. The possibility to digitize and archive data over a long period of time makes it possible to re-run content that is as old as 40 years. The benefits of internet provide the possibility to access content at any point of time. This process makes it possible to keep certain programs in circulation and be reachable to audience through internet even if they may not be available on television any more. Since the framework of Indian society is modern yet traditional in terms of value systems, content which was made as long back as the 1970s, it is very acceptable to the Indian audience. The value system as reflected in these old stories is relevant to the Indian audience. This brings us to an understanding that stories do not become old or new. They are only relevant and relatable or not. If the societal framework changes more rapidly, then the story lines would have to change too to keep up with the needs of the audience. As such, it is important to understand the integration of a narrative in the society and culture of audience to be able to understand the possibility of its success. A particular narrative, if not relatable to a certain culture or society will not find acceptance no matter how new or old it may be. With access to feedback mechanisms, the audience of today is becoming a part of the content generation process. Since these feedback mechanisms are global in nature, it has become the need of the hour to generate content that is global. The concept of localization is moving towards globalization which is global yet local. The audience of today is not restricted by time or geography. As such it has become crucial to generate content that has a universal appeal. Much

like the spread of internet and technology has brought down geographical barriers to bring together a digital society; content must become relevant to this digital society just as much. This also points to the commonality of several global cultural phenomena that can be seen in and are reflected in media content being produced and consumed.

Conclusion

Stories that are universal in nature stand the test of time irrespective of the year of production. Children use media to acquire life skills that enable them to find their way in day to day life. Often times, learnings from media seem to fill the gap of the presence of an adults for the purpose of passing on virtues and life learnings. More importantly, the children of today question the use, validity and quality of content like never before. According to Grizzle (2014), the world is witnessing a huge shift in media and knowledge repositories explosion. The emergence of new forms of communication technologies has disrupted the traditional role of mass media and information institutions within development issues. New challenges and opportunities arise for intercultural dialogue due to the evolving global media systems. This shift does not imply a displacement of the so called *Fourth Estate* but rather an expansion of it into a *Fifth Estate*3 – giving greater agency and involvement to ordinary citizens. Digital communications are new tools for cultural expression as they enable citizens to participate more to shape new forms of cultural ties(Grizzle, 2014, p. 17).The interactivity as provided by internet makes it possible for the audince to build communities around their favourite shows and open up several discussions about various aspects of a program and it's character. Television channels make a note of this and use the platform of internet to build loyalty towards a program or character and connect with the audience on a regular basis. In today's time, merely advertisement revenue is not the sole consideration for content programming. Since content generation process is going through a positive change, the need for media literacy comes in sharp focus as well. Jenkins et. al(2009) state that a definition of twenty first century literacy offered by the New Media Consortium is the set of abilities and skills where aural, visual, and digital literacy overlap. These include the ability to understand the power of images and sounds, to recognize and use that power, to manipulate and transform digital media, to distribute them pervasively, and to easily adapt them to new forms (Jenkins et. al, 2009, p 28).The audience of today, even if they are children, are media litearate to some extent. They donot merely absorb content that comes their way. The question it before accepting it. Children of today like those from urban

middle class homes, who are also the target audience for most televison channels, have a far higher access to technology than before making their reach for information and connectivity global. This makes it necessary that for content to be successful, it must address needs of children and be universal in it's appeal. The universality here refers to aspects of feelings, emotions and understandings about the everyday life of a child living in these times.

Competing interests

Some of the views in the methods and discussion section have been given by experts who cannot be named yet as they are serving employees of global media 33companies and not authorized to make statements in their name. All the same, they have shared their valuable perspectives about the workings of the media industry in the children's entertainment segment that have made given a new dimension to the research project and this paper. A presentation based on this paper was made at the Asian Congress for Media & Communication, India Chapter's 2nd International Conference On Media & Communication in Sustainable Development Organized by the Centre for Journalism and Mass Communication, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, India from February 11-13, 2019.

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Table 1

Consolidated list of television programs watched by respondent group of 201 girls and 249 boys

Serial Number	Name of Program	Viewer Count (Girls &Boys)
1	Tarak Mehta Ka Oolta Chashma	145
2	Shinchan	129
3	Doraemon	110
4	Big Boss	75
5	Pokemon	70
6	Super Dancer	57
7	Kaun Banega Cororepati	37
8	CID	34
9	Tenali Rama	29
10	Splitsvilla	27
11	Man Vs Wild	25
12	The Kapil Sharma Show	24
13	Ninja Hatori	23
14	Chota Bheem	22
15	Dance India Dance	19
16	Barbie	17
17	Dance +	17
18	Dance Champion	17
19	Discovery	17
20	India's Next Top Model	17
21	Adat Se Majboor	15
22	Motu Patlu	15
23	Ben Ten	14
24	Bhabhiji Ghar Par Hain	14
25	Pawn Stars	13
26	Best Of Luck Niki	12
27	Oggy And The Cockroaches	12
28	Sofia The First	11
29	Voice India	11
30	Beyblade	10
31	Khatron Ke Khiladi	10
32	Roll No 21	10
33	Saregamapa	9
34	Baggage Battle	8
35	Brain Games	8
36	Omg, Yeh Mera India	8
37	Roadies	8
38	Spiderman	8
39	Counting Cars	7
40	Food Factory	7
41	Kya Haal Mr Panchal	7
42	Marvel Avengers	7
43	Namkaran	7

44	Crime Patrol	6
45	Dora	6
46	Friends	6
47	Science Of Stupid	6
48	Yeh Rishta Kya Kehlata Hai	6
49	Bheem	5
50	Kaal Bhairav Rahasya	5
51	Master Chef	5
52	Perman	5
53	Power Rangers	5
54	Teen Titans Go	5
55	Dance India Dance	4
56	Fear Files	4
57	Forged In Fire	4
58	Sajan Re Jhoot Mat Bolo	4
59	Savdhan India	4
60	Sos	4
61	Storage War	4
62	Wwe	4
63	100 News	3
64	Asia's Got Talent	3
65	Art Attack	3
66	Batman	3
67	Dragon Ball Z	3
68	Drama Company	3
69	Great Indian Laughter Challenge	3
70	How It's Made	3
71	Iron Man	3
72	Ishqbaaz	3
73	Krishna	3
74	Kundli Bhagya	3
75	Maha Kali	3
76	Nimki Mukhiya	3
77	Paap O Meter	3
78	River Monster	3
79	Yeh Un Dino Ki Baat Hai	3
80	Adalat	2
81	Baggage Battle	2
82	Chandrasnandani	2
83	Child Vs Man	2
84	Chimpu	2
85	Cricket Countdown	2
86	Dil Se Hai Dil Tak	2
87	Drop Out	2
88	Food Tech	2
89	Guru And Bhole	2
90	Haasil	2
91	India's Got Talent	2

92	Kumkum Bhagya	2
93	Lippu And Pitbull	2
94	Lipsing Battle	2
95	Mickey Mouse	2
96	Paw Petrol	2
97	Pepa Pig	2
98	Roadies	2
99	Shani	2
100	Shimmer And Shine	2
101	Shiva	2
102	Spy In The Jungle	2
103	Super Man	2
104	Tik Tak. Tal	2
105	Voice Kids	2
106	Yeh Hai Mohabatein	2
107	100% Veg	1
108	Agni Phera	1
109	Akbar Birbal	1
110	All About Cooking	1
111	America's Funniest Videos	1
112	Animal Kingdom	1
113	Ant	1
114	Arjun	1
115	Around The World	1
116	Astra Force	1
117	Austin And Ally	1
118	Bachelors Kitchen	1
119	Bado Bahu	1
120	Bal Veer	1
121	Bas Karo Henry	1
122	Behad	1
123	Beyond Magic	1
124	Bgt	1
125	Big Bang Theory	1
126	Big Cats	1
127	Bittu Bak Bak	1
128	Blue Planet	1
129	Chacha Bhatija	1
130	Charlie Chaplin	1
131	Cosmic Collisions	1
132	Dev	1
133	Dil Bole Oberoi	1
134	Don't Blame Your Dog	1
135	Dragon Ball Gt	1
136	Dragon Ball Super	1
137	Dual Survival	1
138	Dubai Diaries	1
139	Ellen Degeneres Show	1

140	Engineer This	1
141	Epic	1
142	Factomania	1
143	Fast & Loud	1
144	Follow The Blues	1
145	Gadget Man	1
146	Gadget Show	1
147	Ganesha	1
148	Hana Montana	1
149	Highway	1
150	Horried Henry	1
151	How The Universe Works	1
152	Ichapriya Nagin	1
153	Idaten Jump	1
154	India's Most Interesting Jobs	1
155	Jiji Maa	1
156	Larva	1
157	Laughter Challenge	1
158	Lego Ninjas	1
159	Little Suprise	1
160	Living Foodz	1
161	Master Chef	1
162	Mech X4	1
163	Mehak	1
164	Mere Sai	1
165	Mister Maker	1
166	Modern Marvels	1
167	Pakdam Pakdai	1
168	Primal Survival	1
169	Princess	1
170	Rising Star	1
171	Samdaamdand Bhed	1
172	Sasural Simar Ka	1
173	Shankar Jai Kishan 3 In 1	1
174	Shri Krishna Param Avtar	1
175	Slugterra	1
176	Speed And Loud	1
177	Star Wars	1
178	Strip The Cosmos	1
179	Supa Strikas	1
180	The Flash	1
181	Tiny House Nation	1
182	Tom And Jerry	1
183	Travelxp	1
184	Ultimate Spiderman	1
185	Ultra B	1
186	Universe	1
187	Vir	1

188	Vivo Pro Kabaddi	1
189	We Bear Bears	1
190	Wild Frank	1
191	Wizard Of Wavely Place	1
192	Wizard Wonder	1
193	Wwf	1
194	Yeh Dosti Shadi	1
195	Year Million	1
196	Zindagi Ki Mehak	1

The reception of *A Handful of Dust* in Spain and Romania

Cristina Zimbroianu
Autonomous University of Madrid
Technical University of Madrid

Abstract
The reception of Evelyn Waugh in Spain and Romania during the Francoist and communist regimes involves an extensive analysis of historical and social determinants. Therefore, the objective of this article is to examine one of Waugh's novel, *A Handful of Dust* (1934), to determine the reception of critics, publishing houses, translators and censors.

Key words: Waugh, reception, censorship, criticism.

Introduction

Arthur Evelyn St. John Waugh (1903-1966) was one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century known for his travel books, autobiographies and satires which denounce the follies of not only the British society but also of all those societies the author encountered as newspaper correspondent and officer during the Second World War. Some of his outstanding novels are *Decline and Fall* (1928), *Vile Bodies* (1930), *Black Mischief* (1932), *Scoop* (1933), *The Loved One* (1948), *A Handful of Dust* (1934), *Brideshead Revisited* (1945) and the war trilogy *The Sword of Honour*(1965) comprising three novels, *Men at Arms* (1952), *Officers and Gentlemen* (1955) and *Unconditional Surrender* (1961).In Spain, Waugh's wide oeuvre was studied in depth by scholars like Carlos Villar Florwho dedicated to Waugh countless works such as the doctoral dissertation *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (*The Characterization as Product and Process in Evelyn Waugh's Novels*) (1995), the monograph *Personaje y Caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (*Character and Characterization in Evelyn Waugh's novels*) (1996) as well as articles like "Damas vampiro y arribistas: Brideshead retorna a la pantalla" (2013) published in Fábula. In Romania, Ileana Oana Macari wrote the doctoral thesis *The Comic Mode in Evelyn Waugh's Fiction* (2002), which

studied the discourse analysis of the comic mode in Waugh's early novels (1928-1938), the literary aspects as well as the social and cultural context in which Waugh wrote. Nonetheless, neither Villar Flor nor Macari analysed the reception of Waugh's work during the Francoist and communist regimes. In Spain, Francisco Franco implemented a National-Catholic ideology with a severe censorship system while in Romania, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's as well as Nicolae Ceaușescu's regimes imposed the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which forced all cultural material to be submitted to the censorship apparatus. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to study the reception of one of Waugh's most famous novel, *A Handful of Dust*,from the point of view of censorship and literary criticism during the Francoist and communist dictatorships[1].

Methodology

The collection of data and the analytical methods of this research are largely informed by current examinations on reception theory. Of the many critical stands within reception studies, the model proposed by the German critic Hans Robert Jauss in the work *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (1982) will guide much of this research. Jauss introduces the concept of "horizon of expectations",which encloses readers' interpretative and evaluative responses (1982, p. 25). The horizons of readers change in the course of time and an evolving historical tradition develops critical interpretations and evaluations of a given literary work. This historical tradition of reception attends social, artistic and political determinants, which are essential for the study of Waugh's works in Spain and Romania. Therefore, in order to analyse the reception of *A Handful of Dust* in Spain and Romania, it should be studied the historical context in which this novel was received and the response of Spanish and Romanian critics.

Waugh's novels entered in Spain in a period when books were regulated by censorship laws implemented by the Francoist government to control the culture. *A Handful of Dust* was the first work of Waugh revised by the censors on 8 March 1943. This edition was regulated by the Law of Press of 1938 signed on 29 April at Burgos by the Minister of Interior, Ramón Serrano Suñer. The most relevant aspect of this law was the employment of prior censorship. The publishing houses were forced to submit to the censorship office two copies of the book they intended to

[1]The results of this investigation are enclosed in the doctoral thesis *The Reception of Evelyn Waugh in Spain and Romania* presented at the University of Alcalá , Spain in July, 2018.

put into circulation. Article 4 clarified that "without the prior permission of the Ministry, the selling and circulation of books was prohibited in national territory […] Publishers, booksellers or merchants who wish to sell such works must submit two copies to prior censorship"(own translation) (*Boletín Oficial de Estado*, 1938, p. 7036).

The publishing houses could put into circulation only those books that accomplished the conditions imposed by the regime and received a positive assessment from the censors. Therefore, during the first years of the Francoist dictatorship, the publishing houses had to fill up a form which included data about the address of the publishing house, the presentation of two copies of the book to prior censorship, the author, the title, the character of the book such as literary, documentary, artistic or infantile, political characteristics, number of pages and number of copies (File 1641/1943). All this information was introduced in the censors' report, which included some sections employed for the evaluation of the works they were reading such as: "literary and artistic value, documentary value, political reference, deletion in case of authorization and other observations"(own translation) (File 1641/1943). These sections changed around 1944 into three questions:

1. Does it attack the dogma and the morality?
2. Does it attack the institutions of the regime?
3. Does the book have literary and documentary value? (own translation)

(File 5554/44)

The Law of Press of 1938 was substituted by the Law of Press and Print of 1966. This law aimed at conferring the freedom of press and to the publishing houses by replacing prior censorship with voluntary consultation as mentioned in article 4 of the law (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3310). The main difference between these two consisted in the fact that the publishing houses were not forced to present their works to the censorship 3office, as they had the freedom to decide about submitting or not their material to voluntary consultation. In general terms, publishers preferred to practice the voluntary consultation, since they risked being punished through seizure in case the authorities discovered any material considered dangerous for the regime. Since 1945 approximately, censors' reports on books were more elaborated, as it included more questions, such as:

- Does it attack the dogma?
- The morality?
- The Church and its ministers?

- The regime and its institutions?
- The people that had collaborated and still collaborate with the regime?
- Do the censured paragraphs qualify the whole content of the work? (own translation) (Abellán, 1980, p. 19)

The questionnaire was maintained until 1977 when the law of 1966 was revoked. This set of questions was also applied to an Argentinian translation of *A Handful of Dust* which was submitted to voluntary consultation in 1972.

In Romania, censorship operated before and during the Soviet occupation while Gheorghiu-Dej (1952-1965) was leading the country until 1989 when Communist regime fell. The censorship institution that controlled culture since 1949 was *Direcţia Generală a Presei şi Tipăriturilor* (General Direction of Press and Print, GDPP), which followed the model of the Soviet institution the *Glavlit* founded in 1922 (Corobca, 2014, p. 85). This institution supervised the publishing and diffusion of any printed material as well as the import and export of books and newspapers (File 6/1951). In the early years of GDPP censors practiced two methods of text censuring. Part of the employees made a first revision of the material and granted printing authorization called "bun de tipar" (good for print). Another group of readers was responsible for the distribution of the material, which was approved through the stamp "bun de difuzat" (it can be distributed). Thus, in order to obtain positive authorization, all printed data had to first be stamped with "bun de tipar", and secondly with "bun de difuzat" (Corobca, 2014, p. 149). GDPP operated until 1975 when it was transformed into the Committee for Press and Print (CPP) (File10/1949).

General Direction of Press and Print created the basis of the Secret and Documentary Funds. As consequence of the decree-law number 364 of 2 May 1945, thousands of books published prior to 1944 were destroyed (*Monitorul Oficial*, 1945, p. 1). In 1949, the censorship institution GDPP studied the books selected for burning and issued some reports regarding the value of those worth being saved. Censors guarded many of them in the so called "documentary fund" located at the headquarters of GDPP or at the Library of the Romanian Academy, the oldest and the most valuable library in Romania founded in 1867, which holds the status of National Library. Precisely these saved books represented the basis of "the Secret Fund" (Corobca, 2014, p. 79). According to the instruction of book selection issued in 1950-1955 books were classified into three libraries: forbidden, documentary and open library. Those books published before 1914 were included in the open library.

Costea, Király, Radosav (1995) explained that books with anti-Marxist, chauvinist, and anti-Semite content were guarded in the documentary and secret libraries (pp. 260-261). The secret library also kept detective, pornographic, fascist books and translations from Anglo-American literature from 1920-1945. The documentary fund allocated "classics of philosophical literature and sciences when they were commented by authors whose work was forbidden, science books whose authors were war criminals or refugees and cosmopolitan works" (own translation)(As cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 260-261). Books of the Secret and Documentary funds were forbidden to the public. Only representative members of the regime could consult them. These books were signalled with letters "S" for "secret" and "D" for "documentary". Their registration cards were also marked with these two letters. Nowadays, many books and registration cards guarded at the Library of the Romanian Academy hold these two letters. Many letters had been erased, yet some cards still hold a perceivable print of the secret letters, "S" and "D". The books from the Secret and Documentary funds were returned to the public in 1990 after the fall of the communist regime.

Critical reception of *A Handful of Dust* during the Francoist dictatorship

A Handful of Dust was first mentioned by the Spanish press in 1944. The periodical *ABC* enumerated a series of novels considered best-sellers at the Feria nacional del libro (National Fair Book), which included *A Handful of Dust* translated as *Un puñado de polvo* published by Aymá. This brief reference to the novel was followed by more elaborated articles like the one written in 1949 by Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer[2].In "La novela católica en la Inglaterra actual" (The Catholic Novel in Contemporary England) published by the cultural magazine *Arbor*, Aguirre de Cárcer mentioned that his article may be the first introduction of Waugh to the Spanish public, and he provided a detailed analysis of Waugh's life and work (p.81). The fourth section of the article that Aguirre de Cárcer entitled "En la encrucijada" ("At the Crossroads") pointed at Waugh's transition to a more serious attitude regarding life. This serious attitude was transmitted in the novel *A Handful of Dust* where the "humoristic vein" continued to dominate without representing the "raw material" (p.

[2]Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer was an ambassador of Spain whose diplomatic career initiated in London in 1946. He was Spain's ambassador to countries like Belgium and the United States. During his career, Aguirre de Cárcer published a series of essays on international politics.

87). In the present section, Aguirre de Cárcer summarized the novel, which he considered

> A contemplation of a more serious attitude concerning the crisis of the contemporary society. A gaily mockery of such society was no longer acceptable, as such mockery would be transformed into pure laughter; thus, it is the time to condemn it openly in a clear language. However, the author had not granted any solution, but only an ash flavour and a handful of dust. (own translation, p. 88)

Later, in 1961, the journalist Carola Osete published in the magazine *Eidos: Revista de Investigación y Cultura,* one of the most representative articles dedicated to Waugh. It was entitled "Evelyn Waugh, un humorista serio" ("Evelyn Waugh, a Serious Humourist").Regarding Waugh's novels, Osete indicated that all of them were centred on the same problem: "the contrast between Great Britain with its past grandeur and post-war Great Britain, where a generation of snob youths were living as if they belonged to an absurd dream, from which they would wake up and discover a terrible reality" (own translation, p. 75). Evelyn Waugh was accused of being a snob for setting the action of his novels in high society. Osete claimed that Waugh indeed was a snob, on account that he knew very well this high society, which he realistically described in his novels and conceded it a human touch that sweetened it (p. 75). The journalist mentioned that in the post-war period, it was fashionable to write about the proletariat and about writers that were confronted with a sort of problem, nonetheless, Waugh was not in contact with such environments and for this reason he wrote about what he best knew: the aristocrats (p. 73).In the section "El escritor católico" ("The Catholic Writer"), Osete stated that Waugh's evolution involved three stages. In the first stage the humoristic tone prevailed. In the second, the humour become bitter and oriented toward misanthropy. Osete included in this stage *A Handful of Dust* "where loneliness is closely related to desperation" (p. 80). The last stage of Waugh's evolution represented the "search of God" (p. 80).

Critical reception of *A Handful of Dust* during the communist dictatorship

In Romania, during the communist period (1948-1989), the first references to *A Handful of Dust* dates from 1968. The scholar Virgil Nemoianu published the prologue of the novel *Decline and Fall* translated in Romanian as *Declin și prăbușire* (1968) by Petre Solomon.

This prologue was entitled "Negaţie şi afirmaţie la Evelyn Waugh" ("Negation and Affirmation of Evelyn Waugh") and it was divided into six sections.In the fourth section entitled "Universul apocaliptic" ("The Apocalyptic Universe"), Nemoianu discussed the nightmare and the apocalyptic aspects enclosed in Waugh's novels. The scholar noticed that "the horror and the tragedy were spread in a thin veil over all Waugh's work; a tragic conflict was never reached, yet, suddenly, a situation of nightmare arose. The comedy transformed into a mortal seriousness" (own translation, p. 15). According to Nemoianu, anger was more than sterile, as it turned back to chaos and anarchy. "A nightmare situation" was that of Tony Last in *A Handful of Dust*, as he was trapped in a jungle and taken by a mad man who forced him to read Dickens in loud voice. Nemoianu considered that Waugh's adversity was oriented toward chaos and anarchy, and the "solution" he offered was so vague and thin that could barely keep the action together (p.16).

Another work that analysed Waugh's oeuvre appeared in 1988 when the literary critic Silvian Iosifescu published *Trepte, (Steps)* a book dedicated to Diderot, Camil Petrescu, Evelyn Waugh, Thibaudet, Tudor Vianu and Radu Petrescu. The chapter dedicated to Waugh was divided into two sections: an untitled biographical section where Waugh was presented to the reader, and a second section entitled "Symbiosis" where Iosifescu focused on Waugh's novels. In this last section, Iosifescu conveyed an accurate analysis of some of Waugh's novels. Regarding *A Handful of Dust*, the critic focused on the "innocent characters" that became victims. He mentioned that the novel had bitter nuances, but still maintained a comical effect. According to Iosifescu, in the novel, Tony Last was as Penny feather, an innocent that became the victim of his wife Brenda, who betrayed him. Iosifescu described Brenda as a "modern parasite" who was easily conquered by Beaver's gossips (p. 43).

A Handful of Dust in Spain

A Handful of Dust was published in 1934 and studied "other sort of savage at home and the civilized man's helpless plight among them" as Waugh declared in the article "Fun-Fare" published in *Life* in 1946. Heath (1982) pointed out that if *Black Mischief* focused on general aspects of barbarism, *A Handful of Dust* studied a specific aspect of polite barbarism: the failure of marital relations in England (p. 104). In this novel, Waugh expressed his resentment at Evelyn Gardner's infidelity, and in the person of Tony Last, Waugh criticised himself for being so naïve and tolerant (Heath, 1982, p. 104). The novel tells the story of Tony Last who lives with his wife Brenda and his son John Andrew in the

"formerly one of the notable houses of the county", Hetton Abbey (Waugh, 2012, p. 36). Brenda detests the house and often travels to London where she meets her lover John Beaver. Her happiness does not last for long, as her son, John Andrew, dies. The grief of Andrew's death and Brenda's infidelity leads Tony to the Amazonas where he is retained by Mr. Todd, an illiterate man who forces Tony to constantly read Dickens aloud. He could never escape from the Amazonas for Mr. Todd refused to help him. In England, Brenda's relationship with Beaver finishes, and she remarries with Tony's friend Jock Grant-Menzies. Eventually, Tony is officially declared dead, as the monolith of local stone inscribed: "Anthony Last of Hetton Explorer Born at Hetton, 1902, died in Brazil, 1934" (p. 257).

The novel was fiercely criticised by the Catholic editor Ernest Oldmeadow. In a review published in *The Tablet*, Oldmeadow hoped that Waugh, after producing a "sequel which gave pain to Catholics", would change his style, yet he had not done so (Oldmeadow, 1934, p. 300). Nonetheless, the editor affirmed that *A Handful of Dust* had not comprised the "gross indecency and irreverence" which made *Black Mischief* "abominable" (p. 300). Oldmeadow believed that *A Handful of Dust* was not a good piece of satire, and Tony's struggle to liberate himself from Mr. Todd, the man who kept him prisoner in a tropical forest and forced him to read Dickens every day, was considered by the editor one of the cruellest scenes ever written by a novelist (p. 300). Oldmeadow suggested that Waugh should refrain from printing despicable books of which the novelist controlled the copyright (p. 300).

In Spain, *A Handful of Dust* passed through the censorship department on 8 March 1943, and in 1944 the novel was already considered a best-seller at the National Book Fair celebrated in Madrid. The publishing house Aymá presented the novel to censorship in order to obtain authorization for the publishing of 2,000 copies translated into Spanish as *Un puñado de polvo* by P. J. Eastaway in 1943. The censor's report on the novel revealed that *A Handful of Dust* did not enclose any political insinuations and it had "sufficient" artistic and literary value. The section of the report entitled "Other Observations" included a summary of the novel, which did not mention the infidelity of Brenda and her son's death. It only focused on Tony's contempt for the false social life in London as well as on the hypocritical and brutal habits of society, which forced Tony to travel to the primitive society of the forests and rivers of Brazil. The censor authorized the publishing of *A Handful of Dust* on 23 March 1943.

In 1957, the publishing house Hispano-americana requested authorization to import from Buenos Aires a translation of the novel as

Un puñado de polvo by Josefina Gaínza published by Emecé. The censor's report stated that the novel presented "the classical triangle accompanied by tea, cookies and the boredom of the London's clubs. Ah! The husband escaped to Africa to be eaten by lions, so that she could remarry afterward. The novel could be authorised" (own translation, File 546/57). This translation was authorised on 23 February 1957, and 250 copies were distributed.

In 1964, *A Handful of Dust* was presented again to censorship by the publishing house Aguilar in order to obtain authorization to introduce the novel in the collection *Obras Escogidas*. This collection had already been submitted to censorship in 1962, nonetheless, in 1964, Aguilar intended to also add *A Handful of Dust* and *Black Mischief*. The censor considered that *A Handful of Dust* translated *Un puñado de polvo* by Juan Gómez Casas had not censurable passages that could disqualify the novel, thus it could be authorised. In his report, the censor concluded that the novel narrated "the English habits based on an inconsequential matrimonial conflict" (File 6545/62). The novel was not published in 1964 in the collection *Obras escogidas*, but in 1966 in the collection *Novelas escogidas*. In 1967, Aguilar presented to the censorship department the deposit of the collection *Novelas escogidas*, which included also *A Handful of Dust*. The collection was positively assessed by the censor, who mentioned that "all the titles of the well-known English humourist can be authorised" (own translation, File 61/67). The report of antecedents of the file 61/67 reveals that *Un puñado de polvo* was registered in the file 51/64, nonetheless, this file could not be located. This section also states that *A Handful of Dust* and *Scoop* were authorised with erasure when included in the collection *Obras escogidas* in 1964 and 1962. However, the censors could not clarify to what novel this erasure belonged (File 61/67). The boxes 21/14290 and 21/17818, where the files of *Obras escogidas* and *Novelas escogidas* were guarded, do not include a report with the erasure that the censors were referring to. Even though, the collection *Obras escogidas* was not published, the collection *Novelas escogidas* proved to be successful, as 10,000 copies were sold (File 61/67).

In 1972, the publishing house Alianza presented to voluntary consultation the Argentinian translation of *A Handful of Dust* into *Un puñado de polvo* by Josefina Gaínza. Alianza included the translation in the collection "Paperback" and intended to publish 15,000 copies at 90 pesetas. The novel was not considered a threat for the Francoist regime, and the censor authorized its distribution. The censor highlighted that Waugh was a classic of the twentieth century, and his critical and

humorous work displayed wittiness, humour and critical sense (File 14508/72). He also considered that *A Handful of Dust* was Waugh's masterpiece, and lamented "the detestable" Argentinian translation that Alianza pretended to publish (File 14508/72).

The censorship files that analysed *A Handful of Dust* disclosed a positive reception in Spain, even though the basic theme of the novel was the failure of marriage caused by infidelity. Brenda's infidelity and bigamy as she was married both with Tony and his friend Jock Grant-Menzies, were not considered immoral by the Spanish Catholic censors. Probably, they believed that such immoralities would only be possible in England, and the Spanish readers would find them comical.

A Handful of Dust in Romania

A Handful of Dust was one of the novels revised by the Romanian censors. Unfortunately, a censorship file on this novel could not be located at The Romanian National Archives. Nonetheless, the censors' response regarding this work could be found at one of the most representative cultural institution, which is the Library of the Romanian Academy. This library guarded a translation of Nelly Mătăsaru entitled *Un pumn de ţărână* published by Forum in 1945.Mătăsaru was the first translator interested in Waugh. More information about this translator could not be found, nonetheless, her surname coincides with the surname of the translator Renée Annie Cassian-Mătăsaru, daughter of the Jewish translator of universal literature Iosif Cassian-Mătăsaru. Renée Annie Cassian-Mătăsaru worked under different pseudonyms, such as María Veniamin, since 1944, when she debuted as translator (Berca, 2014). After 1944, she continued to use more pseudonyms (Apostu, 2011, p. 184). She was a poet, journalist and university professor. In 1985 she travelled to the United States as a visiting professor at the New York University. While in New York, her friend Gheorghe Ursu, a poet who opposed the Ceaușescu government, was arrested by the Securitate. Among Ursu's documents, the Securitate found some unpublished poems by Cassian in which she satirized the Ceaușescu regime. Cassian could not return to Romania, and she was granted asylum in the United States, where she lived until 2014 when she passed away (Fox, 2014).

The translation of *A Handful of Dust* by Mătăsaru was not welcomed by the censors, as they requested the librarians to enclose the novel in the documentary fund. Librarians introduced into the documentary andsecret funds all the publications that the censors from GDPP ordered. The registration card of this translation was signed

with the letter "D" for documentary, and the book was perhaps returned to the public in 1990, after the fall of the communist regime.

Probably, censors might have applied two of the norms enclosed in the note regarding the instructions of book selections from libraries issued in the period 1950-55. The first norm stated that cosmopolitan books ought to be introduced in the documentary fund. The second pointed out that translations from the Anglo-American literature from 1920-1945 should be guarded in the secret fund (as cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 260-261).Being a translation from English literature, censors might have introduced it in the secret fund, nonetheless, they might also have considered it a cosmopolitan work, which portrayed a modern society where people could easily get a divorce and travel to Amazonia, like Tony Last, and they finally decided to keep it in the documentary fund.

Years later, in 1969, *A Handful of Dust* was translated again by Dan Hurmuzescu into *Un pumn de ţărână*. Hurmuzescu was not only a translator, but also a well-known writer of history books, such as *Socialist democracy: principles and political action in Romania* co-authored with Ioan Ceterchi and published in 1975 by Meridiane. The edition of 1969 of *A Handful of Dust* was included in a collection alongside *The Loved One* translated by Hurmuzescu into *Preaiubita* and published by Editura pentru Literatură. This publication seemed to have been approved by the censors, as these two translations were not introduced into the documentary or secret fund. The registration card and the first pages of the translation are not signed with the letter "D" for documentary nor "S" for secret. Probably, it was authorised because by 1969 when the novel was published, the derrusification process had already concluded, being sealed by the "Declaration of Independence" from the Soviet power issued in April 1964. The independence from the Soviet power increased the economic and cultural relationships with the West. Romania was allowed to join the PEN (The International Association of Poets, Essayists and Novelists), being initially declared anti-communist (Fischer,1989, p. 62). The fact that the communist regime was more permissive after gaining the autonomy from the URSS might have influenced the censors in their decision to approve the novel. Another factor that could have affected the censor's verdict was the Prague Spring in 1968, when Ceaușescu declared against the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia. In that period, Communism proved to be more flexible (Sandru, 2012, p. 67). Ceaușescu called for creative freedom, which involved exchanges of opinions and diversity of forms, and he impplied that Western and Romanian literature and art should replace the Soviet model (Fischer, 1982, p. 149). Ceaușescu also accentuated the need of ideological militance and pointed out his own view of instrumental

activity, meaning that artists have the responsability to support the socialist development (Fischer, 1984, p. 149). Thus, Ceaușescu allowed the contact with the Western literature, nonetheless "within the limits established by the party" (Fischer, 1984, p. 150).

Conclusion

The novel *A Handful of Dust* was judged by Spanish and Romanian critics as one of Waugh's best works. In Spain, Aguirre de Cárcer (1949) considered that in this novel, Waugh adopted a serious attitude regarding the crisis of the modern society. Furthermore, Osete (1961) believed that Waugh was a serious humourist and a snob. In Romania, Nemoianu (1968), like Aguirre de Cárcer and Osete, underlined that comedy transformed into terrible seriousness considering the difficult situation that Tony Last was forced to live. Moreover, Botez (1988) believed that Waugh was one of the greatest satirists of the twentieth century. She highlighted that the satire employed in *A Handful of Dust* was similar to that of Jonathan Swift. An important aspect of the reception of A *Handful of Dust* in Spain and Romania is the response of the censors. In Spain, the novel was positively assessed by the censors who believed that it described matrimonial problems without serious consequences. According to their reports it could be assumed that they interpreted the novel as a simple inoffensive comedy. Thus, censors authorised the publishing of the novel in 1943, 1957, 1964, 1967 and 1972. Nevertheless, in Romania, censors were not as permissive as in Spain. The lack of a censorship report makes difficult the investigation of the reception of *A Handful of Dust*. Nonetheless, the fact that the registration card of the novel was marked with the letter "D" shows that censors prohibited the edition of 1945, as it was introduced into the documentary fund. Some years later, in 1969, censors were more receptive and approved a translated edition by Dan Hurmuzescu. It should be mentioned that during the book purging period (1945-1948) uncountable books were destroyed, thus it is possible that among them could have been also other editions of *A Handful of Dust*. For further research on this topic, would be interesting to revise the registration cards guarded at the Libraries of the Romanian Academy located in other cities in Romania to determine whether the novel was introduced in the Special Fund.

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A Semiotic Analysis of the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign on Social Media

Blessing Datiri
Institute of English and American Studies,
University of Debrecen

Abstract: On the 14th April 2014, 276 schoolgirls were abducted from an all-girl government secondary school in Chibok, a small town in northeast Nigeria, by a deadly Islamist sect Boko Haram. The abusive attack birthed a gender campaign named "Bring Back Our Girls" which attracted global attention to the plight of children and women in conflict-prone regions of sub-Saharan Africa. The campaign's hashtag #BringBackOurGirls went viral on social media platforms Facebook, Twitter and YouTube etc, attracting millions of tweets, retweets and likes of iconic pictures following the girls' abduction. This paper analyses some of the most prominent of these pictures and related texts on social media. Using semiotic analysis, the paper assesses the symbolism of the pictures, describes the underlying meanings behind their accompanying messages and highlights how effective they were in the campaign's success. Numerous slogans were used to back the visual images used for the campaign. Such slogans include: 'Real men don't buy girls', 'Bring back our daughters', 'Never to be forgotten', 'Stop the blame game' and 'Bring back our girls'. These slogans were analysed based on structural semiotics from narrative, enunciative, figurative and pathemic concepts. The paper concludes by highlighting the utility of social media in advancing the objectives of activism.

Key words: semiotics, #BringBackourGirls, Boko Haram, social media

Introduction

This paper isdesigned to assess the socio-cultural semiotics signs presented in the #BringBackOurGirls campaign pictures posted on social media platforms (i.e. Twitter and Facebook). Key slogans used in the form of accompanying text or hashtags to the pictures are analysed in relation to the focal subject in the pictures.

On the night of 14 April2014, 276 female students were abducted from their dormitory at the Government Secondary School in Chibok, a

town in northeastern Nigeria. Reports indicate that the girls were final year students who were sitting for their GCE exams (Maxfield 2015: 1-2). The *Boko Haram*terrorist group claimed responsibility a few days after the operation (Sahara Reporters: 2014). Five years on over 112 girls are still being held captive in the terrorists' camp. About 43 girls escaped the night of the attack when they jumped out of the moving truck they were abducted in and ran away. Over the course of time, the Nigerian government was able to secure the release of almost a hundred girls. The attack on the schoolgirls was among a series of attacks the sect had carried out at the time. In previous attacks which they had targeted the army, police, prisons, foreign organizations, churches and schools. Earlier on the same day, the terrorist group had bombed a bus stop at Nyanya, a busy transportation route in Abuja, Nigeria's capital city, killing 75 and injuring over 200 other commuters (Chiluwa and Ifukor 2015: 268). According to the global Terrorism Index 2018, the Islamic State (operating in Syria and Iraq), the Taliban (operating in Afghanistan), Al-Shabaab (operating in Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania) and Boko Haram (operating in Nigeria) were responsible for over 10,632 deaths in 2017. The Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram formerly went by the name *Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād.* When translated, it means people committed to the teachings and propagation of Prophet Mohamed's philosophies and Jihad (Abdulmajeed 2013, 67-68). However, the terrorist sect swore allegiance to and became a member of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and now goes by the name Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA). Since the sect's emergence in northeast Nigeria in 2002, its operations have spread out to neighbouring countries including Chad, Cameroon, Mali and Niger (Bureau of Counter Terrorism, 2014).

Boko Haram, loosely translated, means Western education is forbidden. *Boko* (in Hausa, the main language spoken in northern Nigeria) refers primarily to 'Western education' and *Haram* (Arabic) means 'unlawful' or 'forbidden' (Newman 2013: 2). The sect's principal objectives are to topple the Nigerian government and any form of democratic institutions, considered a 'western' form of governance, and to establish an Islamic caliphate in the country. The sect opposes any activity deemed to have been inherited from western colonial powers. The Chibok abductions showed Boko Haram's commitment to this ideology which has total non-tolerance to western education, culture and influence, especially to equal educational opportunities for women and girls (Chiluwa and Ifukor, 2015: 268, Maiangwa and Agbiboa 2013: 381).

The #BringBackOurgirls campaign started as an extension of online activism that originated from tweets using that hashtag. Before the hashtag became viral, a former Nigerian minister of education Obi Ezekwesili led a

protest in Abuja demanding that the Nigerian government take immediate actions to rescue the abducted Chibok girls. A short while later the hashtag became trendy on Twitter and other social media platforms. Tomchak reporting for BBC (May 2014) stated that the aim of the campaign was to attract global attention to the plight of the girls. High profile celebrities and world leaders at the time joined the campaign to show their solidarity to the cause. Most campaign participants held a placard with hashtag inscriptions of 'Bring Back Our Girls', 'It could be my sister', 'Bring Back Our Daughters' and 'Real Men Don't Buy Girls' to mention a few. Then US secretary of state Hillary Clinton tweeted "Access to education is a basic right and an unconscionable reason to target innocent girls. We must stand up to terrorism. #BringBackOurGirls" (Tomchak 2014). Michelle Obama on7thMay 2014 tweeted a photo of herself holding a card reading "#BringBackOurGirls" and an accompanying post "our prayers are with the missing Nigerian girls and their families, it is time to #Bringbackourgirls". This was retweeted 75,457 times and had 97,311 likes. Similarly, the then UK Prime Minister David Cameron in May 2014 promised Britain "will do what we can do" to help find the kidnapped girls whilst holding a #BringBackOurGirlsbanner with CNN correspondent Christiane Amanpour. Cameron later tweeted "Proud to support # BringBackOurGirls" (BBC, 2014). The list of other notable celebrities that joined the online campaign ranged from Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai to television host Ellen DeGeneres. Male music and movie stars, such as Bradley Cooper, Antonio Banderas, Gerard Butler, Jamie Fox and Demi Moore held placards that read "Real Men Don't Buy Girls". Alicia Keys, Kelsey Grammar, Wesley Snipes, Sylvester Stallone, Ronda Rousey and Mel Gibson all held banners reading '#BringBackOurGirls'as part of the campaign. Within a month of the abduction, there were more than 2.3 million tweets and retweets of the hashtag. 27% of the tweets were from Nigeria, 11% from the UK and 44% from the United States. More women than men identified with the movement, 56% of related tweets were by females and 44% by men, in the early phase of the campaign (Tomchak 2014). The public awareness and global attention generated by the campaign mounted significant pressure on the Nigerian government to take action towards the girls' release.

Social Semiotics of Protest

Semiotics is the study of signs and symbols as a very crucial aspect of communication (Eco 1976 and Barthes 1964: 152). Eco (1976) opines that every aspect of cultural experience or phenomenon may be studied as a means of communication in a given culture. A sign then "implicitly"

becomes a "communicative device" between two human beings or a group of people, whereby the sender and the recipient understand the meaning based on codes and agreed sign systems (words, numbers, images, symbols and objects) (Eco 1976: 15). Nothing is a sign until it is interpreted to represent a symbol. Likewise, anything can be a sign as long as it is interpreted as 'signifying' (Pierce 1931: 58). Semiotics aims to unmask pieces of cultural material and decode underlying meanings by providing a reading of modern culture. As Barthes states;

> In any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images,gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all ofthese, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment:these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification.(Barthes, 1964: 9).

A sign has two parts, a *signifier* and the *signified* (De Saussure 1959). The former is presented as a sign's physical form (sound, written text or a picture) as divergent from its meaning. The signified appropriates the idea or a mental construct articulated by the sign rather than the actual object. The construction and use of codes enables the creation and understanding of denoted and connoted meaning. The denotative and connotative meaning of the signifier (who or what) represented communicates the semantic content of the signified (Barthes 1964). The signbecomes the interpretation of a whole that results from the association of the signifier and signified (De Saussure 1959). For a sign to exist, it must have both the signifier and the signified represented in the form of an *Icon* (resemblance) *Index* (not arbitrary but having a direct connection) or a *Symbol* (having a conventional oran arbitrary connection).

Social Semiotics aims to explain meaning making of a sign as a collective social practice. The focus of the construction of meaning shifts from the sign itself to the way people use semiotic resources in the production, assimilation and interpretation of cultural communication artefacts and events (Leeuwen 2005).

> social semiotics is itself also a practice, oriented to observation and analysis, to opening our eyes and ears and other senses for the richness andcomplexity of semiotic production and interpretation, and to social intervention, to the discovery of new semiotic resources and new ways of using existingsemiotic resources. (Leeuwen 2005:1)

Semiotic modes such as speech, written text, aural communication, music etc. shape individuals and their societies by creating new ideologies based

on social interest. De Saussure structures social semiotics in two terms *langue*(language)and *parole* (speaking). Language, which changes diachronically, comprises the abstract rules and conventions of a signifying structure for communication. The principles of language make *parole* (speaking and communication) possible. It is the concrete manifestation of the construction and use of language (Barthes 1964).

Social semiotics in this internet and social networking era discusses the process of studying signs and meaning-making through social networking interactions among others. The exchange of signs, texts, symbols, images and language allow internet users to communicate, interact and create meaning on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, etc. Social networking is interaction between internet users in a given virtual social space. Ever since the emergence of social media websites, billions of people around the globe each own at least one social networking account and have integrated the use of such platforms in their daily routine (Boyd and Ellison 2007: 210). The functions of social networks as web-based services are: firstly enabling the construction of a "public or semi-public profile"; secondly, promoting interaction among users who form or share a connection; and lastly, facilitating networking with others who share a link within the connection (Boyd and Ellison 2007:211). Signs are shared on social media with every interaction made between users. Based on Peirceansemiotics, of communication and creating meaning revolve round the signthe triad, object and interpretant.

Cattuto et al, (2007) link semiotics of social networking to a triad of Human, Machine (social networking) and Tag."Collaborative tagging has been quickly gaining ground because of its ability to recruit the activity of web users into effectively organizing and sharing large amounts of information" (Cattuto et al, 2007:1). The ability to reach a large population on the internet explains why a number of offline traditional activism embark on social media and internet activism to express their ideologies and activist objectives. This paper analyses why and how social media users took part in the #BringBackOurGirls campaign (which automatically made them internet protesters) by sharing semiotic material on the two major social media platforms Facebook and Twitter.

Methodology

This paper analyses only seven of the numerous pictures used online for the #BringBackOurGirls campaign to understand the socio-cultural underlying messages behind them and the slogans used for the campaign. The seven pictures were selected based on the total number of tweets and

retweets on Twitter and the number of likes, comments and shares on Facebook that they generated. First, I identify the signs in the images based on the obvious codes they conveyed. Secondly, I determine what the codes signify by exploring the signs in a socio-cultural context. The analysis is based on the following structural semiotic aspects: the narrative, figurative, enunciative and pathemic as presented in (Lorusso 2015: 51-65) structural semiotics method analysis. The *narrative*assesses the spoken and written account of the events behind the whole campaign presented in the signs as presumably told by the pictures. The *enunciative* analyses the articulation and declaration of the aims of the protest. This is seen through the slogans used and the accompanying text to the pictures studied. The *figurative* analyses the non-literal presentation in the forms of metaphors and other statements that give a connoted meaning. It also analyses the artistic meaning behind the pictures. Lastly *pathemic* analysis studies the semiotics behind 'pathos' relating to the emotions, sympathy and empathy drawn from the suffering of the injustice that led to the campaign.

Analysis

Figure1: Face of the Movement, From Twitter

This photo is the most frequently posted image of the campaign. It is estimated to have been posted, shared and retweeted over 920,000 times across Facebook and Twitter. The picture captures the essence of the whole campaign. The original photo was captured by American photojournalist Ami Vitale in 2011 during a project in Guinea Bissau. Ironically, the girl, subject of the picture, was neither Nigerian, nor was she among the kidnapped schoolgirls. (McCoy 2014).Despite the dismay and disappointment of Vitale in the use of the picture for the campaign, the picture emerged as an iconic symbol of the movement due to the internet culture of tweet, retweet, click, tag, like, comment and share.

Figure 1: Posted by *@BBCtrending* Twitter page

In figure 1, there are semantic codes, the easy to identify semiotic connotations (Barthes 1964). The use of the colour red (which is associated positively with life and negatively with horror, terror and danger) in the slogan #BringBackOurGirls captures the imagination. The girl has a tear drop rolling down her left cheek, conveying a gloomy facial expression gazing into the camera drawing attention to the text of the slogan right beneath her face. The slogan is an enigmatic code, a mystery to a first-time onlooker. The hashtag '#' at the beginning of the slogan is a cultural/referential code as netizens understand the social media culture of hashtag use. Relatable hashtags collectively make an impact on social media platforms hence giving a better perspective as to trendy global discussions and participation. This then gives a voice for everyday internet users to reach any part of the world and higher authorities such as the government, religious institutions, policymakers, marketing brands, celebrities, etc.

Figure 2: First Anniversary Abuja March, From Twitter

To mark the first anniversary of the abductions, there were protests in various parts of the world. A march was held in Abuja Nigeria marking the remembrance. As seen in Figure 2, the Abuja march was led by convener of the campaign Obi Ezekwesili (second from the right in the front row) and other pioneering members of the campaign group. At the time, 219 of the 276 abducted schoolgirls were still held in captivity. This picture was the most circulated one on social media on the day of the anniversary.

Figure 2: Posted by *@BBog_Nigeria* Twitter page

Notable signs and codes represented in the photo include four hermenutic codes; *#365DaysOn, #ChibokGirls, #BRING BACK OUR GIRLS* and the red tape covering the mouths of the protesters. These codes each have elements of mystery attached to their underlying

meanings. The red duct tape, and red clothes the protesters are wearing signify the desire for life amidst pain, danger and the government's seeming inability to 'hear' their voices. The banner in this images shows portraits of a few of the abducted girls. This, in combination with other symbols in the photo, leaves an observer intrigued to find out what comes next, both for the movement and for the girls. The suspense ensuing from the picture therefore represents a proairetic code.

Figure 3: Stop the Blame Game, From Twitter

Figure 3 is a photo taken at a separate protest held in Abuja, in the early days of the campaign. A woman, looking away from the camera holds a placard with an accompanying slogan urging all parties to focus on rescuing the girls rather than shifting blames for the unfortunate abductions.

Figure 3: Posted by *@BBOG_Nigeria* Twitter page

The inaction that followed the girls' kidnap led to the Nigerian government, the military, opposition parties and other actors pointing accusing fingers at one another rather than working collaboratively to rescue the girls. Circulated thousands of times on social media, this photo represented a powerful message that spurred better co-operation among the various stakeholder groups. The universally recognised stop sign on the placard is a symbol code that signifies the need to discontinue pointing accusing fingers and rather calls for assessing the situation at hand and forging ahead.

Figure 4: Sisters from Another Continent, From Facebook

Figure 4 is a picture taken during a march protest on Queen Street Auckland, New Zealand in the early days of the campaign in 2014. Placards used for the protest had different slogans but the focal slogan reads "it could be my sister". Feminism emphasizes cultural differences in the masculine and feminine genders. The qualities and traits women share based on their shared 'essence' promotes unity, solidarity and 'sisterhood'. This is a cultural code that can only be understood and

experienced if one is part of the culture. Irrespective of racial differences, schoolgirls around the world can relate to the plight of the Chibok girls. They are potentially all sisters.

Figure 4: Posted by *@bringbackourgirls* Facebook page

The protests around the world were inter-racial, exemplified by the image in Figure 4. Women and girls of different backgrounds walked down the streets chanting the same call for the freedom of women like the ones held in captivity.

Figure 5: Men Care Too, From Twitter

This photo was taken from the BBC twitter page posted in May 2014. However the slogan *Real Men don't buy girls* has a history that goes back earlier than the abduction of the girls. This was a social media campaign that came into existance in 2011. American actors Demi Moore and Ashton Kutcher started the real maign campaign with the aim of raising awareness on the exploitation and sex trafficking of girls. The campaign originally consisted of multimedia public service announcements and charity fund raising to fight against soliciting sexual activity as an 'unmanly' and 'weak' character trait.

Figure 5: Posted by *@BBCtrending* Twitter page

Being revived to foster objectives of the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, this slogan holds semantic codes behind the key layers of meaning. Firstly, men take pride in their dignity, in honouring women. Secondly men admonish other men to hold themselves to higher values alluded to by the celebrities who became faces of the campaign.

Figure 6: Unimaginable Tears, From Facebook

This image is a haunting artwork revealing semantic codes. The poster portrays the face of an innocent looking black girlchild, whose mouth is tightly shut by the right hand of an adult. It appears as if the adult were forcefully whisking the crying girl into the darkness of the picture's background. The tears, tinged with blood on both of the girl's lower eyelids, symbolise the pain, fear and suffering of a silenced child. The black background is a hermeneutic code which allows the mystery of the text to stand out, particularly because the fate the child remains unknown in a dark place.

Figure 6: Posted by *@bringbackourgirls* Facebook page

Also, the accompanying text to the image which reads "The tears they shed daily is (sic) unimaginable. Say a prayer for them today! #BringBackOurGirls" alludes to the condition of the girls' ongoing experience. It reminds the online activists that despite their involvement in the cause, they are unlikely to ever fathom the level of pain these girls have suffered.

Figure 7: Human Rights Violations, From Twitter

Figure 7 is a portrait with symbolic codes. The subject is a black girl with flowing tears on both sides of her cheeks, resulting from her pain and suffering. The subject has a distant gaze and a mournful demeanour,

representing semantic and proairetic codes that convey the girl's pains but instill suspense in the observer. The hermeneutic codes in the texts raise the fear the girl is likely to continue suffering from an unending chain of human rights violations.

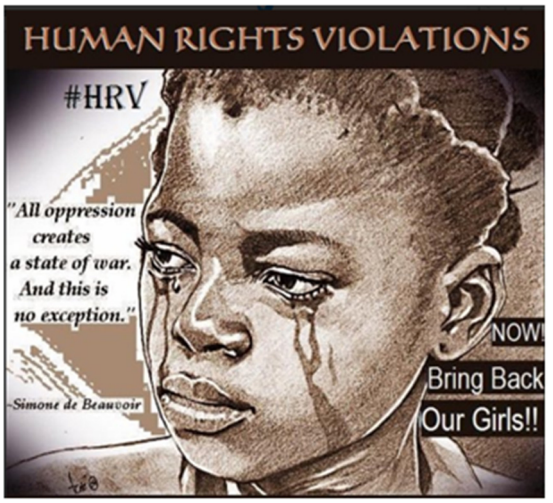

Figure 7: #BringBackOurGirls *@BBOG_Nigeria*

The title of the portait is *Human Rights Violations*, it automatically directs attention to the continual infringement on the Chibok girls' fundamental human rights. The accompanying texts, *"Now bring back our Girls!!"* in double exclamation marks, expresses the urgency of the demand and plea to rescue the girls immediately. The quote in the portait "*All oppression creates a state of war and this is no exception – Simone de Beauvoir"* warns of a need to uphold cultural values and norms in the society in order to forestall chaos and further conflict. In essence everyone has an innate right to the security of life and property which must be ensured by the government.

Anlyses based on the narrative, ennunciative, figurative and pathemic codes help to understand the campaign's semiotic stucture. The *narrative* of the campaign covers the entirety, from its history, key actors, actions to the outcomes. The signs, codes and symbols of the campaign from the seven analysed pictures illustrates the unconscionable suffering the girls endured over a long period of time in captivity at the terrorists' camp. The campaign imbibed the use of the possesive pronouns 'our'and 'my' in its various slogans. This signifies that participants of the campaign, both offline and online, associate themselves with the Chibok girls and identify with their plight. Texts such us 'bring back *our* girls', 'bring back *our* daughters' and 'it could be *my* sister' etc. express the

desire to see fellow human beings freed from bondage. Despite not being directly related to the girls, millions around the world felt a connection to their plight and considered them 'family'.The text in Figure 2 states *"#365DaysOn"* underscoring the length of time over which 200 girls were held. Five years on 112 are still missing amid uncertainty whether they are still alive.Questions arise over their current condition and state of mind. Activist organisations, prominent personalities and social media users played a significant role in prodding the Nigerian authorities to secure the release of the girls. The plurality of actors, geographically and demographically diverse, were united under the hash tag's voice, message and objective which was urging the release of the Chibok girls. The campaign's actions focused on emphasising the human right of every child. The girl child should be granted equal and safe access to education, one of the fundamental human rights. Since the campaign began, in different events, over 130 girls of the abducted girls have been reunited with their families.

The *pathemic*, *enunciative* and *figurative*aspects interrelate with the *narrative*aspect. The *pathemic*one analyses the emotional connection the pictures create. It explains the sympathy and empathy felt when one looks at the photos. The subjects in Figures 1 and 6 are directly looking into the camera with flowing tears depicting their pain, suffering, and sadness. In Figure 7, the subject has a distant tear-filled gaze of a different angle and looks lost in her thoughts. These semantic codes precipitate a desire to act to alleviate the girls' suffering. The facial expressions and gestures of actors in Figures 2, 3 and 5, frantic and serious looks, command attention to the message on their placards. Their gaze poses questions to the spectator, spurring further interest in the enunciative characteristics of the text. Enunciation revolves round the narrator, the declaration and the point of view of the debate. The texts declare the crux of the discourse. The slogan bring back our girls/ daughters can have two readings; first, an admonition and demand to Boko Haram to release the girls and secondly to clarion call to relevant authorities to reunite the girls with their family at all cost.

The *figurative* element comprises the rhetoric that uses words in a distinctive way hence creating new meaning. Metaphors do not have real existence but represent some elements of truth indicated in the statement. The text in Figure 7 *All oppression creates a state of war* does not imply that an actual war will escalate but it is a metaphorical reference to social disharmony and chaos that will accompany great acts of injustice like the abductions, particularly if no steps are taken urgently to redress them. Indeed, incidents like the Chibok abductions have fuelled a sense of injustice, frustration and rage in the general populace.

Conclusion

The Semiotic analysis of the protest from a socio-cultural perspective underscores how and why protests occur in society. In the #BringBackOurGirls case, both online and offline actions intertwine to draw attention to the movement's cause on a global scale. The use of images and texts by the campaign's participants holds lessons for both online and offline activism. Gender activism on the internet and social media platforms engenders unity, solidarity and a sense of common 'essence'. This suggests that feminist activism can tap into these shared experiences to advance its causes and attract attention to important issues facing women. From analyses in this paper, sisterhood represents the a collective struggle in the interest of promoting equality and justice for all women regardless of differences in race, social class or location.

One of the major benefits of social media protests is the ability to overcome geographical limitations and eye witnessing. There were offline protests around the world to mark the first anniversary of the Chibok kidnapping. The use of social media and the internet permitted the virtual public space to extend and create first hand such protests that happened on different continents. Protesters around the world posted pictures, videos, shared news stories, commented, tweeted and retweeted the protests through the connection of a hashtag. This created a semiotic socio-cultural meaning of solidarity, unity in diversity and the determination to free fellow humans from a situation where their fundamental rights are seemingly violated. The all-inclusive quality of social media permits users to be aware of injustice around the world and voice out their comments on social media platforms. The collective voice of the many tends to force those positions of authority to take action. Protesters and activists are therefore encouraged to leverage this quality of social media to achieve their goals.

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Feminist Taxonomies in Chick Lit: A Tale of Two Novels

Anemona Alb
University of Oradea

Abstract:A perusal of recent *chick lit* novels yields proof of a shift in terms of paradigms generated in gender studies, more specifically in the heremeneutics of 'chick lit', *i.e.* literature for young ladies. The rationale of this study is, Has the career woman, the upwardly-mobile woman of the 2000's been relegated to a position of paradoxical inferiority as compared to her blue-collar, menially-employed counterpart?

Keywords: taxonomy; chick lit; social roles; paraphernalia of power.

Introduction

The data I am looking at is extracted from two *chick lit* novels that, I argue, substantiate the claim above: Sophie Kinsella's *The Undomestic Goddess* (2005) and Janice Kaplan and Lynn Schnurnberger's *Mine Are Spectacular!* (2006). In both novels under scrutiny here the protagonists straddle both professional lives and the penumbral traditional, prescriptive housewife role they have relinquished.

Episteme and Praxis

In Kinsella's *The Undomestic Goddess* (2005), there are epistemological issues cropping up: what kind of knowledge matters in this day and age? Is it the white-collar professional's, perk-pampered city lawyer's - or the housekeeper's? Patriarchal modes of production are tackled here, whereby traditional feminine work, confined to the private sphere is underrated. Samantha, the City lawyer had not valued this kind of expertise before mishap came her way; it is when *hubris* begets mishap in her professional life that she considers a housekeeping position for a change in her career (she quits her job as an attorney due to *hubris* as regards her work and seeks a low-profile job, such as a housekeeping gig in suburbia, just you stay out of the way for a while). In her new job, she discovers new sites of power, more specifically the power of the competent housewife. One of her newly-

acquired friend's mother, a housekeeper herself, emerges as a guru of domestic expertise, setting out novel topographies of functionality of the kitchen and other staff quarters. Samantha feels inadequate as regards this new turf that she is not quite sanguine she can actually appropriate.

At the same end of the continuum, the protagonist of Kaplan and Schnurnberger's *Mine Are Spectacular!* (2006), Sara tries with gusto to put on a new hat: that of housewife, whose myriad functions include that of pleasing the spouse, being aesthetically there in a geisha-like manner, whilst keeping up an a-septic suburban habitat. She fails miserably in carrying out this uncanny *persona*, as this couple's life is irretrievably yuppie. Hence the romantic ploy she organizes at home ends up being a caricature of housewifery. The insecure, feeble first person narrative of her feat yields the precariousness of her endeavour. And so does the husband's non-committal, opaque stance:

> My plan has definitely made an impression on Bradford. But not the one I intended. I'm looking for romance and Bradford's figuring we need a new housekeeper. 'Have a hard day, sweetie?' I ask, trying to get things back on track. 'You bet', Bradford says. He turns around and finally notices me in my nightie. 'You're ready for bed', he says in surprise. He glances at the clock on the side table and then looks at me with concern. 'It's early. I'd figured we'd have a nice dinner, but are you feeling sick or something?' Sick is exactly what I'm feeling. And kind of stupid. I pulled out all the stops to make a perfect night, and instead I've made a perfect mess. 'I wanted tonight to be special.,' I say. 'Candles. Music. And the stuff on the stairs was rose petals. I picked them myself.' I flop down on my bed. Right now I feel so ridiculous I just want Bradford to go away. But instead he comes over and puts his arms around me, holding me tightly and massaging my shoulders. 'I'm so sorry,' he says, obviously feeling equally ridiculous. 'This is wonderful of you. I don't know what I was thinking. I guess my head was still at the office. (Kaplan and Scnurnberger 2006: 150)

In the vein of *bathos,* the rose petals she lays out for atmosphere are mistaken for dirt by the husband who remarks they need a new housekeeper. The entire topography of desire and romance that the wife is trying to set up turns out ot be a flop as the husband's mind, as he notes, is too much at the office. Yuppie-ism overrides all.

Ethnic Taxonomies

Taxonomic 'monstrosity', as it were, is instantiated in Kinsella's *The Undomestic Goddess* (2005) by the unlikelihood that an Englishwoman

should be a housekeeper when the menial labour market is populated with immigrants. Ergo not only does she transcend boundaries of class, but equally of race / ethnicity and hence he topples the statistical balance of class / race as co-terminous with labour force. In this regard she is a social freak. (for class see Joyce, 1996):

> " 'Where on earth did you find her?' says Petula to Trish in what she clearly imagines to be a discreet undertone. 'My girl is hopeless. Can't cook and doesn't understand a word I say.'
> 'She just applied out of the blue!' Trish murmurs back, still flushed.
> 'Cordon bleu! English! We couldn't believe it!'
> They both eye me as though I'm some rare animal with horns sprouting out of my head." (Kinsella, 2005: 114)

As the author is dead (see Barthes 1977 for the English version), the reader would expect to encounter a case of temporary, escapist transgressions of class, race and professional status with Samanth; or at least some open-endedness. Nevertheless, the author is epistemologically resuscitated and a believer in reversed economies of power, hence she has Samantha stay put in her professional *locus* as a housekeeper in the end. This, alongside the barbification (see the iconic Barbie Doll) of the new upwardly-mobile woman is yet another paradigmatic divergence from the working woman stereotype of effective femininity. As I pointed out before, her *social monstrosity, i.e. otherness/difference* in point both of the surprising, non-standard career choice and the unlikelihood of her taxonomic coordinates as a household hired help is what defines her as a protagonist, albeit her higher education. Samantha thus becomes a *taxonomic monster,* reveling in difference, or what I term a *social eunuch,* relinquishing all the perks, material and symbolic, of her previous position as a City lawyer charging 500 pounds sterling an hour. This is labelled 'lessness' and 'poor buoyancy' by Coupland (1991), terms he coined in his seminal work *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* and which denote phenomena that have come to undermine the tenets of consumerism.

Samantha's 'travesty' as a housemaid, shedding the paraphernalia of power typical of her job as a lawyer and embracing those of her newly-acquired status in her time off from the pressures of upward mobility, can arguably be decoded in the post-carnivalesque (see Bakhtin 1990; Irimia 1995), as a period of consumerist *fasting* as opposed to *feasting* , a voluntary asceticism both in terms of object bulimia and career greed.

Conclusion

As shown above, there is metamorphosis at work as regards the Woman of the 2000's, the paradigms she, in her myriad stances populates, irretrievably reversed as compared to their prescriptive mode.

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The Culture of Reading Books in *Words in Deep Blue* by Cath Crowley and *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society* by Mary Ann Shaffer and Annie Barrows

Irina-Ana Drobot
Technical University of Civil Engineering, Bucharest

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to analyse the culture of the book readers community in these two novels and the references to today's promotion of reading books and the culture of book bloggers and Facebook groups book lovers communities. The methodology applied will be cultural studies.

Keywords: Facebook reading groups; reading community; sharing; education.

Reading is nowadays being promoted as a hobby all over the world. The year 2019 has been called the Year of the Books in Romania. This is a political act, as the decree has been signed by Romania's president, Klaus Iohannis. The law project has in view the launching of a programme at national level, called "Romania Reads", having as a purpose the promotion of reading in schools. Reading should become a symbol of opportunities offered by education. The project "Romania Reads" will take place within school institutions and means the organizing of weekly meetings of pupils with volunteers (they can be parents, public personalities, journalists, etc.) where fragments from literary works are being read in view of encouraging reading. Reading culture is also promoted in Nigeria, due to the problems that are associated with a poor performance in schools due to low interest in reading. Another problem is the fact that public libraries are not functional (Yassar, Hamid 2018). Other challenges related to reading books as hobby and as means of educational development are digitalization of books and technology that has developed, such as e-readers, laptops, and tablets, as well as the focus on consumerism and entertainment that has been brought about by visual culture. Visual culture includes watching movies as a hobby and the current impact of images that are shared on Facebook with very little text. It seems that people give less and less time to thinking about something in a deep way. Perhaps, however, that the visual culture and the entertainment it offers has declined in popularity, or

has become insufficient, at least to some groups, who prefer the classical format of books. Facebook groups of passionate readers have emerged in the USA and Romania, where members share their opinions about the books they have read. They also organize book exchanges, gifts, as well as reading marathons focused on certain topics, such as who reads the highest number of pages, novels about Asian culture, young adult novels, and others. This is done with the purpose of increasing the number of books they read and to increasing motivation to finally read some books that have stayed a long while unread on their bookshelves. Book festivals such as Bookfest in various towns in Romania are also opportunities for book fans to connect with each other and to learn about book launches and newly published books.

In the novels *Words in Deep Blue* and *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*we notice the portrayal of reading communities, kept together through relationships of friendship and even love. In *Words in Deep Blue*, readers write letters, place them in books, and address them to those they love and even to those that they have never met. For the characters in this novel, books serve to draw parallels with experiences in the readers' own lives and with their own feelings. Books are associate with very personal experiences and emotions. Some letters get into dialogue with one another, others are never read. In *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*, we find the same very strong connection among people and the books they read. Juliet, in a world after World War II, wishes to get back to her hobbies and go on with her life. She starts corresponding with a member of a reading society on Guernsey island, a community where there are passionate book readers, who set up a club even during the German occupation. Reading and writing are an important part of the character's lives. Juliet refuses to marry a man who takes out her books off the shelves and places there his trophies instead, having no consideration for her books. Poetry is referred to as a way to seduce a lady:

> Ralph, he's a bragger when he drinks, and he said to all in the tavern, "Womenlike poetry. A soft word in their ears and they melt—a grease spot on the grass."That's no way to talk about a lady, and I knew right then he didn't want theWidow Hubert for her own self, the way I did. He wanted only her grazing landfor his cows. So I thought—If it's rhymes the Widow Hubert wants, I will findme some. (Shaffer and Barrows 2008: 52)

The fact that reading promotes empathy, an idea present in many online articles, such as the one by Chiaet (2013), is present in both novels

mentioned in this paper. Understanding others and relating better to them is one side of the benefits, as in both novels the empathy leads to the development of love stories among readers. The literary works are just means to use what other authors expressed before us. Poems and other literary works are used to share how characters feel about the ones they love. At certain times, when characters do not know how to put their feelings into words, they let authors express it for them:

> It was the poetry of Wilfred Owen. He was an officer in the First World War, and he knew what was what and called it by its right name. I was there, too, at Passchendaele, and I knew what he knew, but Icould never put it into words for myself. (Shaffer and Barrows 2008: 52)

Participating in book clubs in this novel allows for a better connection among characters, especially after a destructive event like World War II. After the war, people were willing to resume their lives, and their hobbies and socializing with the others. The same view on poetry, as being able to describe, understand, and help readers deal with their feelings, is expressed in *Words in Deep Blue*: "Sometimes science isn't enough. Sometimes you need the poets." (Crowley 2016: 244)

In *Words in Deep Blue*, the characters realize the power of the words and of stories. The power of words is to connect reader and author, as well as readers among themselves:

> Words matter, in fact. … If they were pointless, then they couldn't startrevolutions and they wouldn't change history. If they were just words, wewouldn't write songs or listen to them. We wouldn't beg to be read to askids. ...stories wouldn't have been around since before we could write. Wewouldn't have learned to write. ...people wouldn't fall in love because ofthem, feel bad because of them, ache because of them, and stop achingbecause of them (Crowley 2016: 210).

In the novel, Rachel tried to communicate with Henry through a letter left in a book to express his love for him. However, the letter was left unanswered as it was never read. Later, the two will resume communication with one another, especially helped by books. Everything for them is centered around books, reading and sharing experiences with the help of the books they read. They try to understand their own life experiences with the help of what other authors have felt and have left written: 'What's that wonderful Dickens line from *Great Expectations*?' Dad asks. 'The broken heart. You think you will die, but you just keep living, day after day after terrible day'. (Crowley 2016: 31)

In this way, readers no longer feel isolated with their own life experiences. They share them with those of some fictional characters. What is more, through books, a real reading community can be established: "Mostly people write to strangers who love the same books as them – and some stranger, somewhere, writes back." (Crowley 2016: 37) The reading culture and the reading communities help readers find other readers, and to communicate in a modern world where isolation is a main feature.

Isolation is a commonly found trope in Romantic lyric poetry, with the poet or more generally, the artist, feeling lonely in society. That is what prompts him to confess in the lyrical mode, in a similar way to the characters in the lyrical novel. Isolation is a theme that is dominant in much of Modernist literature. From this point of view, the reading communities, in the two novels studied in this paper and in the online environment, try to counteract the effects of loneliness in a much too developed and technologized world, and in a world that has been shattered by World War II in the novel about the Guernsey literary society. The characters in the two novels could be regarded in parallel with Romantic and modern heroes, who try to find themselves and who search for meaning in the world, due to outside events (World War II, the death of a brother, unfulfilled love) as well as the way these outside events interact with the characters' inner world. Another benefit or reading, leaving development of empathy aside, is the finding of solutions to one's own life problems. The intertextual reference to Dickens' novel in *Words in Deep Blue* alludes to this function of reading.

Reading communities have evolved from salons to cyberspace, as the title of the book edited by Sedo (2011), *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*. The book's chapters all suggest that "shared reading is both a social process and a social formation", and that there are "sociable forms of reading", through the study of "reading communities in salons, author-reader relationships, face-to-face book clubs, television programmes, online chat rooms, and formal reading programmes designed by cultural authors" (2011: 1). In the motto to the Introductory chapter (2011: 1), the two quotations suggest exactly what is going on in the two novels studied in this paper: "In reconstructing sociable forms of reading, book historians make one reader knowable to another." (Leah Price) and "Books cannot be understood apart from the society that creates them, and conversely, no literate society can be understood without some study of the book it produces." (Cathy N. Davidson). Fuller, Sedo and Squires (in Sedo, ed., 2011: 182) describe the relationships of publishing houses with book club readers, relationships which have in view the establishment of a stronger connection, as through reading

groups, they can promote books within the online reading community. Readers communicate with one another and share the pleasant or not experience with reading books. Publishing houses can have an occasion for better promotion in this way. After all, some famous bloggers in the online community receive free books from authors and publishing houses in order to get a review. Being so influential in the online community of reading groups, other readers who follow them will become curious to read the respective book. Fuller, Sedo and Squires (in Sedo, ed., 2011: 182) believe that "book clubs are the contemporary iteration of literary societies of previous centuries" and that "modern media and technology have converged to create and respond to imagined and real communities of readers."

Reading communities in the two novels have, in common, the passion for sharing the joys of reading with others, as well as sympathizing with previous authors who expressed what they feel at certain points in their lives. In the two novels, the characters try to promote reading as a hobby through their communities:

> That's what I love about reading: one tiny thing will interest you in a book, and that tiny thing will lead you onto another book, and another bit there will lead you onto a third book. It's geometrically progressive—all with no end in sight, and for no other reason than sheer enjoyment. (Shaffer and Barrows 2008: 10-11)

Reading becomes a lifestyle in the novel *Words in Deep Blue*:

> The Letter Library is a section of books that aren't for sale. Customers can read the books, but they can't take them home. The idea is that they can circle loved words or sentences on the pages. They can write notes in the margins. They can leave letters for people who've read and been there before them. (Crowley 2016: 22)

The readers' experiences referred to in *Words in Deep Blue* remind of Virginia Woolf's common reader. The common reader is self-taught and gets pleasure from the reading experience. Since what the characters in both novels read interferes deeply with their lives, we could say that they are all common readers:

> The Letter Library is a section of books that aren't for sale. Customers can read the books, but they can't take them home. The idea is that they can circle loved words or sentences on the pages. They can write notes in the margins. They can leave letters for people who've read and been there before them. (Crowley 2016: 22)

The experience of reading for pleasure is, after all, the one wished for when reading is promoted as a hobby through Facebook groups and through educational projects.

Reading communities could be defined as subcultures, as they are interesting for marginal groups, and these members create their own values, heroes, symbols, personalities, traditions and rituals, which are elements in any culture, as they are elements of "culture difference manifestations" (Baciu 2013: 6). Online reading communities such as Facebook groups have hashtag types of activities, which could be included as traditions and rituals, as they take place periodically and strengthen the bonds among the members. Among these activities we can include marathons, giveaways, posting what members have recently bought, what the book of the month is, and others. The values include reading as much as possible, and always discovering new and interesting books, as well as recommending what they enjoyed to other members. The personalities and heroes of the groups are those members that they take for example, such as those that read the most, those that have blogs and are the most active in the community.

Popular science articles in the online medium deal increasingly with the topic of promoting reading, by underlining its benefits, starting from entertainment and relieving stress to developing empathy, analytical skills, and imagination. The promotion of reading that is going on nowadays is also present in the novel *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*, under the form of writing articles to promote reading:

> In the meantime, the *Times* has asked me to write an article for the literary supplement. They want to address the practical, moral, and philosophical value of reading—spread out over three issues and by three different authors. I am to cover the philosophical side of the debate and so far my only thought is that reading keeps you from going gaga. You can see I need help. (Shaffer and Barrows 2008: 25)

The benefit of reading mentioned here is therapeutic. Reading is a way to get over your problems as a reader in your personal life. This is since you have access to an imagined dialogue with the author and with the other characters.

References to present-day reading culture are offered when the characters in *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*think about the role of the book clerk, as the questions he or she is asked reflect the situation in Facebook groups where members ask about the other members' opinion on various books:

> It was amazing to me then, and still is, that so many people who wander into bookshops don't really know what they're after—they only want to look around and hope to see a book that will strike their fancy. And then, being bright enough not to trust the publisher's blurb, they will ask the book clerk the three questions: What is it about? (2) Have you read it? (3) Was it any good?(Shaffer and Barrows 2008:14)

The recommendations then come from readers who have had a pleasant or not so pleasant experience with the book in comments. The Facebook comments and posts find their equivalent in the letters and notes exchanges by the readers in *Words in Deep Blue* and *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*. The two novels are very relevant to the contemporary reader's experience, if he or she is part of online reading groups that facilitate exchanges of all kinds, even through snail mail.

The possibilities of dialogue are always there in the reading experience, as we see in both novels, where characters exchange letters. The boundaries between reality (the readers' own lives) and fantasy (the fictional lives of characters) are very thin. We could say that both novels encourage the dialogic experience promoted by Bakhtin. This aspect can be related to the discussions on the nature of the novel:

> The Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin describes the novel as fundamentally polyphonic (multi-voiced) or dialogic rather than monological (single-voiced): the essence of the novel is its staging of different voices or discourses and, thus, of the clash of social perspectives and points of view. (Culler 2009: 119)

In both novels, *Words in Deep Blue* and *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*, we notice how readers interact with one another through letters and through their thoughts on the books that they read. The experiences of readers mingle with those of the writers and of fictional characters. Love experiences are understood and expressed better through references to poets or to some other novels.

The two novels help define the culture of reading as restricted to certain groups, since not everybody enjoys reading, but also as popular culture, as the tendency is to motivate people of all interests and of all social classes to read for their pleasure. The novels being read belong to both high culture and popular culture. The members of online reading groups are "common readers" in Virginia Woolf's terms, with no specialized studies, and who criticize and analyse the novels through the filter of their own personal experience and their own experience with

other books. They are not professional critics. In this way, access to reading as a hobby becomes accessible to all kinds of readers, not just to the elites, to critics with specialized studies and to those readers that only focus on high culture novels. In Williams' terms (1983: 237), Facebook reading groups focus on popular culture as "culture actually made by the people for themselves".The reaction has been against the dominant culture of people preferring to watch films instead of reading books, which had been itself a reaction against dominant tendencies of reading previously. If we focus on the promotion of reading books as hobby nowadays as a reaction against other forms of entertainment, then then reading culture can be defined as popular culture, in Bennett's terms (2009: 96):

> The field of popular culture is structured by the attempt of the ruling class to winhegemony and by forms of opposition to this endeavour. As such, it consists notsimply of an imposed mass culture that is coincident with dominant ideology, norsimply of spontaneously oppositional cultures, but is rather an area of negotiationbetween the two within which – in different particular types of popular culture – dominant, subordinate and oppositional cultural and ideological values and elementsare 'mixed' in different permutations.

However, from a reaction against other forms of entertainment, it tries to become a dominant form of passing one's free time and part of everyone's lifestyle. Reading is being promoted in schools to students as a promise to increase their vocabulary, life experience, empathy, and analytical skills. For now, though, the number of readers is quite low and efforts of promoting the benefits of reading are still in progress.The characters in the novels *Words in Deep Blue* and *The Guernsey Literary and Potato Peel Pie Society*reflect current tendencies of members of reading groups online: they meet online, share their feelings about books, and then they can meet in real life at book festivals and with the occasion of live group meetings.

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Disenchantment and Re-Enchantment in the Graphic Novel *Lullaby*

Daniel Nyikos
University of Szeged

Abstract
Western culture has long struggled with what has been identified as the loss of myth and enchantment. This paper deals with the rituals that once governed the subject's place in the signifying order have given way to a structure of profit and practicality. Even as this has occurred, however, there has been a parallel effort in many forms to recover what is imagined to have been thus lost. Writers such as Jean-François Lyotard and Jean Baudrillard have imagined ways in which the world may be re-enchanted by artistic practice.

Key words: graphic novel, anchantment, myth, artistic practice

Stories that engage with this longing for the lost myths of an imagined past endeavor to construct a new mythical subjectivity through their art. One of these is the graphic novel *Lullaby*, by Mike S. Miller and Hector Sevilla, published in 2005.

Borrowing the term from Schiller, Weber (1905) presents the argument that has formed the basis of the theory of disenchantment. Weber argues that what he calls the "spirit of capitalism" has replaced other spirits, from ghosts to the Holy Spirit, with the idea that the world is governed only by rationalistic forces. He plots an evolution of human thought that begins with naturalist thinking, in which magical forces are imagined to be an omnipresent and natural part of the world, such as when ancient people believed they could gain the power of the dead by consuming their flesh. This was succeeded by the symbolic stage, when symbols stood in for unreachable magic, such as the Communion wafer symbolizing the body of Christ. The third stage, the contemporary preference for rationalism, replaces enchantment completely with a system of ethics that values the labor for and acquiring of capital, stripping the world of magical thought.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) apply this model to what was happening in their world during the Second World War. In their view, the transition in the Enlightenment to rational thought disconnected subjects

from the power of myths. They associate this loss of myth with the rise of totalitarian states, seeing especially the Nazi-led German government as the end result of an ethical system of pure rationality. Charles Taylor (2007) builds on these ideas by demonstrating that, in what he calls our secular age, the sacral space has been separated from that of lived experience. By privileging the human mind and its contemplative function over the lived world accessed through the body, a representational system of cold rationality has made the world anthropocentric and logocentric, locating the human *cogito* at the center of the web of signifiers applied from the inside outwards, marginalizing non-rational and non-human signifiers.

Baudrillard (1981) offers the first window to how a literary work of art might open a space for myth in this rationalized age. He identifies that the shift from enchantment to rationality occurred when the sign replaced the symbol in language. It was by the sign objectifying the world that an opening for commodity fetishism was created, by introducing the notion of value for its own sake, which in turn made the accumulation of capital a desirable outcome. He writes that "the object becomes autonomous, intransitive, opaque, and so begins to signify the abolition of the relationship. Having become a sign object, it is no longer the mobile signifier of a lack between two beings; it is "of" and "from" the reified relation" (135). These points to the first of a possibility towards re-enchantment: that of de-objectifying the world, of reestablishing a relationship of symbols for the sake of exchange rather than accumulated value. This creates a connection whose goal is to mutually give and receive, rather than to gather and hoard, meaning.

Lyotard (1984) provides a way to specifically connect this to the production of a work of art. In his formulation, the role of art was once to provide a non-linguistic means for a community to cooperatively establish meaning. Through the mythical role of art, a society would form its conception of reality. In his words, art "had a religious function, it created good forms, some sort of myth, of a ritual, of a rhythm, a medium other than language through which the members of a society would communicate by participating in a same music, in a common substratum of meaning" (27). To reclaim what Lyotard calls the "religious function" of art is impossible, as the postmodern move has left meaning permanently fragmented. But there is possibility for what might be called postmodern re-enchantment, by extending the possibility of individual meaning-making through the employment of shared symbols within which fragmented myths may be bound. There is nowhere such a rich opportunity for the multifarious and intensely meaning-laden engagement with symbols as there is in fairy tales, which constitute one of the last common myths of the contemporary age.

This is consistent with what Anna Kérchy (2011) refers to as "'repeating' the fairy tale and fantasy traditions 'with a difference,' with the aim to playfully challenge the univocity of meanings and epistemic certainties" (iv). It is precisely through embracing the contradiction of the shared experience of fairy tales with a multitude of voices and interpretations that stories like the graphical novel *Lullaby* (2005) challenge the rational simplicity of concrete rationality. They re-enchant the imagination through stories rife with unstable, ambiguous, and incomplete meanings attached to the shared symbols of fairytales.

Such a possibility is referred to by Lyotard (1984), who refers to postmodern language-games that defy the rational, monovocal narrative that fragmented with the birth of postmodernism in the postwar era. In *Lullaby*, this reversal of the grand narrative is achieved through a clever inversion. The primary world, which mirrors consensus reality, is described as a fairy tale with a stable meaning, reflecting the rationalistic attempt to make stable meaning. The secondary world of Wonderland in which the story takes place constantly challenges the possibility of a place with such accessible and simple meanings. The very beginning of the graphic novel stages this inversion through juxtaposing a graphical sequence depicting Alice entering Wonderland with an unknown narrator describing a happy family in the primary world—"where fathers are heroes who keep you safe from harm and mothers nurture you and fill your life with love and happiness" (*Volume 1,* 3), both strands coming to a point as Alice is depicting, lost and alone, surrounded by the unknown secondary world with the words "there are no such things as fairy tales" (5).

The graphic novel's construction of a plurality of voices and modes of meaning-making is represented by the characters' repeated references to disparate and subjective modes of experiencing reality. At times, this takes the form of explicit construction of separate realities, such as when the Cheshire Cat reminds Alice of the unreality of fairy tales even as Alice demonstrates her subjective ability to construct reality through omission, and likewise when Alice immediately reminds the Cat, "Even you do not know everything, Cat" (13). As these characters experience the enchanted world, they all participate in subjective and individual meaning-making.

This practice is contrasted with the threat of literal disenchantment that forms the conflict of the extant volumes of the graphic novel. The villain, whose name and identity we never learn, writes names in a book to steal their power and remove their identity, which is directly identified with their magical nature. In order to gain this power, he intentionally locates himself in terms of known fairytale symbols, describing the force

of evil in the story as "a big, bad something" that turns out to be a book. Through the literal naming act of writing a name in this book, the antagonist is able to gain control of the enchanted nature of others, reducing them to signs rather than symbols in an echo of Baudrillard (1981). This renders them vulnerable to having their magic taken away from them, leaving them as mundane objects stripped of their identity (26). As their enchanted nature is thus directly identified with their subjectivity, characters' agency and self of self depends on enchantment. As the book explains to the villain, it has no power over her, as it does not know her name (90). Alice's ability to control her own signification through naming and re-naming herself throughout the two volumes is shown to be a source of strength and agency.

The function of the name in *Lullaby* is thus directly related to both the maintenance of enchantment and subjectivity. In *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime* (1994), Lyotard points to the role that the signifier plays in relation to reality and the imagination. The excess of meaning that exists in the imagination in connection with the signifier means that the imagination will always function with a superfluity of meaning in comparison to the object. As he puts it, "The object that is presented to reason in the phenomenon is never 'big' enough with respect to the object of its Idea, and for the imagination the latter is always too 'big' to be presentable" (233). In this excess is the possibility for a multiplicity of voices, agency through self-created and pluralistic meaning.

To shape their own identity and to gain agency in Wonderland, the characters—even the villains—come to each identify themselves as the protagonists of a story, and they connect this directly to their names. The fox calling himself Makoma, who steals this signifier from someone else, gains the narrative role of that character through this self-naming act. By taking the name of Makoma, he comes to control Makoma's magic bag, which gives him ever greater power over others. Alice, like the other characters, names herself and explicitly links this name to her identity, even though she does not know exactly what that is. At one point in the story, she declares "My name is Alice. Just... Alice" (*Volume 2,* 23), but later, having discovered the potential in symbols for agency as a means of enchantment, she declares, "names mean everything... and nothing. ... Today I stand behind another more important title, that of friend" (24). This act of self-naming appropriates the power of the symbol and leads Alice, re-enchanted, to the climax of that volume.

As previously mentioned, the unfinished nature of the book functions perfectly according to its re-enchanting properties. Some might say that this means the reader can finish it any way they like, but to do so would be to imagine univocal, shut system. *Lullaby* was left unfinished

after two volumes with its core questions unresolved, such as that of whether Alice would ever recover her memory of the primary world or return to it. In this incompleteness, the possibilities open and rhizomatic. The text defies the rational urge to impose a single meaning or interpretation, making itself a pluralistic grounds for mythical meaning-making.

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LANGUAGE AND TRANSLATION STUDIES. TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Fear of a Beta-Israel and a Kemant Girl in Jane Kurtz's *The Storyteller's Beads:* A Corpus-Based Analysis

Csillag Andrea
Debrecen Reformed Theological University

1. Introduction

The present paper[1] aims at investigating the language of fear presented in Jane Kurtz's (1998) *The Storyteller's Beads,* a novel written in English about two Ethiopian girls fleeing form their homeland through the Sudan to Israel. The novelty of the study lies in the fact that it discusses expressions describing the two girls' fear experiences throughout their story of a successful escape.

Traditionally, cognitive semantic investigations of the language of emotion are concerned with discussing independent phrases and sentences constituting emotion expressions of a number of different speakers. Often the corpora are built from expressions recorded in interviews with volunteers taking part in the research. Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (1990) and their followers focus on the analysis of conventional expressions (Kövecses 1990:43) to prove that the language of emotion just like all human cognition is pervaded by metaphor.

2. Theoretical background

Cognitive linguistic research has widely studied the language of emotion across a great many cultures and languages and has found that although individuals may have rather different emotional experiences the way they talk about these experiences has certain characteristic features in common. The features that are relevant to the present study are the following: (1) the language of emotion is pervaded by metaphor and metonymy, (2) sets of metaphors and metonymies depicting an emotion contribute to the concept of the emotion in question, (3) the concept of emotion comprises of a set of metaphors, a set of metonymies, a set of

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related concepts and a prototypical scenario (Kövecses 1990:40), (4) concepts of basic emotions show more similarities throughout cultures than concepts of non-basic emotions (Kövecses 1990).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that all human thinking takes advantage of the use of the cognitive mechanism called metaphor which enables us to understand one thing in terms of another. Lakoff and Turner (1989:xi) state that "metaphor is a matter of thought – all kinds of thought: thought about emotion, about society, about human character, about language, and about the nature of life and death. It is indispensable not only to our imagination but also to our reason." Lakoff (1987) shows that the language of anger is also rich in metaphors, moreover, he demonstrates that there is another conceptual mechanism, metonymy instantiated extensively among anger expressions. Kövecses (1990) investigates the language of anger, fear, pride, respect and romantic love, and finds that all the emotions under scrutiny are described by linguistic expressions of certain metaphors and metonymies.

Lakoff's (1987) and Kövecses's (1990, 2000) studies prove that emotions are conceptualized by a number of different metaphors and metonymies, some of which are more generic than some others, which means that they conceptualize more than one emotion. For instance, the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS is a generic level metaphor having specific level versions like ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, e.g.*He was filled with anger*, ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, e.g. *You make my blood boil* (Kövecses 1990:53), or FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, e.g. *Fear was rising in him* (Kövecses 1990:75), etc. Another important thing Kövecses has found is that certain metaphors are more central to the emotion concept in question than certain other metaphors, which entails that they are more elaborated than less central members of the system of metaphors conceptualizing an emotion. For example, the metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER does not only have a relatively large number of linguistic expressions to instantiate it, e.g. *Simmer down! I have reached the boiling point. Let him stew* (Kövecses 1990:53) but also "a rich system of metaphorical entailments" capturing our extensive knowledge of the source domain of hot fluids. We know from our everyday experience that when we heat fluids, they come to a boil, when a fluid starts to boil, the level of the fluid rises in the container, soonitstarts to produce steam, etc. These bits of knowledge give rise to the following entailments: WHEN THE INTENSITY OF ANGER INCREASES, THE FLUID RISES instantiated by *His pent-up anger welled up inside him*; INTENSE ANGER PRODUCES STEAM instantiated by *She got all steamed up*(Kövecses 1990:54), etc.

Studying emotion we also notice that emotions do not stand alone as if they were discrete entities but, on the contrary, they are often mixed or intertwined therefore one emotion concept may easily be related to another emotion concept. For example, happiness is related to love or romantic love and we say things like*I am happy with you* thinking of the person we are in love with.

The concept of emotion includes a scenario (in other words, a cognitive model) describing the way in which the emotion in question comes about, exists for some time and ceases to exist. The scenario covers at the same time the temporal and causal dimensions of the event structure of an emotion. Kövecses (1990) claims that a prototypical scenario of an emotion contains five stages: (1) triggering event, (2) emotion exits, (3) attempt at control, (4) loss of control, (5) action (Kövecses 1990:184-185). In relation to fear the scenario consists of the following stages: (1) danger, (2) fear exists, (3) attempt at control, (4) loss of control, (5) flight (Kövecses 1990:79). The stages summarize the course of eventsin which one gets into a dangerous situation, the danger produces fear in the person, who experiences certain physiological effects and exhibits certain behavioural reactions, however, the person attempts to control his fear and not display it but finally he/she loses control over his/her fear and flees from the danger.

The plot of Jane Kurtz's novel may be viewed as a metaphor exhibiting the prototypical scenario of fear:there is a series of war events in Ethiopia,Sahay and Rahel experience a lot of fear, they try to control and overcome their fear, they practically lose control over their fear andfinally they manage to escape from Ethiopia to Israel.(Rahel, the Beta-Israel girl uses the stories she learnt from her grandmother to keep her and especially Sahay's, the Kemant girl's as well as other people'sfear under control.)

In psychological literature there is a distinction made between basic and non-basic emotions. Researchers do not agree on the number and list of emotions that are to be considered as basic. For example, Ekman et al. (1972) identifysix emotions (anger, love, hate, sadness, disgust/interest and surprise) as basic, while Plutchik and Kellerman (1980) identify eight emotions (anger, fear, joy, sadness, surprise, anticipation, trust and disgust) as basic. Ekman claims that the six basic emotions are accompanied by universal facial expressions, while Plutchik arranges the eight basic emotions into opposing pairs. As can be seen there are some overlapping emotions in the two lists, but it may be surprising that 'love' is not included in Plutchik's list. The reason is that in Plutchik's theory other (non-basic) emotions are combinations of basic emotions, thus love is a combination of 'joy' and 'trust' and further emotions are combinations of basic and/or non-basic emotions. It is also important that basic emotions are not only

characterized by universal (or near-universal) facial expressions but also by universal (or near-universal) physiological and behavioural reactions. The reactions make us ready to act in one way or another that is useful for the individual experiencing an emotion (Burton 2015), in other words they make us able to cope with situations that we are involved in.The events and reactions related to basic emotions constitute scenarios that are rather similar throughout cultures (cf. Kövecses, 1990).

Kövecses (1990:69-87) gives a very detailed analysis of fear metonymies and metaphors. The metonymies mainly conceptualize physiological effects and behavioural reactions of fear, which according to the metonymic principle stand for fear. Based on his American English corpus Kövecses identifies the following metonymies: PHYSICAL AGITATION, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, DRYNESS IN THE MOUTH, ABSENCE OF BLOOD IN THE FACE, NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH, SWEATING, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE, SKIN SHRINKS, (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS/BLADDER, FLIGHT, WAYS OF LOOKING STAND FOR FEAR. Kövecses claims that the metaphors (and their entailments) conceptualize a number of other phenomena related to fear, often the cause, the attempt at control and the loss of control as well as the flight aspect of fear, which capture stages in the fear scenario and thus focus on the unfolding of the events. He identifies the metaphors FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR, FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, FEAR IS AN OPPONENT, FEAR IS A BURDEN, FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE, FEAR IS A SUPERIOR.

Kövecses (2000:23) gives a somewhat different list of metaphors: FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR, FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING, FEAR IS AN ILLNESS, FEAR IS INSANITY, THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF, FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE, FEAR IS A BURDEN, FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE, FEAR IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR, however, his examples are practically the same as in his 1990 analysis. In a previous study, "Object and Other Metaphors in English 'Fear'Quotations" (Csillag 2018:248-249) I gave a detailed account of the differences between Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 lists 3333and I agreed with Stefanowitsch (2006:78-79) that the metaphors FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, FEAR IS A TORMENTOR, and FEAR IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE may be subsumed under FEAR IS AN ENEMY.Contrary to Stefanowitsch(2006) I suggested that the metaphors FEAR IS AN ILLNESS and FEAR IS INSANITY maybe subsumed under FEAR IS AN ILLNESS since insanity is a kind of illness,

and the term denotes some form of mental disorder.Furthermore, analyzing the language of fear on the internet site www.searchquotes.com/fear I demonstrated that fear has several other conceptualizations such as FEAR IS AN OBJECT, FEAR IS AN OBSTACLE, FEAR IS A POWER OVER THE SELF (which are not accounted for in Kövecses's studies) beside the very central metaphors FEAR IS A CONTAINER FOR THE SELF and FEAR IS AN ENEMY. It is interesting to note that based on his corpus Stefanowitsch (2006:80), too, identifies three metaphors that are not covered in Kövecses's research, namely FEAR IS A HEAVY OBJECT, FEAR IS METAL, FEAR IS A SLEEPING ORGANISM.

The studies I have referred to above are concerned with the metonymic and metaphoric conceptualization of fear in the English language and prove that research into the language of fear may result in discovering further metonymies or metaphors even in English depending on the corpus under investigation. Esenova (2011) claims that fear cannot only be conceptualized as a fluid in a container but also as a substance, for example *Her headwas full of fears* instantiating the metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (Esenova 2011:73). It must be noted that the container in this linguistic expression of fear is not the heart or the body but the head, however, Esenovaherself exemplifies the heart as a container for fear, e.g.: *cold fear filled every heart* (Esenova 2011:74).Rewis and Łetkowska (2015) investigate fear metaphors in television commercials and find that visual images often manifest the metaphor FEAR IS A DANGEROUS/HOSTILE ENTITY, which is metonymically linked to Kövecses's master metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (Rewis-Łetkowska 2015:384; Kövecses 2000:62).

Studies of emotion vocabulary of different languages may shed light on culture-specific peculiarities of a number of emotion concepts of different nations (see for example Apresjan and Apresjan, 1993;Levontina and Zalizniak, 2001;Pinelli, 2017;Rewis-Łetkowska, 2015;Sharma, 2017; Wierzbicka, 1996; Yu, 1995). In relation to fear Pinelli finds that the metonymy TREMBLE STANDS FOR FEAR has a number of instantiations both in Italian and Russian, e.g. "*Anzitremotuttoperché mi sembra di vederlo in pericolo*. (albertomelis.it) ('Actually I am whole trembling because it seems to me he is in danger.') and *No onastalabojat'sjadrugogo - boitsjavrača(...). No ničegosdelat' ne možem: drožit, bledneetdevočka, stoitejtol'kouvidet' Ol'guPetrovnu.* (nachideti.ru) ('But she started to fear something else - she is afraid of visiting a doctor (…). But we cannot do anything: the girl trembles, turns pale, whenever she sees Olga Petrovna (doctor)')" (Pinelli 2017:287-288), respectively. As a speaker of Hungarian I can add that the same metonymy is instantiated in *reszket, mint a nyárfalevél*("she is trembling like an aspen leaf"). Pinelli

also claims that the metaphor HEART IS THE SITE OF EMOTIONS is used to conceptualize fear in both Italian and Russian, however, it is only in Russian that fear can be seated in both the *heart* and the *duša* ('soul'), e.g. *u menjaserdce v pjatkiušlo* ('my heart went to the heel' = my heart sank) and *u menjaduša v pjatkiušla*('the soul went to the heel' = my soul sank), which shows that the concept of duša"is a highly culture specific concept in Russian and there is no exact equivalent in Italian" (Pinelli 2017:293-294). The two concepts differ in that the heart is seen as a body organ and the seat of emotionWierzbicka (1992, 48), whereas the soul is "a language specific concept referring to »a person's spiritual, moral and emotional core and as an internal theatre where a person's moral and emotional life goes on«" (Wierzbicka 1997, 3; cited by Pinelli 2017:293).

3. My corpus, hypotheses, research questions

I have built my corpus of40fear expressions (32 expressions used to refer to fear figuratively, 3 phrases of threat and 5 non-figurative expressions of fear) taken from Jane Kurtz's *The Storyteller's Beads*, a novel written in English about two girls who are forced to leave their Ethiopian homeland in the mid-1980s due to certain political events. Sahay is a Christian girlof Kemantorigin and Rahel is anEthiopian Jewish girl of Beta-Israel origin. The two girls are brought up in their own caring and loving families and are taught not to mix with people belonging to ethnic or religious groups different from their own(because they are their enemies).Kemantscall strangers like Beta-Israel people *Falasha* and think that the Beta-Isreal are *buda,* who cause them misfortune.Kemants areeventrained not to look at the*buda* because they are possessed of the evil eye. Both girls join a group of refugees and try to leave Ethiopia through the Sudan. At one point the two girls meet and after some time they start to support each other during their exhausting and troublesome journey. They start to accept each other more and more until they decide to be *mahala* sisters, that is, sisters by choice (rather than by birth).

As we have seen above fear is considered a universal basic emotion, which means that facial expressions, physiological and behavioural reactions characteristic of the emotion are practically the same or very similar throughout different cultures all over the world. Cognitive linguistic research has shown that metonymies usually conceptualize observable physiological changes and behavioural reactions, while metaphors generally conceptualize non-observable subjective experiences (Wierzbicka 1999). Therefore, I hypothesize that the metonymies depicting the two girls' physiology and behaviour will be very similar to each other, on the one hand, and, on the other, very similar to what metonymies of fear

in other languages capture. Metaphors of fear describing Rahel's and Sahay's more subjective inner experiences, on the contrary, may be rather different partly because they are two independent individuals and partly because they belong to two different cultural backgrounds and are socialized in two different ways. Furthermore, I hypothesize that Jane Kurtz, the author of the novel, who has lived in Ethiopia most of her life (since the age of two) has all the necessary competences to describe the peculiarities of the two girls' emotion experiences as well as the characteristic details of their social and cultural backgrounds.

My research questions are:

(a) What metonymies can be identified in the novel?
(b) What metaphors can be identified in the novel?
(c) Are the same metonymies and metaphors instantiated to refer to the Kemant and the Beta-Israel girl's fear?
(d) Are the same metonymies and metaphors exemplified in the novel as in Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 analyses?
(e) What are the differences, if any, between the Ethiopian and the English concepts of fear?

During my investigation I have selected all the expressions referring to fear experiences in the novel and identified which metonymies and metaphors they are instantiations of. I have put the expressions of threat into a separate group and studied their symbolism. (I have also found a small number of literal expressions: *be scared, ask nervously, be afraid of somebody/something, see something with horror*, which are outside the scope of the present study.)

4. Discussion

(a) What metonymies can be identified in the novel?

In the novel I have found instantiations of 7 metonymies having the structure PHYSIOLOGICAL/BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS STANDFOR FEAR. I list the metonymies and their instantiations below. (I use *S* for Sahay and *R* for Rahel to mark which girl is described or referred to in the example.)

(1) DISCOMFORT IN THE STOMACH STANDS FOR FEAR

The pounding of bare feet made her stomach chew on itself with fright.– S
"My stomach is aching with fear that we will have nothing to eat,"– R
Rahel felt as if she had swallowed one of the clay pots.– R (NB.: Rahel's family makes their living by making and selling pottery.)

Rahel's stomach twisted. – R
The caution there made her stomach jump with fear.– S
…whenever she (=Sahay) closed her eyes, fear churned her stomach.– S
These paths down the cliffs, where you tell me, 'Hug the rock, hug the rock,' make my stomach swoop in to my mouth." – R

Among the seven instantiations of the metonymy DISCOMFORT IN THE STOMACH STANDS FOR FEAR six highlight the *stomach*, while there is one example, in which the image is understood or implicitly referred to through the image of swallowing. In the last example the image of mouth appears next to stomach to describe an obviously very uncomfortable experience of the digestive organs.

(2) SHIVERING STANDS FOR FEAR

Her fingers shook on the straps she knew so well. – S
Then, from out of the darkness, came the oop-oop-oop of a hyena. Sahay shivered and dropped the food she was eating.– S
Sahay's insides began to beat so loudly in her ears that she felt as if she must be running, too. – S
Shivers ran up Rahel's arms. – R
A sudden jolt of fear rattled through her. – R
Everything inside was quivering. – R
Sahay felt the same shiver of fear now that she had felt then. – S
Sahay began to tremble. She was about to be snuffed out, after all, from hopelessness. – S
A feeling of panic rippled through her. – S
But the fear, pounding on her as though she were a drum, told her this night was different. – S
…the fear and shaking left her body. – S

There are 11 expressions instantiating the metonymy SHIVERING STANDS FOR FEAR. The reaction of shivering is expressed by the verbs *shiver, quiver, tremble, rattle* and *shake.* The verbs*ripple* and *pound*refer to a somewhat different motion which is felt inside the body or on the surface of the whole body, respectively. It must be noted that (1) in the meaning of *rattle* there is a reference to some sound or noise besides the motion and (2) the choice of *shake*(probably a less intense form of shivering) may be explained by the fact that it describes the change of feelings and emotions for the positive when the two girls arrive in Jerusalem, depart the plane and understand that they are in safety. (Pinelli(2017) uses the term *tremble* for the same physiological reaction, cf. TREMBLE STANDS FOR FEAR.)

(3) SCREAMING STANDS FOR FEAR

Rahel had looked up to see stars – platters and platters of stars – blazing at her, so fat and startling that she had screamed. – R

A little girl looked up and screamed. She jumped and ran back toward the village. (N.B.: The sentence is about a girl who sees Sahay and calls her'buda'.)

Screaming is an involuntary release of sound accompanying fear or fright. It may be also thought of as a sign of loss of control. In the second example screaming is combined with flight (clearly a consequence of loss of control), which itself may metonymically conceptualize fear (see below).

(4) INABILITY TO SPEAK STANDS FOR FEAR

Sahay tried to speak, but her throat felt choked and dry, and no words came out. She turned back, blindly, and stooped through the doorway. – S

This example describes the complexity of the experience of not being able to speak. It captures the choking feeling, the dryness in the mouth as well as the agitated behaviour that accompany speechlessness.This string of sentences illustrates that physiological and behavioural reactions often come simultaneously and such details are depicted as events following each other in the scenario of fear.

(5) A BURNING THROAT STANDS FOR FEAR

Rahel's throat burned. What about Jerusalem? – R

The expression instantiating the metonymy A BURNING THROAT STANDS FOR FEAR is against my expectations since in our European (or North American) folk understanding of fear it is true that the mouth becomes dry but we do not normally associate heat or burning with the fear experience. On the contrary we associate cold with fear.

(6) A HOT FACE STANDS FOR FEAR

"I remember," Rahel said calmly, but her face felt suddenly hot with fear. Was the aliyah here? – R(N.B.: 'aliyah' =the journey back to the homeland of Israel)

This example instantiating the metonymy HOT FACE STANDS FOR FEAR is contrary to my expectations, too,because when we are afraid of something we get cold feet and cold hands, our face turns white, etc, in sum the temperature of our body drops. However, in Ethiopiadue to physical circumstances and hot weather conditionsespecially in the summer people's body temperature may rise really high (perhaps considerablyhigher than in Europe or North America), which may consequently cause people's faces to become hot. Thus it may constitute part of the Ethiopian concept of fear.

(7) FLIGHT STANDS FOR FEAR

But every time they came to a curve, Sahay's feet made themselves ready to run. – S

A little girl looked up and screamed. She jumped and ran back toward the village.

Flight is a behavioural reaction related to fear constituting the last stage of the prototypical scenario of fear. It captures the moment when somebody loses control over their emotion and cannot do anything better than flee from the dangerous or threatening situation that has evoked their fear.

Besides metonymical expressions of fear the novel contains the following expressions of threat: *a hyena will get you* and *a stranger will harm you.* Both expressions are used in Sahay's narration telling about how Kemantchildren were taught to behave:

"If she or her cousins had misbehaved, the adults didn't slap them but said, 'A hyena will get you' or, sometimes, 'A stranger will harm you'. But no strangers came. Only other Kemant came to the house. Then her mother would send Sahay to get food and drink for them, and water to wash their feet. 'They are our people,' her mother would say." – S

"If you do not behave, a hyena will get you." – S

The use of the image of hyena seems to be in line with the Ethiopian concept of fear since it is a dangerous wild animal which is very salient in the area and people should keep away from hyenas. In other parts of the world the image of lion serves as a symbol of great danger.In English the phrases*do not graba lion by the tail*and *do not pull a lion's tail* are used figuratively to warn or remind people how to avoid getting into a dangerous and/or troublesome situation. In Hungarian, too, the expression *ne ébreszdfelazalvóoroszlánt*(=do not wake up the sleeping lion) is used to tell people how to stay away from danger.

The other image of threat is 'stranger', the one that you do not know what to expect them to do, in other words,a stranger is a possible source of danger, someone who may do you something bad, something harmful. Based on the example above I assume that the image of *strangers* is at the core of the rules and regulations that all Kemant people should learn and keep to (probably in order to maintain their integrity, safety and independence). A similar idea is expressed in the Hungarian expressions *Viselkedjjól, mertkülönbenelvisz a zsákos ember* (=Behave yourself or else you will be taken by a man with a sack*)* and*Legyéljó/Fogadjszót, vagyelvisz a rézfülűbagoly* (=Be good/Listen to what I am saying or you will be taken by an owl with copper ears). In the first Hungarian expression the man with a sack is a realistic entity, while the owl with copper ears is clearly an imaginary one (which sounds somewhat jocular at the same time), nonetheless both expressions seem to

be very threatening, especially when said to children. It is also interesting to note that the expressions used by both Kemant and Hungarian people are formulated as threats or warnings drawing some kind of danger into the focus of attention, which is naturally related to the concept of fear. As the examples above demonstrate these expressions are used to impose sanctions against misbehaviour.

(b) What metaphors can be identified in the novel?

In the novel, I have found instantiations of fivemetaphors of fear, four of which are variations of the container metaphor:

(1) FEAR IS A CONTAINER

One time when she stopped, clinging to the cliff in terror, the smell of flowers drifted up from far below. – S

This expression is an instantiation of the specific level version of the generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE SELF (Kövecses 1990).

(2) FEAR IS A FLUID (FEAR AND HATE ARE A MIXED FLUID) IN A CONTAINER//FEAR AND HATE ARE FLUIDS

"Dawit, beware of the danger when you stir the pot of fear and hate." – R
Fear fills them with hate. – R

Both sentences present fear as a fluid, in both cases it is combined with hate, another negative emotion. In the first example, fear and hate are components of equal status in the pot containing the mixture of emotions, while in the second fear seems to be the source of hate. Both examples demonstrate that the mixed feeling of fear and hate was a common experience for peoplein Ethiopia during the period of red terror,which is told about in Kurtz's novel.Esenova (2011) discusses pure and mixed emotions and finds that fear may be mixed with joy or pleasure and such mixtures are conceptualized in the metaphor COMPLEX EMOTIONS ARE MIXED SUBSTANCES, e.g. *Nearly every new parent feels an amalgam of joy and terror* (Esenova 2011:80).

(3) FEAR IS (FEAR AND SADNESS ARE) A FLUID IN THE THROAT CONTAINER

Sadness and fear rose in Rahel's throat. – R

In this example fear again is mixed with a negative emotion and conceptualized as a fluid. However, the container is throat, a body part that has not been identified as a container by Kövecses (1990, 2000).

(4) FEAR IS AN ENTITY IN THE VOICE CONTAINER

Father's voice was sharp, but Rahel heard the fear in it. – R

Here fear is contained in the voice which is not a body part but is very closely associated with speech organs. Kövecses(1990) does not identifyit as a container but Esenova (2011:76), on the contrary,claimsthat the voice may be a container for fear,which may be conceptualized as either a substance or a fluid as in *There was not an ounce of panic in her voice* and *"Yesterday was wonderful," Rain said soothingly, hearing the rising panic in the woman's voice*.

(5) FEAR IS A BIRD-LIKE CREATURE/A BEAST

Finally, she fell asleep. But a dark, flapping shape flew at her in her dreams, and she woke, crying out.– R

Grandmother whispered, "Has the fear caught you again?" – R

In the first example fear is described as a bird-like creature, while it is unspecified in the second. Both images seem to be frightening and stronger than the experiencer. In this sense they are similar to the image of fear as a supernatural being or an opponent (Kövecses 1990) that is stronger than the experiencer.

(c) Are the same metonymies and metaphors instantiated to refer to the Kemant and the Beta-Israel girl's fear?

I have counted the instantiations of metonymies and metaphors that are used in the novel to refer to the Kemant and the Beta-Israel girls' fear experience. The results are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Metonymy	**Kemant**	**Beta-Israel**	**Metaphor**	**Kemant**	**Beta-Israel**
Discomfort in the stomach	3	4	Container	1	-
Shivering	8	3	Fluid in a container	-	2
Screaming	1	1	Fluid in the throat container	-	1
Inability to speak	-	1	Entity in the voice container	-	1
Burning throat	-	1	Bird-like creature/Beast	-	2
Hot face	-	1	-	-	-
Flight	1	1	-	-	-

Figure 1 shows that the total number of metonymies is seven and the total number of metaphors is five and their instantiations amount eight or fewer. I find the numbers relatively small, however, they show the following: (1) Discomfort in the stomach and shivering are the most

salient behavioural reactions that accompany fear experiences of the two Ethiopian girls. On the other hand, (2) I assume that a burning throat and a hot face may be characteristic reactions of people living in a country with a hot climate. It must be noted that such reactions are contrary to our expectations because we normally think of fear that comes with a drop of body temperature. (3) There is a significant difference in the number of metonymy and metaphor instantiations (25::7). (4) Four of the five metaphors are version of the container metaphor, which support the view that the container image is very central in the concept of fear (apparently in a great number of cultures), just like in the generic level concept of emotion. (5) The Beta-Israel girl's fear experience is described by 5 instantiations of four metaphors, the Kemant girl's is only referred to by one metaphor. The difference is largealthough the actual numbers are small, therefore I cannot draw a well-supported conclusion as far as similarities and differences in the Kemant and Beta-Israel concepts of fear are concerned. Nonetheless, (6) expressions of threat (*a hyena will get you, a stranger will harm you* and *don't grab a lion by the tail*) are only used in relation to the Kemant, the reason for which is most probably the fact that according to Jane Kurtz's novelKemantpeople teach their children to keep away from certain dangers and strangers in particular.

(d) Are the same metonymies and metaphors exemplified in the novel as in Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 analyses?

I have demonstrated above that most of the metonymies (DISCOMFORT IN THE STOMACH, SHIVERING, SCREAMING, INABILITY TO SPEAK and FLIGHT STAND FOR FEAR) and metaphors (FEAR IS A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER) occurring in the novel under investigation are identified in Kövecses's 1990 and 2000 studies. The exceptions are the BURNING THROAT and HOT FACEmetonymies as well as the FLUID IN THE THROAT, ENTITYIN THE VOICE CONTAINER andBIRD-LIKE CREATURE metaphors. (Esenova (2011) extensively discussesthe metaphor FEAR IS AN OBJECT IN THE VOICE CONTAINER, while Kövecses (2000) includes FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING in the list of metaphors.)

I find that the overlap between the metonymies and metaphors identified in the present study and in Kövecses's studies support the claim that fear being a universal basic emotion has practically the same conceptual representation in such remote cultures and languages as the American English and the Ethiopian. The differences, on the other hand, prove that there are culture-specific distinctions in the concept of fear and the distinctions are determined by or rooted in bodily experiences of the

people living in that culture (cf. burning throat, hot face, fluid in the throat and entity in the voice container).

(e) What are the differences, if any, between the Ethiopian and the English concepts of fear?

Although I find that the metonymies and metaphors used in the novel give a relatively detailed description of the two girls' fear, I do not find that the description is comprehensive enough to state that it covers all the salient components of the Ethiopian concept of fear. Therefore, it would not be well-supported to identify significant differences between the Ethiopian and the English concepts of fear.

However, the number of instantiations and the variety of metonymies and metaphors demonstrate that (especially) the physiological and behavioural reactions accompanying the fear of Ethiopian people are fairly similar to the physiological and behavioural reactions of English-speaking people with the exception of having a burning throat and a hot face. I also claim that the centrality of the container metaphor in the Ethiopian concept of fear is supported by the fact that the majority of the metaphorical expressions occurring in the novel instantiate some version of the container metaphor.

5. Conclusion

In the present paper I have discussed metonymies and metaphors of fear by investigating the corpus I have built from Jane Kurtz's novel telling the story of two Ethiopian girls that are fleeing from their homeland through the Sudan to Israel. I selected all the expressions denoting fear in the novel and found that out of the 40 expressions 25 are instantiations of 7 metonymies and 7 are instantiations of 5 metaphors, 3 phrases are used to express threat or warning, and 5 expressions are used literally to mean fear. The numbers show that the author uses more than three times (3.571 times) more metonymical expressions than metaphorical expressions to describe the two girls' fear, nonetheless the range of metonymies and metaphors they instantiate shows that there are a number of points of similarity between the Ethiopian concept of fear and the American concept of fear described by Kövecses (1990, 2000).

I have identified the following metonymies of fear: DISCOMFORT IN THE STOMACH STANDS FOR FEAR, SHIVERING STANDS FOR FEAR, SCREAMING STANDS FOR FEAR, INABILITY TO SPEAK STANDS FOR FEAR, A BURNING THROAT STANDS FOR FEAR, A HOT FACE STANDS FOR FEAR,

FLIGHT STANDS FOR FEAR. The 'burning throat' and the 'hot face' metonymies are beyond expectation since according to Kövecses (1990) fear is an emotion associated with cold and not with heat or burning. It must be noted thatKövecses (1990:72) identifies *He got butterflies in the stomach* and *A cold fear gripped him in the stomach* as instantiations of the metonymy NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH STAND FOR FEAR, which is very close to DISCOMFORT IN THE STOMACH STANDS FOR FEAR identified in the present study. I claim that the term 'discomfort' suits better the events (denoted by the verbs *chew, ache, twist, jump, churn, swoop*) happening in the stomach of the Ethiopian experiencer. Based on my corpus I also state that this metonymy seems to be the most elaborated in the novel and perhaps in the Ethiopian concept of fear.

The metaphors I have identified in my corpus are FEAR IS A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A FLUID IN THE THROAT CONTAINER, FEAR IS AN ENTITY IN THE VOICE CONTAINER and FEAR IS A BIRD-LIKE CREATURE/A BEAST. The first four of these metaphors are varieties of the container metaphor, which is central to the concept of fear and to the generic level concept of emotion as stated by Kövecses (1990, 2000). My corpus shows that in the Ethiopian concept of fear the throat and the voice may serve as containers for fear, which are not included in the American English concept of fear described by Kövecses (1990, 2000). The metaphorical image of fear as a bird-like creature or beast is not elaborated in the American English concept, however, it may be viewed as a version of the more general metaphor FEAR IS AN ENEMY (cf. Kövecses (2000:68-70) considers the metaphor EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL as "a special case of the OPPONENT metaphor").

The aforementioned metonymies and the metaphors instantiated in the corpus capture physiological and behavioural reactions accompanying the experience of fear. Reactions like discomfort in the stomach, shivering, and inability to speak all appear at the second stage of the prototypical scenario of fear: fear exists. The more subjective (and less easily observable) experiences of fear as a container or as a fluid in a container also constitute the second stage of the scenario. The metaphorical image of fear as a bird-like creature has to do with the control aspect of the emotion, thus is related to the third and/or fourth stage of the scenario, attempt at control and loss of control over fear, respectively. Finally, the metonymy of flight captures the last stage of the fear scenario. In sum, the corpus proves that the Ethiopian concept of fear depicts all the stages of the prototypical scenario, which goes hand in hand with the fact that fear is a universal basic emotion.

The culture-specific details of the concept of fear are shown in the metonymies A BURNING THROAT STANDS FOR FEAR and A HOT FACE STANDS FOR FEAR, which are most likely to do with the hot climate of Ethiopia. Some further details, which seem to be characteristic of life in Ethiopia, arepresent in the expressions *a hyena will get you* and *a stranger will harm you.* In theformer expression the image of a highly salient wild dangerous animal is used to warn people to avoid trouble, while in the second the image of the unknown is used to express the same idea. According to the novel both expressions are typical of the speech of Kemant people. As shown above in Figure 1 six instantiations of four metaphors are used in relation to the Beta-Israel girl's fear experience, while only one instantiation of one metaphor in relation to the Kemant girl's. Due to the fact that the numbers are very low I cannot prove any significant difference between the fear concepts of the two ethnic groups.

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Construing Time through Image Schemas: A Cross-Linguistic Analysis

Alexandra Liana Martin
University of Vienna

"We can easily imagine space; we have an inner eye for it, an intuition.
Try, on the other hand, to represent time as such;
you will only succeed by means of a representation of space."
(Guyau [1890] 1988: 99)

1. Introduction

Time is one of the fundamental yet abstract properties of our reality, and we lack the sensory ability to perceive it physically. Therefore, in order to make sense of it, our cognitive processes assign it observable and physical qualities by conjuring up mental representations, metaphors and image schemas that are concrete in nature. Therefore, there is linguistic evidence that time is expressed by mapping time unto the domain of space. By 'mapping time', I refer to the idea that the brain creates conceptual correspondences between time and space with the help of language. Nevertheless, not all languages construe time in the same manner or using the same image schemas or semantic units (Dahl, 1995; Klein, 1987; Thornton, 1987). According to Kövecses (2005: 217), metaphors also vary within cultures and not only cross-culturally, mainly because the metaphor of time has a strong experiential basis in everyday human experience.

This paper analyzes evidence from 30 languages to probe the manner in which time is construed in each of them. Using linguistic parameters (past tense marking, remoteness distinction) and time adverbials ('yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday'), this paper examines how these relate to image schemas that express time. Moreover, it explores different metaphors of time that are spatial in nature, employing Johnson's (1987) and Lakoff's (1987) theory of image schemas. Prima facie, the first hypothesis supposes that there is a link between past tense marking, remoteness distinction and image schemas.

The second hypothesis proposes that in case there is no past tense marking, time adverbials construe time. In both cases, the presence of an image schema is mandatory.

2. Methodology

This paper makes use of two online corpora curated by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology: the "World Atlas of Language Structures" (henceforth WALS) edited by Martin Haspelmath and Matthew Dryer, and the "World Loandword Database" (henceforth WOLD) edited by Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor. WALS was used for the analysis of the linguistic parameters of past tense marking and remoteness distinction, while WOLD for the analysis of two time adverbials, namely 'yesterday' (using the Loanword Typology code 14.49) and 'the day before yesterday' (using the Loanword Typology code 14.491). Moreover Glosbe.com, a multilingual online dictionary, was also used for the translation and analysis of the time adverbs. Also, in conjunction with the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Glottolog 3.2 is an online databaseedited by Harald Hammarström, Sebastian Bank, Robert Forkel, and Martin Haspelmath. A collaborative work part of the Cross Linguistic Linked Data project, Glottolog 3.2 was used for the sampling of the languages included in this paper and for language classification, namely in terms of name, language family, and ISO language code. In addition, this paper includes evidence and data from multi-disciplinary fields, such as anthropology, history, and culture in order to interpret those image schemas whose explanations are not linguistically clear or overt.

The first step has been to select 26 languages for their past tense marking and remoteness distinction and classify them according to name, language family, and ISO language code: Basque (Basque), Burushaski (Burushaski), Chácobo (Pano-Tacanan), Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), English (Indo-European, Germanic), Modern Greek (Indo-European, Greek), Western Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut), Hausa (Afro-Asiatic, West-Chadic), Hebrew (Afro-Asiatic, Semitic), Icelandic (Indo-European, Germanic), Eastern Canadian Inuktitut (Eskimo-Aleut), Hindi (Indo-European, Indic) Japanese (Japanese), Ket (Yeniseian), Khmer (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer), Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan), Korean (Korean), Malagasy (Austronesian), Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), Māori (Austronesian), Pirahã (Mura), Sesotho (Niger-Congo), Vietnamese (Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer),Spanish (Indo-European, Romance), Swedish (Indo-European, Germanic), and Yagua (Peba). These languages

fall into four distinct categories: 1) no past tense marking, 2) past tense marking but no remoteness distinction; 3) past tense marking with remoteness distinction (2–3 degrees);4)past tense marking with remoteness distinction (at least 4).Another four languages have been analyzed solely in terms of image schemas:Yupno (Nuclear Trans New Guinea) spoken in Papua New Guinea, Aymara (Aymaran) spoken in Peru, KuukThaayorre (Pama-Nyungan) spoken in the Pormpuraaw community in Australia, and Amundava (Tupian) spoken in Amazonas, Brazil.

The third step has been to analyze the languages with no past tense marking by looking for evidence in the lexicon. In order to narrow down the scope of the project, definitions for 'yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday' have been looked up using Glosbe.com and WOLD. Out of the 10 languages with no past tense marking, there are no dictionary entries for 'yesterday' in Pirahã and Kiowa. The question is whether or not the morphemes for 'yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday' encoded temporal information that could be represented spatially.The fourth and last step has been to review all 30 languages analyzed in this paper and categorize them according to tense marking, degrees of remoteness distinction, time adverbials, and image schemas.

3. Time construals

In the absence of past tense marking, time is construed with the help of temporal adverbs, aspectual adverbs, serial adverbs, and prepositions. For example, Mandarin Chinese (cmn) is an isolating language of the Sino-Tibetan language family that has no past tense marking. In order to express past actions, Chinese employs temporal particles, which lie on the spectrum of categories somewhere in between temporal adverbials and affixes (Klein 2009: 42). Therefore, Mandarin Chinese can construe the past through the use of three aspectual markers: 了[le], 着 [zhe] and 过 [guo] which usually follow a bare verb stem (Ljungqvist 2007: 194). *Le* originated from 'liao', which means 'to finish', and has partially been grammaticalized. *Guo* still retains its initial meaning, 'to pass', and can be also used as a verb. *Zhe* originally meant 'to attach to' or 'to adhere to'. It then underwent grammaticalization to express direction or result, only to become fully grammaticalized in modern Mandarin Chinese (Cao 1995).

Dahl and Velupillai (2015) argue that the presence of deictic time adverbials (e.g. 'yesterday') or temporal phrases (e.g. 'the day before

yesterday') does not render past tense marking unnecessary but in fact restricts the sentence, thus making other possible readings ungrammatical. In other words, deictic time adverbials localize events in time by adding relevance and specificity to the context.Since tense is "grammaticalisation of location in time" (Comrie 1985: 6), there are three absolute tenses: past, present, and future. By adopting Reichenbach's (1947: 288) theory of primitives, namely 'S' for time of speech, 'E' for time of event, and 'R' for reference point, we may define past tense as 'E before R', which will be the sole focus of this paper concerning past marking. Klein's theory of tense (1994) proposes that tense relations can be described in terms of 'TU' (time of utterance), 'T_{Sit}' (the time of situation), and 'TT' (the topic time). For instance, past tense is construed when the topic time antecedes the time of utterance/speech.

Languages with past tense marking may further distinguish between degrees of temporal distance, namely those that occur between the time of utterance (TU) and topic time (TT). In other words, not only does the tense locate the action or the topic time before the time of utterance, but it also supplies additional information on the degree of temporal distance. Languages with remoteness distinction combine 'remote' time adverbials with a 'r99emote' past tense for relevance and specificity in the context. They further distinguish between 'hodiernal' (an action that occurred 'earlier today') and 'hesternal' tenses (an action that occurred 'before today', 'yesterday' or on 'the day before time of utterance'). It should be noted that a 'proximal' time adverbial is incompatible with a 'remote' past tense (WALS 2018: §66A).

WALS (2018) surveyed 222 languages for past tense marking and remoteness distinction, out of which 88 languages (39,66%) have no past tense marking, 94 languages (42,33%) have past marking with no remoteness distinction, 38 languages (17,11%) have past marking with 2–3 degrees of remoteness, and lastly 2 languages (0,99%) have past marking with at least 4 degrees of remoteness.As for the geographic distribution, languages with no past tense marking tend to cluster together, although there are exceptions to this observation since no phylum is consistently non-marking (WALS 2018: §66.3). In most cases, languages that belong to the Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Southeast Asian, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, and Austronesian phyla have no past tense marking. However, none of these phyla is consistently non-marking. Conversely, languages from the Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, and a part of the Afro-Asiatic phyla, along with language isolates (such as Basque, Burushaski, Japanese, and Korean) have past tense marking.

Table 1. Languages with no past tense marking

	Language	Phylum	ISO Code	Morphological Type
1	Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	ckt	inflective
2	Greenlandic (West)	Eskimo-Aleut	kal	polysynthetic
3	Hausa	Afro-Asiatic, West-Chadic	hau	isolating
4	Ket	Yeniseian	ket	inflective
5	Khmer	Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer	khm	isolating
6	Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan	kio	inflective
7	Malagasy	Austronesian	plt	inflective
8	Mandarin	Sino-Tibetan	cmn	isolating
9	Pirahã	Mura	myp	inflective
10	Vietnamese	Austro-Asiatic, Mon-Khmer	vie	isolating

Time adverbs embed meaning in languages with no past tense marking.(1) Chukchi (ckt) is an inflective language of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family spoken in northeastern Siberia. ‘Айвэ’ [ajvé] means ‘yesterday’, which maybe be roughly translated as ‘last night’ according to Glosbe.com. Nevertheless, there is no dictionary entry for ‘the day before yesterday’. (2) Western Greenlandic (kal) is a polysynthetic language of the Eskimo-Aleut language family spoken in Greenland. Due to its polysynthetic morphology, the lexicon is replete with temporal meanings for past actions:

ippassaq = the day before today;
ippassaani = the day before yesterday;
ippassaanissaani = the day before the day before yesterday;
ippassaaniinnaq = a short time ago;
ippassigami = a few days ago.

(3) Hausa (hau) is a West-Chadic isolating language of the Afro-Asiatic language family spoken in countries such as Chad, Niger, Nigeria, and Cameroon. The word*jíyà* translates as ‘the day before today’, while*shéekáránjíyà* as ‘the day before yesterday’. (4) Ket (ket) is an inflective language of the Yeniseian language family spoken in Russia. The word *qores* directly translates as ‘yesterday’, while *qoreskunsiɣa* as ‘yesterday + next–LOC’, which could infer a possibility for a sequential image schema. (5) Khmer (khm) is a Mon-Khmer isolating language of the Austro-Asiatic language family spoken in Cambodia, whichabounds in time construals:

msail = lit. “yester”;
prukmsail = lit. “yester morn”;
ybmsail = lit. “yester night”;
pelolngeachmsail = lit. “yester-evening”;
lngeachmsail= lit. “yestereve”;
ybminh= lit. “yesternight”;
pi msail me nh= lit. “yesterday”;
8thngaikanlongomok= lit. “yesterday week”.

There areno dictionary entries for ‘yesterday’ in(6)Kiowa. Malagasy (plt) is an Austronesian inflective language spoken in Madagascar. The word (7) *omàly* derives from ‘to spend the night’ (Adelaar 2009), while *afakomàly* has a rather peculiar translation. The morpheme *afak* means ‘free, detached’, while *omàly* means ‘yesterday’. Here we could argue that ‘detached’ refers to distance, that ‘the day before yesterday’ is visualized farther away from the egocentric perspective.

Another interesting definition for time adverbials is found in Chinese. It has already been established that the radicals 了[*le*], 着[*zhe*] and 过[*guo*]encode time, yet by analyzing the radicals alone it is unclear whether time is mapped spatially on not. In Mandarin Chinese, the time adverbial for ‘yesterday’ is comprised of two radicals,(8) 昨天 [*zuótiān*]. The former radical translates as ‘past/yesterday’, while the latter as ‘sky/heaven’ (Wiebusch 2009). This strengthens the assertion that PAST IS UP, while FUTURE IS DOWN. In addition, 前天 [*qiántiān*] translates as ‘the day before yesterday’, where the former radical means ‘ahead/forward/in front of day’ and the latter ‘sky/heaven’. Therefore, a more distant past is seen as higher up.

Pirahã (myp) is an inflective language of the Mura language family spoken in Amazonas, Brazil, and itprovides great insight into the concept of time, cognition, and time construals. Not only does Pirahã not have past tense marking, but it barely differentiates between time construals. This comes as no surprise due to the fact that several universally accepted features of language and culture are absent in Pirahã, thus constraining communication: the absence of number, counting, terms of quantification, color terms, embedding, relative tenses, the simplest pronoun inventory and kinship system (Everett 2005: 621).Therefore, since communication is restricted only to the present tense, namely the topic time coincides with the time of utterance, we could argue that the Pirahã conceptualize time as TIME IS NOW, and that only immediate experiences are worth recounting. Everett interprets ‘concrete immediate experiences’ as events or actions witnessed or “recounted as seen by a person alive at the time of telling” (Everett 2005: 622). It should be noted

that the absence of a complex tense system does not imply impaired cognitive ability.

According to Everett (2005: 630), Pirahã does in fact have two morphemes that mark whether the speaker experiences or controls the action/event ('proximate time' reflected by the morpheme *-a*, which expresses present actions) or not ('remote time' reflected by the morpheme *-i*, which expresses actions that have occurred earlier). The few temporal construalsPirahã has mostly refer to (a) the primal element of fire and (b) sun/moon dichotomy. For instance,(9)*ahoapió* means 'another day' (lit. 'other at fire'), *pi'í* means 'now', '*hoá* means 'day' (lit. 'fire'), *ahoai* means 'night' (lit. 'be at fire'), *kahaí'aíi'ogiíso* means 'full moon' (lit. 'moon big temporal'), *hisó* means 'during the day' (lit. 'in sun'), *hisóogiái* means 'noon' (lit. 'in sun big be'), and *'ahoakohoaihio* means 'early morning, before sunrise' (lit. 'at fire inside eat go'); list compiled by Everett (2005: 631).

Vietnamese (vie) is a Mon-Khmer isolating language of the Austro-Asitic language family spoken in Vietnam, Laos, and China. The structure (10) *hôm qua* literally translates as 'day past', while *hômkia* as 'day hither' (Alves 2009). In a sense, 'hither' infers directionality, which could suggest that 'the day before tomorrow' comes closer either to past or to the ego.

Table 2. Languages with past tense marking but no remoteness distinction

	Language	Phylum	ISO Code	Morphological Type
11	Basque	Basque	eus	inflective
12	Burushaski	Burushaski	bsk	inflective
13	English	Indo-European, Germanic	eng	Inflective
14	Greek (Modern)	Indo-European, Greek	ell	Inflective
15	Hebrew (Modern)	Afro-Asiatic, Semitic	heb	ablaut, isolating
16	Hindi	Indo-European, Indic	hin	inflective
17	Icelandic	Indo-European, Germanic	isl	inflective
18	Japanese	Japanese	jpn	inflective
19	Korean	Korean	kor	inflective
20	Māori	Austronesian	mri	isolating
21	Spanish	Indo-European, Romance	spa	inflective
22	Swedish	Indo-European, Germanic	swe	inflective

In (11)Basque (esk), an inflective language isolate spoken in the Basque Country situated between France and Spain, time adverbs imply sequence:*egun* means both 'today' and 'day', *atzo* means 'yesterday', and *heren.egun* means 'the day before yesterday', although its literal translation is 'third.day' (Hualde& Ortiz de Urbina 2011: 190).

(12) Burushaski (bsk), an inflective language isolate spoken in northern Pakistan, also lacks dictionary entries for time adverbs. According to Grune (1998), written historical material on Burushaski is scarce, leaving linguistic research on grammar and lexicography far from being complete. That being said, there are very few adverbs in Burushaski, and most of them are derived from complex predicates/compound verbs. Verbs have three stems: a past stem, a present stem, and a consecutive stem. Interestingly, the past stem is the root of the verb (and the dictionary form) and can be used to form the imperative and other construals such as 'in order to' (Grune 1998: 9).(13) English, (14) Greek and (15) Hebrew will be discussed in section 4.

In (16)Hindi (hin), an Indic inflective language of the Indo-European phylum, time adverbs for 'yesterday',कल [*kal*], and 'the before yesterday',परसों [*parson*], can also mean 'tomorrow' and 'the day after tomorrow'. The intended meaning is understood from the tense marking conjugation or context. Furthermore, *kal*can be expanded as बीताहुआकल [*bitaahuaakal*] to literally mean 'the passed yesterday" or as आनेवालाकल [*aanevaalaakal*], which literally means 'the coming tomorrow".(17) Icelandic, (18) Japanese, (19) Korean, (20) Māori, (21) Spanish, and (22) Swedish will be discussed in section 4.

Table 3. Languages with past tense marking with remoteness distinction (2–3 degrees)

	Language	Phylum	ISO Code	Morphological Type
23	Inuktitut (Eastern Canadian)	Eskimo-Aleut	ike	agglutinative to polysynthetic
24	Sesotho	Niger-Congo	sot	agglutinative

(23) Eastern Canadian Inuktitut (ike) is an agglutinative to polysynthetic language of the Eskimo-Aleut language family spoken in Canada. It has past tense marking and it distinguishes between 2 to 3 degrees of remoteness. Nevertheless, it shares most of its vocabulary with Western

Greenlandic – see 2; therefore ᐃᑦᑭᒃᓱᖅ [*ippaksaq*] also means ‘the day before today’.(24) Sesotho will be discussed in section 4.

Table 4. Languages with past tense marking with remoteness distinction (at least 4)

	Language	Phylum	ISO Code	Morphological Type
25	Chácobo	Pano-Tacanan	cao	inflective
26	Yagua	Peba	yad	inflective

Only two languages have been found to present at least four degrees of remoteness. (25) Chácobo (cao) is an inflective language of the Pano-Tacanan language family spoken in Bolivia and it recognizes up to nine degrees of temporal distance (Bybee et al. 1994: 99, 334). According to Stout and Talman (2018: 211), four out of nine (five if we include perfectives) encode past tense actions and events: remote past or ‘past 3’ (*ní* means ‘one year or more ago’), distant past or ‘past 2’ (*yamít* means ‘one week or more ago’), recent past or ‘past 1’ (*ʔita* means ‘between four days ago and yesterday’), and hodiernal past or ‘proximate past 1’ (by not adding a time remoteness morpheme to the verb, an action would be understood as ‘today or at some other unknown time’).

(26) Yagua (yad) is an inflective language of the Peba language family spoken in Peru. Yagua distinguishes five degrees of temporal distance with reference to the past using bound morphemes to encode time (Payne & Payne 1990: 386-87): past 3 (*jada* means ‘a number of years ago’), past 2 (*tíy* means ‘roughly one to two months ago up to one or two years ago’), past 1 (*siy* means ‘roughly one week ago to one month ago’), hesternal past or proximate past 2 (*jay* means ‘yesterday’ or ‘one day previous to the time of utterance’), and hodiernal past or proximate 1 (*jásiy* means ‘earlier today’, ‘this morning’, or ‘a few hours previous to the time of utterance’).

4. Metaphor and image schemas

Metaphor is defined as “the basic mechanism by which abstract concepts are understood in terms of more concrete concepts . . . [they are] conceptual mappings from structures in one conceptual domain [source] to structures in another domain [target]” (Lakoff 1993: 28). According to Lakoff and Johnson, spatial metaphors are used to describe temporal relationships (1980), which in turn conjure up image schemas. Image schemas are mental models, cognitive structures that are universal and

pre-linguistic, which relate to common human experience. They are representations of simple spatial events. Employing Johnson's (1987) and Lakoff's (1987) theory of image schemas, we can make sense of the concept of time through the following schemas:

4.1. Containment

(a) Volumetric

In languages such as Spanish (spa) and Greek (ell), time is expressed volumetrically, construed as a physical quantity which fills up a container, and it uses amount-based metaphors (such as 'much', 'big' and 'small') to collocate with time (Casasanto 2005; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Núñez&Cooperrider 2013). For example, in Greek and Spanish the ego 'takes a small break' whereas in English and Swedish the ego 'takes a short break'. Nevertheless, these metaphors are not absolute or exclusive, since both in Spanish and English one could say that there is 'little time' (spa. *pocotiempo*).

(b) Architectural

In Malagasy (plt), time is expressed architecturally among other schemas.This construal is deeply cultural and spiritual: time is an edifice with walls bounding or surrounding the human spirit. In other words, they equate time with destiny: time closes in on the ego. Therefore, both are seen as rectangular walls that revolve around the earth:

> […] the Malagasy have projected upon the house a dynamic model of destiny. The rectangular building is always oriented with the long sides running north and south, with many cosmic and social significances attached to both. The major aspects of destiny are assigned to the four corners of the house and its minor aspects to the walls. With the temporal succession of lives and seasons spatialized, 'one can follow the aspects of destiny as they revolve round the earth or around a house'. (Verin&Rajaonarima 1991)

4.2. Movement

In languages such as English and Swedish, time is conceptualized as movement, as a physical distance. It is construed as a horizontal line, and it employs distance-based metaphors, such as 'short' and 'long', to collocate with time. Therefore, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), TIME IS MOTION. If time is a mover in space, then construals such as *the year is coming to an end*, *when the time comes*, *bygone years*, *upcoming*

event, and so on and so forth, are perfectly grammatical. Conversely, instances such as **I am coming to the end of the year*, **When I come to the time*, and so on, are evidently ungrammatical. Other instances of TIME IS MOTIONare found in Japanese (Shinohara 1999: 239), Korean (Kwon 2012), and Malagasy (Dahl 1995, 1999).

Interestingly, in Malagasy, time can also be construed as movement, in the sense that the ego is stationary, while the time moves towards it from behind. One instance of TIME IS MOTION is construed by the expression (11) *arahaba fa tratrynytaona,* whichliterally translates as 'congratulations for being reached by the year' (Dahl 1995: 199). Dahl further explains that "it is not the person who reaches the year, but the year that catches up with the person. The observer is stationary, and time is a moving phenomenon, arriving from behind with respect to the observer" (Dahl 1999: 44).

4.3. Orientation

(a) Sensory (front–back)

The sensory (front–back) orientation image schema relates to embodied cognition, namely that the physical body influences cognition, which in turn influences the manner in which people conceptualize the world around them. Similar to a plethora of languages, English (eng) conceptualizes time in relation to the ego through vision, namely FUTURE IS IN FRONT while PAST IS BEHIND, evidenced by construals such as *to look ahead into the future*, *to look forward to* (= to anticipate) versus *to look back on/at*, *in retrospect* (*retro* = back, backward), and *in hindsight* (*hind* = back, posterior, rear). Moreover, the sagittal front–back representation is also present in Icelandic (isl) (Thráinsson 2010) and Swedish (swe), where *framtid* (which means 'future') is literally translated as "front time".

Conversely, in Aymara (ayc) PAST IS IN FRONT while FUTURE IS BEHIND the ego, which challenges the aforementioned generalized cognitive pattern. This phenomenon may be evidenced by the lexicon. The front–back paradigm is exemplified through *nayra*, which means 'eye, front, sight' but also construes past meanings, and *qhipa*, means 'back/behind' but also refers to future events and actions (Núñez& Sweetser 2006: 402):

nayramara(lit. 'eye/sight/front year') = last year
anchanayrapachana (lit. a lot eye/sight/front time in/on/at) = a long time ago
nayrapacha/timpu (lit 'eye/sight/front time') = past time
qhipüru (lit 'back/behind day') = a future day

akataqhiparu(lit. 'this from back/behind to/towards') = from now on
qhipamarana (lit. 'back/behind year in/on/at') = in the next [future] year
qhipapacha/timpu (lit 'back time') = future time

A possible explanation for this peculiar front–back was proposed by Miracle and Yapita (1981), who argued that for the Aymara people, PAST IS IN FRONTdue to the fact that it is known and seen, while FUTURE IS BEHIND since future events are outside their field of vision (Núñez& Sweetser 2006: 415).

From a linguistic perspective, in Malagasy there is no past tense marking, therefore, the past must be expressed by time adverbials: *taloha* means 'before' and *teo aloha* means 'in front'. Conversely, the future is expressed as *by aoriana* which means 'after', *any aoriuna* which means 'behind', and *any afara* which means 'last' (Dahl 1995). Øyvind Dahl argues that time flows from behind into the back of the ego due to the fact that what has already happened, as well as the experiences of ancestors, was seen "in front of" the eyes (*teoalohan'nymaso*), while the future is totally unknown and therefore it is "behind," (*any aofiana*), or as some put it, "none of us have eyes in the back of our head" (1995: 198).

(b)Gravitational (up–down)

The gravitational (up–down) orientation image schema could be interpreted as shifting the horizontal axis vertically. In Mandarin Chinese, time can also be construed as PAST IS UP and FUTURE IS DOWN. For example,回顧" [*huígù*] translates as 'to look back, to review a past occurrence' and前途 [*qiántú*] literally means 'the path ahead, future prospects' (Yu 2012). Even so, up–down time construals abound in Mandarin Chinese: 上[shàng] (''up'') and 下 [xià] (''down'') refer to the order of events on a vertical timeline for weeks, months, semesters, and so on. In other words, "earlier events are said to be *shàng* or 'up' and later events are said to be *xià* or 'down' (Fuhrman et al 2011: 1307–1308). Therefore, "next week" literally means "down week", while "last week" means "up one week". Interestingly, this schema applies to English when considering idioms such as *to pass something down from generation to generation* or *to hand [knowledge, possessions] down from generation to generation*, which are not as frequent as the sensory sagittal image schema.

One explanation as to why Chinese is oriented up–down can be observed from a cultural perspective, namely Chinese employs a gravitational up–down image schema due to their "strong emphasis on the

ancestors that came before an individual" (Zhou & Fan 2015), and due to the fact that speakers base their human experience on cultural attitudes (de la Fuente et al., 2014). Another explanation why speakers of Mandarin Chinese are flexible when adopting both sensory and gravitational image schemas is due to calligraphy (Ng et al 2017). Chan & Bergen (2005), Fuhrman and Boroditsky (2010) and Tversky et al. (1991) provide evidence that stroke order and direction in orthography influence the construal of time to a certain extent. Calligraphy also appears to influence languages such as Hebrew (heb), whose script is written from right to left. Nevertheless, calligraphy and writing systems are later developments in language. Although calligraphy direction is not the underlying factor for image schemas, it has been found to at least prime the brain to perceive time according to its direction, even if only to a certain extent (Ouellet et al 2010; Tversky et al 1991).

(c) Navigational (east–west)

The KuukThaayorre (thd) is part of the Pama-Nyungan language family spoken in the Pormpuraaw community in Australia. For the tribes in the settlement of Pormpuraaw, time is construed with the help of cardinal directions: PAST IS EAST and FUTURE IS WEST, thus following the natural solar day–night cycle. What is particularly interesting about this paradigm is an innate absolute cardinal system, which primes the brain to conceptualize time regardless of body orientation (Boroditsky & Gaby 2010). Another example of an absolute cardinal system is GuuguYimidhirr (kky) of the Pama-Nyungan language family (Haviland 1998). Therefore, Pormpuraawan tribes do not use words such as 'right' or 'left', but they would construe space through the four cardinal points. For example, they would say "move your cup over to the north-northwest a little bit" or "the boy standing to the south of Mary is my brother" (Boroditsky & Gaby 2010: 1635). To them, we could argue that time revolves around the sun:

> When facing south, they were likely to lay out time from left to right; when facing north, they were likely to lay out time from right to left; when facing east they were likely to lay out time as coming toward them; and when facing west, they were likely to lay out time as moving away from them. This was true even though the participants were never told which way they were facing." (Boroditsky & Gaby 2010: 1637)

Studies show that languages with embodied cognition rooted in the absolute cardinal system exhibit remarkable skills in orientation and

display more gestures (Haviland 1993; Levinson & Wilkins 2006; Majid et al 2004) In addition, languages similar to KuukThaayorre use gestures for temporal construals to locate "deictic time landmarks (e.g. tomorrow)" (Núñez et al 2012: 26).

4.4. Sequence

The image schema that renders TIME IS A SEQUENCE can be problematic if the point of reference is unclear. There are two perspectives: inner (egocentric) or outer. For example, 'follow' in a sentence such as *Winter is followed by spring* can have two readings:(a) it could be rephrased as *Spring is in the footprints left by winter*; therefore, spring is behind winter, or(b) it could be interpreted as, *Spring is next up in line after winter*; therefore, spring is in front of winter. Evidence that TIME IS A SEQUENCE can be found in Māori (mri), an inflective Austronesian language spoken in New Zealand, and Sesotho (sot), an agglutinative language pertaining to the Niger-Congo phylum spoken in Lesotho and South Africa (Alverson 1994). In Māori (Bauer et al 2003), the tense marker *ka* indicates both future and sequence of action, be it past, present or future:

Ka hokimaiia = he will return [own emphasis];

I muri ite hui, ka hokimaiia = after the hui [en. party], he returned.

Another example was proposed by Núñez and Sweetser (2006: 411), namely the ambiguity of *Christmas follows Thanksgiving*. It becomes clear if we rephrase it as *Christmas comes after Thanksgiving*. In the former example, we would be tempted to interpret that *Christmas* [successor] *is behind Thanksgiving* [antecessor]:

[…] ← Thanksgiving	←Christmas	←New Year ← […]
Ahead (future)	behind (past)	farther behind (remote past)
X	followed by Y in turn	followed by Z

This reading is possible only if the ego is the point of reference, using an internal perspective. Yet this is not the case, since construals such as **Christmas follows me* are ungrammatical. If the ego is an observer from an external perspective, then it conceptualizes holidays as parts in a sequence, observing them in a line:

[…] → Thanksgiving	→Christmas	→ New Year → […]
Firstly	Secondly	Thirdly
X	then Y	then Z

Another problematic word is the spatio–temporal preposition 'forward' (Boroditsky &Ramscar 2002). Núñez and Cooperrider (2013) explain the ambiguity of 'forward' by asking respondents the following question: "Next Wednesday's meeting has been moved forward two days. What day

will the meeting be on?". If one considers 'forward' as earlier in a sequence by externalizing time as a timeline of days, then the answer is 'Monday'. If not, and 'forward' is observed from an internal perspective, it means that it conceptualized as a later event in a sequence, which consequently primes the brain to answer 'Friday'.

4.5. Topography

Topographic image schemas are deeply rooted in cultural and anthropologic paradigms, as it will be exemplified below. Interestingly, the Inuit perceive time and space as symbiosis, "since one would not exist without the other" (Munn 1992). Inuits, speaking languages like Western Greenlandic and Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, refer to both space and time through a polysemous noun, *sila.* It has multiple meanings, such as 'world, space, outdoors, weather, reason, and vision'. It is always employed to concomitantly refer to the natural environment (*sila*literally means 'out of doors') and temporal recurrence in nature. The concept of *silapingerlasia*refers to "the annual round of changing seasons, of weather, light, cosmic order, and life cycles of nature's beings" (Sonne 2017: 52). For example, Sonne suggests that a sentence such as *He headed for home and he arrived at the point when the ravens started to cry* [own emphasis] can be interpreted as 'He headed for home and he arrived at dawn' (2017: 83). In this context, the raven represents both the moment in time and its mapping in the natural environment. Sonne argues that the centre of the *sila*is the present, and past and future diverge from *sila*. Therefore, Eskimo-Aleut languages construe time through space, and space through time.

Yupno (yut) belongs to the Nuclear Trans New Guinea language family spoken in Papua New Guinea. The Yupno barely (if at all) employ egocentric axes, such as sagittal (front↔back), horizontal (right↔left), and vertical (up↔down), where the location of the speaker primes time construals (Majid et al 2004). According to extensive research conducted by Núñez et al (2012), in Yupno, time is conceptualized as TIME IS LOCATION, namely FUTURE IS UPHILL while PAST IS DOWNHILL. According to Núñez et al (2012), this image schema reflects cultural and anthropological attitudes.Environment-based metaphors stem from (a) their limited exposure to Western culture (Wassmann 1993) and (b) their own collective consciousness: the "Yupno believe that their ancestors traveled up from an island offshore to settle in the Yupno valley" (Wassmann, 1993). This might explain why they do not construe time the other way around, since one might argue that time flows like a river, from upstream to downstream. Among several time construals in Yupno, one

structure supports this claim. *Omoropmobilak*can be literally translated as 'down there other side year' and corresponds with 'a few years ago'. Other temporal adverbials include:

kalipbishap (lit. 'time past') = past times;
jare (lit. 'day before yesterday') = the day before yesterday;
apma = yesterday;
apmasonda (lit. 'yesterday week') = last week;
apmabilak (lit. 'yesterday year') = last year;
kalipsingan = a long time ago (Núñez et al 2012: 28).

Interestingly, the topographic image schema applies indoors with a change in topography: PAST IS TOWARDS THE DOOR while FUTURE IS AWAY FROM THE DOOR, where the door appears to resemble the valley. Despite the fact that the floor of a house is flat, and irrespective of its cardinal orientation (Wassmann 1993), the object that is closest to the door reflects the PAST IS DOWNHILL image schema. In a sense, the manner in which they conceptualize time as a house resembles TIME IS AN EDIFICE discussed in section 4.1., namely architectural image schemas. Nevertheless, the only evidence in Yupno for this image schema is gestural deixis.For speakers of Yupno, gestures play an important role in expressing time. Since "gestures provide ecologically valid, fine-grained, real-time information in three dimensions about how abstract concepts are spontaneously spatially structured" (Núñez et al 2012: 27), the Yupno were interviewed regarding 15 time construals and filmed. After a while, the respondents were asked to change positions to better suit the camera lenses and lighting. When asked to repeat some of responses that they had already answered, the interviewers noticed that the interviewees' gestures for uphill–downhill had changed (Núñez et al 2012).

Due to various combinatorial configurations of tense, aspect, and modality, there is no unifying theory on how non-past and non-future languages conceptualize or express time. Owing to linguistic diversity, there is no single causal relationship connecting time with tense, aspect, and mood. Notwithstanding the absence of tense-aspect marking, various languages employ temporal adverbs or time construals that are (also) deictic and gestural in nature. Gestures accompanying speech are considered a language universal (Iverson &Thelen 1999). It should be mentioned that co-speech gestures add a spatial dimension to temporal expressions, highlighting the time–space mapping. According to Núñez& Sweetser, there is a large body of evidence that shows "that gestures are produced in synchronicity with speech, that they develop in close relation with speech . . . that brain injuries affecting speech production also affect gesture production" (2006: 419), and lastly, gestures tend to be rather unconscious.

5. Conclusions

1. For languages with no past tense marking – Chukchi (ckt), Western Greenlandic (kal), Hausa (hau), Ket (ket), Kiowa (kio) Khmer (khm), Malagasy (plt), Mandarin (cmn), Pirahã (myp), and Vietnamese (vie) – time is construed with the help of time adverbs. There are no dictionary entries for these time adverbs in Pirahã and Kiowa.
2. For languages with past tense marking which distinguish between different degrees of remoteness – Chácobo (cao), Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, Sesotho (sot), and Yagua (yad) – time is construed primarily through remoteness distinction (remote past, distant past, recent past, hodiernal past, and hesternal past), since most time adverbs are implied from the verbal morphemes.
3. For languages with past tense marking with no remoteness distinction – Basque (eus), Burushaski (bsk), English (eng), Modern Greek (ell), Modern Hebrew (heb), Hindi (hin), Icelandic (isl), Japanese (jap), Korean (kor), Māori (2), Spanish (spa), and Swedish (swe) – time is construed through the past tense using time adverbs for specificity.
4. Various image schemas have been analyzed:
    a. *Volumetric containment* – Spanish (spa) and Greek (ell);
    b. *Architectural containment* – Malagasy (plt);
    c. *Movement* – English (eng), Swedish (swe), Japanese (jap), Korean (kor), and Malagasy (plt);
    d. *Sensory orientation* (front–back) – English (eng), Icelandic (isl), Swedish (swe), Aymara (ayc), and Malagasy (plt);
    e. *Gravitational orientation* (up–down) – Mandarin Chinese (cmn);
    f. *Navigational* (east–west) – KuukThaayorre (thd);
    g. *Sequence* – English, Māori (mri), Sesotho (sot), Basque (esk);
    h. *Topography* – Western Greenlandic (kal), Eastern Canadian Inuktitut (ike), and Yupno (yut).

Although image schemas are structures that allow physical representations of abstract notions, such as time, they are not exhaustive and cannot do justice to the nature of time. Moreover, one cannot conclude that multiple spatial representations of time (as in Malagasy, Chinese, English, and so on) heighten the speaker's cognitive ability to process time. Rather, it gives the speaker the flexibility to express it in various ways. It is safe to conclude that bilinguals of languages with differing image schemas also have the flexibility to understand multiple worldviews, although it does not necessarily mean that they have a perceived advantage over monolinguals in understanding the concept of time. We cannot conclude that languages with no linguistic evidence of image schemas have impaired cognitive ability in conceptualizing time or that they do not use other media or channels.

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Limited Abilities of Computers as Translation Devices

Mădălina Pantea
University of Oradea

Abstract: The field of computer translation is blooming and it is now passing through its most prominent era. Nevertheless, there are doubts about the overall feasibility of the field. This paper deals with exactly these doubts and limitations and tries to clarify the underlying principles and problems in this field.

Keywords: computer translation, MT, batch, method

To begin with, the notion of computer translation is not new. Shortly after the Second World War, at a time when no one dreamt that word processors, spreadsheets, or drawing programs would be widely available, some of the computer's prime movers, Turing, Weaver and Booth among them, were already beginning to think about translation. They saw this application mainly as a natural outgrowth of their wartime code-breaking work, which had helped to defeat the enemy, and it never occurred to them to doubt that computer translation was a useful and realizable goal.

The growing need to translate large bodies of technical information, heightened by an apparent shortage of translators, was one factor in their quest. But perhaps just as influential was a coupling of linguistic and cultural idealism, the belief that removing 'language barriers' was a good thing, something that would promote international understanding and ensure world peace. (Hockett 1977:420)

Two related notions were surely that deep down all human beings must be basically similar and that piercing the super stratum of language divisions could only be beneficial by helping people to break through their superficial differences. Underlying this idealism was a further assumption that languages were essentially some kind of code that could be cracked, that words in one tongue could readily be replaced by words saying the same thing in another.(Bloomfield 1968:413-21) Just as the key to breaking the Axis code had been found, so some sort of linguistic key capable of unlocking the mysteries of language would soon be discovered. All these assumptions would be sorely tested in the decades ahead.

Some Basic Terms

Some of the most frequently used terms in this field will help in dealing with the subject. For example, a distinction is frequently made between machine translation (usually systems that produce rough text for a human translator to revise) and computer-assisted translation devices (usually but not invariably software designed to help translators do their work in an enhanced manner). These are often abbreviated as MT and CAT respectively. (Bassnett2002: 56)

So far, both approaches require the assistance or active collaboration to one extent or another of a live, human translator. Under machine translation one finds a further distinction between batch, interactive and interlingual approaches.

1. A batch method has rules and definitions which help it 'decide' on the best translation for each word as it goes along. It prints or displays the entire text thus created with no help from the translator (who need not even be present but who nonetheless may often end up revising it).
2. An interactive system pauses to consult with the translator on various words or asks for further clarification. This distinction is blurred by the fact that some systems can operate in either batch or interactive mode.
3. The so-called interlingual approach operates on the theory that one can devise an intermediate 'language'—in at least one case a form of Esperanto—that can encode sufficient linguistic information to serve as a universal intermediate stage—or pivot point—enabling translation back and forth between numerous pairs of languages, despite linguistic or cultural differences. Some skepticism has been voiced about this approach, and to date no viable interlingual system has been unveiled.

Batch and interactive systems are sometimes also referred to as transfer methods to differentiate them from interlingual theories, because they concentrate on a trade or transfer of meaning based on an analysis of one language pair alone.

Another distinction is between pre-editing (limiting the extent of vocabulary beforehand so as to help the computer) and post-editing (cleaning up its errors afterwards). Usually only one is necessary, although this will depend on how perfect a translation is sought by a specific client. 'Pre-editing' is also used to mean simply checking the text to be translated beforehand so as to add new words and expressions to the system's dictionary. The work devoted to this type of pre-editing can save time in post-editing later. A more extreme form of pre-editing is known as

controlled language, the severely limited vocabulary of which is used by a few companies to make MT as foolproof as possible.Advocates of MT often point out that many texts do not require perfect translations, which leads us to our next distinction, between output intended for information-only skimming by experts able to visualize the context and discount errors, and 'full-dress' translations, for those unable to do either.

One term that keeps cropping up is FAHQT for fully automatic high-quality translation, which most in the field now concede is not possible (although the idea keeps creeping in again through the back door in claims made for some MT products and even some research projects). Closer to current reality would be such descriptions as FALQT (fully automatic low-quality translation) and PAMQT (partly automatic medium-quality translation). Together, these terms cover much of the spectrum offered by these systems.Also often encountered in the literature are percentage claims purportedly grading the efficiency of computer translation systems. Thus, one language pair may be described as '90 percent accurate' or '95 percent accurate' or occasionally only '80 percent accurate.' The highest claim I have seen so far is '98 percent accurate.' Such ratings may have more to do with what one author have termed spreading 'innumeracy' than with any meaningful standards of measurement.

On a shallow level of criticism, even if we accepted a claim of 98 percent accuracy at face value (and even if it could be substantiated), this would still mean that every standard double-spaced typed page would contain five errors—potentially deep substantive errors, as computers, barring a glitch, never make simple mistakes in spelling or punctuation.It is for the reader to decide whether such an error level is tolerable in texts that may shape the cars we drive, the medicines and chemicals we take and use, and the peace treaties that bind our nations. As for 95 percent accuracy, this would mean one error on every other line of a typical page, while with 90 percent accuracy we are down to one error in every line. Translators who have had to post-edit such texts tend to agree that with percentage claims of 90 percent or below it is easier to have a human translator start all over again from the original text.

Practical Limitations

There are six important variables in any decision to use a computer for translation: speed, subject matter, desired level of accuracy, consistency of translation, volume and expense. These six determinants can in some cases be merged harmoniously together in a single task but they will at least as frequently tend to clash.

Speed

This is an area where the computer simply excels—one mainframe system boasts 700 pages of raw output per night (while translators are sleeping), and other systems are equally prodigious. How raw the output actually is—and how much post-editing will be required, another factor of speed—will depend on how well the computer has been primed to deal with the technical vocabulary of the text being translated.

Subject matter

Here, too, the computer has an enormous advantage, provided a great deal of work has already gone into codifying the vocabulary of the technical field and entering it into the computer's dictionary. Thus, translations of aeronautical material from Russian to English can be not only speedy but can perhaps even graze the '98 percent accurate' target, because intensive work over several decades has gone into building up this vocabulary. If you are translating from a field the computer vocabulary of which has not yet been developed, you may have to devote some time to bringing its dictionaries up to a more advanced level.

Desired level of accuracy

I have already mentioned the former in referring to the difference between full-dress translations and work needed on an information-only basis. If the latter is sufficient, only minimal post-editing—or none at all—may be required, and considerable cash savings can be the result. If a full-dress translation is required, however, then much post-editing may be in order and there may turn out to be—depending once again on the quality of the dictionaries—no appreciable savings.

Consistency of vocabulary

Here the computer rules supreme, always assuming that correct prerequisite dictionary building has been done. Before computer translation was readily available, large commercial jobs with a deadline would inevitably be farmed out in pieces to numerous translators with perhaps something resembling a technical glossary distributed among them. Sometimes the task of 'standardizing' the final version could be placed in the hands of a single person of dubious technical attainments. Even without the added problem of a highly technical vocabulary, it should be obvious that no two translators can be absolutely depended upon to translate the same text in precisely the same way. The computer can fully exorcize this demon and ensure that a specific technical term has only one translation, provided that the correct translation has been placed

in its dictionary (and provided, of course, that only one term with only one translation is used for this process or entity).

Volume

From the foregoing, it should be obvious that some translation tasks are best left to human beings. Any work of high or even medium literary value is likely to fall into this category. But volume, along with subject matter and accuracy, can also play a role. In general, there will be—all other factors being almost equal—a point at which the physical size of a translation will play a role in reaching a decision. The size and scope of a job can also determine whether or not you may be better off using a computer alone, some computer—human combination or having human translators handle it for you from the start.

Expense

Given the computer's enormous speed and its virtually foolproof vocabulary safeguards, one would expect it to be a clear winner in this area. But for all the reasons I have already mentioned, this is by no means true in all cases. The last word is far from having been written here, and one of the oldest French companies in this field has just recently got round to ordering exhaustive tests comparing the expenses of computer and human translation, taking all factors into account.

Conclusion

As we can see quite plainly, a number of complications and limitations are already evident. Speed, wordage, expense, subject matter and accuracy/consistency of vocabulary may quickly become mutually clashing vectors affecting your plans. If you can make allowances for all of them, then computer translation can be of great use to you. If the decision-making process involved seems prolonged and tortuous, it perhaps merely reflects the true state of the art not only of computer translation but of our overall knowledge of how language really works. At least some of the apparent confusion about this field may be caused by a gap between what many people believe a computer should be able to do in this area and what it actually can do at present. What many still believe (and have, as we shall see, continued to believe over several decades, despite ample evidence to the contrary) is that a computer should function as a simple black box: you enter a text in language A on one side, and it slides out written perfectly in language B on the other. Or, better still, you read it aloud, and it prints or even speaks it aloud in any other language you might desire.

This has not happened and, barring extremely unlikely developments, will not happen in the near future, assuming our goal is an unerringly correct and fluent translation. If we are willing to compromise on that goal and accept less-than-perfect translations, or wish to translate texts within a very limited subject area or otherwise restrict the vocabulary we use, then extremely useful results are possible. Furthermore, not all translators are, at present, prepared to make the adjustments in their work habits needed for such systems to work at their maximum efficiency.

All attempts to introduce computer translation systems into the work routine depend on some degree of adjustment by all concerned, and in many cases such adjustment is not easy. Savings in time or money are usually only achieved at the end of such periods. Sometimes everyone in a company, from executives down to stock clerks, will be obliged to change their accustomed vocabularies to some extent to accommodate the new system. Such a process can on occasion actually lead, however, to enhanced communication within a company.

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Practices in Teaching and Assessing the New Literacies of Online Research

Laura-Rebeca Stiegelbauer
"Vasile Goldis" Western University of Arad
Ioana-Lucia Pătrăuță
"Stefan Hell" Technological High school, Sântana

Abstract; We teach in a new era in literacy theory, research, and practice, one in which the nature of reading, writing, and communication is being fundamentally transformed by the Internet. The Internet is a very disruptive technology, altering traditional elements of our society from newspapers to music. The Internet is also influencing the nature of literacy, generating New Literacies that require additional skills and strategies. Most importantly, it is reshaping the nature of literacy education, providing us with many new and exciting opportunities for our classrooms. We live in a time when new technologies continuously appear online, requiring additional skills to effectively read, write, and learn, sometimes on a daily basis. This paper intends to analyse some practices in teaching and assessing these new literacies of the Internet and other ICTs that define the future of the nowadays' students.

Keywords: new literacies, online research, digital natives, think-alouds, Internet learning

1. Introduction

We are surrounded by new technologies such as Twitter, Facebook, Google+, Siri, Foursquare, Dropbox, Skype, Chrome, iMovie, Contribute, or any of the many, many mobile "apps" and ebooks. Each requires additional reading and/or writing skills to take full advantage of its affordances. In addition, new tools for literacy will appear on the Internet tomorrow with additional, New Literacies required to use them effectively. Finally, each online tool regularly is updated; each time this happens new affordances appear, requiring additional skills and strategies.

The nature of literacy regularly and continuously changes in online spaces. Thus, when we speak of New Literacies in an online age

we mean that literacy is not just "new" today; it becomes "new" every day of ourlives. Proficiency in these continuously new, online literacies will define our students' success in both school and life. Most importantly, how we adapt to a dynamic definition of literacy in the classroom will define our students' future. One might even suggest that, over a lifetime, learning how to learn New Literacies is more important than learning a specific literacy of reading or writing. Every specific literacy that we know today will change repeatedly and substantially during our lifetime. Some believe there is little to teach; our students are already "digital natives," skilled in online literacies (Prensky, p. 1–6). It is true that today's students have grown up in an online world and are developing proficiency with gaming, social networking, video, and texting. However, this does not necessarily mean they are skilled in the effective use of online information, perhaps the most important aspect of the Internet. Studies show that students lack critical evaluation skills when reading online and that they are not especially skilled with reading to locate information online. It will be up to each of us to recognize these changes and develop a richer understanding of them as we seek to prepare students for the new literacies of the Internet and other ICTs that define their future.

2. Principles for integrating the new literacies into the classroom

As we think about integrating the new literacies into our classrooms, it is useful to consider **fourteen principles**:

a. **Recognize that a new literacy journey is one of continuous learning**. As new technologies appear on the Internet, new literacy requirements and opportunities appear. The regular appearance of new literacies requires additional roles for school leaders, teachers, and students. For school leaders, it means developing a vision for working with this continuously changing landscape. This means living an active, online professional life so that they might become more familiar with the new literacies that new technologies require. Their role may also be enhanced by working to build supportive online communities among teachers so they can share and exchange new skills and new technologies that they, themselves, discover. For teachers, it means integrating online literacy experiences into the classroom in a regular and thoughtful fashion. This will require knowing which online reading and writing skills are the most important to support. It will also mean developing learning experiences to maximize the take up of these skills by students. In addition, it means learning about new online skills and resources from other colleagues, an important source of information in a world where it is hard for anyone to

keep up with all of the changes. It also means being on the lookout for new skills and strategies that students in our class manifest so we can then distribute these skills to other students and to fellow teachers. For students, it means having regular, consistent, and safe access to online technologies in the classroom and at home. When this is not possible at home, it becomes even more important for it to be possible at school. It also means expanding an interest in learning new literacy skills and developing the ability to share these effectively with others.

As classroom teachers we can build an **online support system** like a running list of the best new online tools and resources that we encounter and regularly distribute these through our school's social network, wiki, or blog. Alternatively, we could send a weekly email message to the teachers with whom we work, pointing them to new online tools and resources that may be useful in their classrooms. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 359)

We should also encourage teachers to share the best online resources that work effectively in classrooms to support learning. This will quickly build a community around the effective integration of online new literacies into classrooms.

Another alternative would be to build an **online expert board,** our class blog or wiki. As teachers observe students who demonstrate new and useful online reading and writing strategies, they should add the name of the student and the expertise they displayed in an Online Expert Board, where everyone can see it. Others can use this information when they need help, finding a student who might be able to help them. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 360)

b. **Begin teaching and learning new literacies as early as possible.**
Schools should begin to integrate the Internet and new literacies into the classroom as soon as children begin their literacy education program, and not be delayed until they have learned to read offline. A useful first step is to begin Internet integration within the earliest grades, using online resources that serve to teach initial offline reading skills. These locations teach early offline reading skills at the same time they provide experiences with navigating an online interface. (Forzani &Leu, p. 421–424).***Starfall*** is an exceptional and free resource for children that supports the development of early offline reading skills, and is located at http://www.starfall.com/ (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 350). ***ReadWriteThink*** is a wonderful resource for teachers that provides an extensive set of lessons that teach offline reading and writing skills to young children, and is located at http://www.readwritethink.org/. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 351).

c. **Use new literacies to help the last student become the first.**
In order to work efficiently with all our students, we should always teach a new technology, with new literacies, to our weakest reader(s) first. This enables struggling readers and writers to become literate in this new technology before other, higher-performing students in reading. Those who struggle with reading and writing become literate in a new literacy before others and can teach this new literacy to others who are not literate with this new form. This is a powerful principle that positions weaker readers as experts. It should always be used. Unfortunately, the opposite often happens. Struggling readers frequently are denied access to online experiences because their offline literacy skills are thought to be insufficient to permit success. Therefore, we should avoid this problem by helping our weakest students become literate in a new technology first (Castek, Zawilinski, McVerry, O'Byrne, &Leu, p. 91-110).

d. **Teach E-Mail to Struggling Readers First**
We should teach struggling readers the New Literacies required by e-mail writing and then have them teach their newly acquired e-mail skills to other students. Have them also be available to support those who require assistance. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 352)

e. **Teach Blogging and Wiki Skills to Struggling Readers First**
When we begin to use wikis and blogs in your classroom, we should make certain that we use these opportunities, too, like in the case of e-mail writing, to help the last become first with New Literacies. We will teach our struggling readers how to make wiki and blog entries first and have them assist others with these new tools afterwards. Thus, the weaker students' role in the classroom shifts as they share responsibility for teaching important reading and writing skills, themselves. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 352)

f. Recognize that online **search skills are important to success in new literacies.**
The ability to read and locate online information is a gate-keeping skill. If one cannot locate information online, it becomes very hard to solve a given problem with online information and to learn in online spaces. Locating skills appears to function in a similar manner to word recognition skills during offline reading. That is, during offline reading it is very difficult to comprehend a given text without word recognition skills in place. Similarly, it is very difficult to conduct research and solve a problem during online reading without locating skills in place. For example, additional reading skills and strategies are required to generate effective keyword search strategies (Kuiper &Volman, p. 241-246), to read and infer which

link may be most useful among a set of search engine results (Henry, p. 416) and to efficiently scan for relevant information within websites (Rouet, Ros, Goumi, Macedo-Rouet, &Dinet, p. 205-219). Each is important to integrate into classroom reading programs.

g. **Create new search engine skills**.
Search engines regularly add new search capabilities that are not always known to users. To keep up to date with those that are added to Google, we are able to visit ***Google's "Inside Search"*** available at the following link address: www.google.com/insidesearch/searcheducation/index.html. Here we will find lesson plans, activities to improve our own search skills, daily search challenges for our students and training webinars for both us and our students (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 352).

h. ***Play "One Click"***
Unskilled online readers often "click and look" their way down a list of search results, inspecting each site without reading and making inferences from information in the results list. This is very inefficient and often leads students to skip the best site when it does not appear as they expect. To develop better **inferential comprehension skills** during the reading of search results, we should play "One Click." We will conduct a search for any topic we are studying in class. If we lack an interactive whiteboard or a projector, we will print out enough copies of the first page of search results for each student and distribute these. Then we will see if students can locate the best link on the search results page for each question that we ask such as, "Which link will take you to a site developed by a scientist?" or "Which site on this page is a commercial site and will probably try to sell you something?" Each question should require students to make an inference from the limited information appearing in the search results list. If we have an interactive whiteboard or a projector, we will do the same but ask students to come to the projected screen and point to the answer they think is correct, explaining their reasoning and teaching others, showing them the evidence that they used(Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 353).

i. **Use online reading experiences to develop critical thinking skills and a generation of healthy skeptics.**
A central objective of any instructional program in the New Literacies is to develop students who read as "healthy skeptics." We seek to raise a generation of students who always question the information they read for reliability and accuracy, always read to infer bias or point of view and always check the sources they encounter while reading. The Internet demands this. Critically evaluating online information includes the ability to read and

evaluate the level of accuracy, reliability, and bias of information. Although these skills have always been necessary with offline texts, the proliferation of unedited information and the merging of commercial marketing with educational content present additional challenges that are quite different from traditional print and media sources, requiring new strategies during online reading. Without explicit training in these new literacy skills, many students become confused and overwhelmed when asked to judge the accuracy, reliability, and bias of information they encounter in online reading environments. (Graham & Metaxas, p. 71-75)

Reverse Wikipedia

A first useful step we can undertake is to create research assignments. Typically, Wikipedia is simply used for information. We can reverse this and use Wikipedia to make critical evaluation skills the primary focus. We will select an entry for any topic being studied in the classroom. For homework, have students find one claim made at the site that is contested by others online and bring the disputed information as well as the sources to class. Have students share their disputed facts and sources and discuss critical evaluation strategies that could be used to help resolve the conflict. This conversation will teach many new online research and comprehension strategies to our students. In addition, someone will eventually figure out the simplest way to complete this assignment. By selecting the "talk" tab on every Wikipedia entry, they are likely to discover discussions and debates about controversial claims made at the site, an important new literacy skill to possess. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 354)

Source Plus

Schools increasingly require students to list the sources of any online information that is used in a report. We will take this one step further and require students to also indicate how they determined that each source was reputable and reliable. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 354)

j. **Integrate the Internet into classrooms through online communication.**
It is easy to integrate the Internet into classrooms through the use of online communication tools such as e-mail, wikis, and blogs, as well as the child-safe social networks for schools that are now beginning to appear. Each creates a wonderfully natural way in which to develop a culture of effective online information use in classrooms. Importantly, they may also be used to keep parents informed about what is taking place in classrooms. As we begin to integrate these online communication tools

into our classrooms, we should not ignore concerns about child safety. We want to restrict communication only to our students and to a community of people whom we can trust, such as parents and other teachers and students. There are many versions of wikis, blogs, and e-mail that can provide these protections. Typically, they do this in three ways. First, most permit us to restrict access. We can often list the addresses of people we wish to be able to view, add, or edit information. Second, many tools, especially child-safe e-mail tools, permit us to approve any message before it is sent. Finally, most prohibit e-mail from outside coming in as well as e-mails going to addresses outside the e-mail system that we use. (Zawilinski, p. 650-661) To gather ideas about how online communication tools can be used effectively in classrooms, we can simply search online to see how other teachers do this,using keywords such as: 1st grade classroom blog, 4th grade classroom blog, classroom wiki, or classroom email. We will, of course send links of good classroom models to other teachers. Both **e Pals** (http://www.epals.com/) and **Gaggle** (http://www.epals.com/) provide child safe email. Many teachers begin classroom email use by choosing settings that limit students to exchanging emails with other students in the classroom. Later teachers adjust settings to permit email to students in other classrooms in their school. Finally, they open settings to other students around the world who have been admitted into the system. At each step teachers can monitor all correspondence if they wish. (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 355)

k. **Share experience with other teachers.**
We all learn better from others and with others. It is very important to share good practices with other colleagues as often as possible.

l.**Use performance-based assessments for evaluating students' ability with new literacies.**
Good instruction is informed by good assessments. Thus, it is important to have assessments capable of measuring new literacies in ways that inform instruction. Performance based assessments provide diagnostic information gathered as students perform an authentic task that is required in life and in the classroom. While no assessment is a perfect solution, some have argued that performance based assessments do this better than many 33other forms of assessments. (Wiggins, p. 75) Some initial models for assessing the new literacies of online research and comprehension have appeared. For example, the PISA Digital Reading Assessment evaluated 15 year olds in a number of different countries. Unfortunately, it was not a performance-based assessment. Instead, it used isolated online tasks to estimate a student's abilities. In addition, problems in this assessment typically took

place within a single website rather than requiring students to search through the extensive set of sites that defines the Internet. Thus, the challenges presented by locating information in complex information contexts were profoundly minimized. By restricting the information space, the PISA Digital Reading Assessment may have limited the more complex informational demands of actual online research and comprehension. Another approach, with greater fidelity to online environments is the Online Research and Comprehension Assessment. Each online research task in science is directed through chat messages from an avatar student within a social network. Along the way, students are asked to locate four different websites and summarize the central information from each in their notepad. They also evaluate the source reliability of a website and write a short report of their research in either a wiki or in an email message. The assessments have demonstrated good levels of both reliability and validity. This format and the performance-based nature of the assessment may provide a model for others. (Leu, Kulikowich, Sedransk, &Coiro p. 75-90)

Use informal observation strategies.

We can use the simple, informal observations of students conducting online research in much the same way as performance based assessments to gain important diagnostic information about individual students' ability. We will give students a short online research project and carefully observe how they locate, evaluate, synthesize, and communicate information online during their research (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 357). Careful observation is a teacher's best instructional friend.

Use Think-Alouds

Another way to gather informal, performance-based assessment data is through think alouds. As students learn about online research, invite one student to think aloud, using the projected screen so the entire class can see online research and comprehension strategies in action. This will provide students with new strategies and provide us with important insights about needed skill development (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 357).

m. **Use Internet Reciprocal Teaching as an effective strategy to teach the new literacies of online research and comprehension in one-to-one computing classrooms.**

As we move to one-to-one computing classrooms, we will be challenged to teach new literacies. Teachers may have only a few seconds of their students' attention to teach a new online skill if laptops are open. If laptops are closed, attention may not be substantially greater. A central issue is this: How do we teach a new online research and comprehension

skill in the 15 seconds or so that we have students' attention? One way is to embed the skill we seek to teach in a **research problem** for groups of students to solve. When we see a student use the target skill that we have embedded into the research problem, have that student explain what he or she did on the projected screen so that others can also solve the problem. This approach, a part of Internet Reciprocal Teaching (Leu, Coiro, Castek, Hartman, Henry &Reinking, p. 208) has demonstrated efficacy in the classroom for developing online research and comprehension skills.

Teach Source Evaluation Skills

If we want to teach source evaluation skills, we will have small groups conduct research to answer a three-part problem such as this:

1. How high is Mt. Fuji in feet?
2. Find a different answer to this same question.
3. Which answer do you trust and why do you trust it?

As we observe students begin work on the third part of the problem, we will likely see a student begin to use the strategy that we have targeted: locating and evaluating the source of the information. When we see someone use this strategy, perhaps by clicking on a link to "About Us," interrupt the other groups and have this student teach the strategy to the class, explaining how he or she evaluates a source for expertise and reliability. There are many inconsistent facts online that can also be used, just like this, to teach source evaluation including: "How long is the Mississippi River?" or "What is the population of San Francisco?"(Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 358)

Monitor Computer Use

Monitoring software places a thumbnail image of each student's computer screen on the teacher's computer. This may be used to observe students to evaluate their strengths and skill needs. It may also be used to display a student's screen when the student is teaching an important new skill that he or she has discovered to the class. There are many different monitoring software programs including Apple Remote Desktop, LanSchool, Netop School and others (Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 358).

n. **Prepare students for their future by using collaborative online learning experiences with classroom partners in other parts of the world.**

In order to be more effective in our job, we need to begin to explore the future of classroom instruction that is to connect with other classrooms around the world to engage in collaborative classroom learning projects. These classrooms use ePals, Google Drive, blogs, email, wikis, and simple web page development tools to learn, exchange information, and

work on collaborative research projects. With these projects, students increase their new literacies skills, develop a richer understanding of content, and develop a greater understanding of the differences that define our planet. Most importantly, it provides students with preparation for the world they will soon enter, especially in the workplace.We can use tools like **"Find a Classroom Match"** (http://www.epals.com/find-classroom) to connect with classrooms, around the world. We could also visit **"Join a Project"** (http://www.epals.com/find-project) to select a classroom learning project. Both sites require you to register in order to access the free, child-safe email. **Establish Internet morning message of the week**. We can connect up with several teachers at our grade level, possibly in different countries, by email, to set up a weekly email exchange project. Require each participating classroom to send all other classrooms in the project a weekly email, sharing details of what took place in their classroom on one day. Thus, each classroom will receive a number of messages from around the world each week. As a follow up, we could print copies out for students or display on a Smart Board to help students develop new friends and a richer understanding of the world around them. In younger grades, we can ask our class to dictate a response each week, while we transcribe it. In older grades, we may assign the report writing project to a different group each week. We may have a different group serve as editors to read, suggest revisions, and edit the work, then send it out to the other participating classes.(Leu, Zawilinski, Forzani, Timbrell, p. 358-360).

3. Classroom Activities Regarding the Practices of Online Research and Comprehension.

One aspect of new literacies that has attracted researchers' attention is students' online research and comprehension skills. Specifically, researchers are interested in finding the answers to questions such as how reading online differs from traditional print-based reading. The new literacies of **online research and comprehension** frames **online reading comprehension as a process of problem-based inquiry** involving the skills, strategies, dispositions and social practices that take place as we use the Internet to conduct research, solve problems and answer questions.

Experts in the field of new literacies in the classroom likeLeu, Coiro, Castek, Hartman, Henry and Reinking have begun to explore the use of a modified instructional model of reciprocal teaching that reflects some of the differences between offline and online reading contexts. In an instructional model known as **Internet Reciprocal Teaching,** each student has his/her own laptop with access to the Internet and students

work in small groups to facilitate interactive group work and discussions about strategy use. In addition, Internet Reciprocal Teaching with online informational resources (as opposed to narrative texts) and strategy instruction on both the common and unique processes by which students navigate through multiple and different texts, rather than the reading of one common text. Teachers and students model their choices about which links are most relevant to a group or individual question through think-aloud. They discuss how to efficiently locate information within different kinds of websites, how to synthesize ideas across multiple texts and media, how to make judgments about the quality of the information and the author's level of expertise, and how to best represent the answers to their questions.

Responsibility for monitoring and effectively using these strategies to solve online information problems is gradually released to the students using an instructional scheme with three phases: Phase 1 includes direct, whole class instruction of basic skills and strategies of Internet use; Phase 2 includes group work and the reciprocal exchange of online reading comprehension strategies by students with their peers; Phase 3 includes online individual inquiry units, sometimes with collaborative efforts involving other students in other classes, perhaps even in other parts of the world, and periodic strategy sessions with groups. (Leu, Coiro, Castek, Hartman, Henry and Reinking, p. 115-130)

As far as online research in the classroom is concerned, the teacher's job is to engage and motivate students to perform well in all four components of online reading comprehension: reading to locate information on the Internet, reading to evaluate information on the Internet, reading to synthesize information on the Internet and reading to communicate information on the Internet. The students are required to do some Internet research projects, after receivingresearch themes via email from their teacher.Some of the possible Internet research projects themes in the classroom may be:

1. The teacher sends them an email indicating that the school principal was considering a ban on fast food in school. The students receive the ***"How does fast food affect teen health?"****online research theme and their task is to research this question and write an email message to their school headmaster with their findings about how fast food affects teen health.*

*2. A local magazine is collecting different opinions about the following issue for an article: "**Lesstechnologyactivity - Better safe than sorry"**. The students are asked to conduct research and write a report to the editor in which they provide their opinion and reliable evidence that supports their reasoning.*

*3. The website "**Stopbullying"** admin has asked teenage students' opinions about this phenomenon in schools and ways of preventing it. The students research the subject and provide the admin with useful ideas and arguments.*

*4. A Non-governmental organization militating for the environmental conservation and development is asking students to conduct research on the matter and provide useful ideas and suggest ways of action under the slogan "**The earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not for every man's greed"**- Mahatma Gandhi.*

- **Reading to Locate Information on the Internet** - The students are required to locate research task instructions in an email and then to develop an appropriate keyword search in the Google Search Engine to find a specific article whose title is given - restricted tasks - or to find a website that helps to answer the research question - unrestricted tasks - Next, they are asked to identify a relevant link in a set of search results on the first click and provide the complete and accurate website addresses of the most relevant articles. This task asks students to locate *a particular* website about each topic rather than just any website (Henry, p. 614–627).
- **Reading to Evaluate Information on the Internet** – The students are asked to first, identify the name of the author or creator of the website and second, to determine if the website author is an expert on that particular theme and explain how they know, describe the author's point of view and a piece of evidence – words or images – that supports the author's point of view and finally, to evaluate the overall reliability of the website. They navigate back and forth between the website content page, the author's biography page, and the assessment interface while attending to relevant cues about the author's name and job title on the content page and biographical information found after clicking on the embedded hyperlink (Bråten, Strømsø&Salmerón, p. 194).
- **Reading to Synthesize Information on the Internet** - The students are required to demonstrate their ability to successfully summarize important information from one or more websites, to navigate to the correct location, to carefully read the information, and compose a summary in their own words (Jenkins, p. 33).
- **Reading to Communicate Information on the Internet** - The students are asked to successfully demonstrate their ability to locate and communicate effectively through email. When they

finish their research, they are required to include in their message the recipient's accurate email address, a formal greeting with a clear, contextualized and relevant message.Students are asked to select correct email message using sender's name and subject line, construct a relevant subject line of the email message, compose an email message with a cehesive, short report of what they have learned during their research. Students are asked to be certain to explain their thinking and to include their website sources in their message. Finally, they are asked to send the message and address the email message to the appropriate person (Leu, Coiro, Castek, Hartman, Henry, &Reinking, p. 170).

4. Classroom Activities Regarding Teaching Critical Evaluation of Online Information

The online critical evaluation tasks are particularly challenging for students who read information to learn on the Internet. In order to support our students' critical evaluation of online information, we need to teach aspects regarding relevancy, accuracy, reliability, perspective, and commercial bias first.

Relevancy concerns the information's level of importance to a particular reading purpose or stated information need.

Accuracy meansthe extent to which information contains factual and updated details that can be verified by consulting alternative and/or primary sources.

Reliability takes into account the information's level of trustworthinessbased on information about the author and the publishing body.

Bias (perspective) regards the position or slant toward which an author shapes information**.**

Commercial bias implies the extent to which information appears to be influenced by commercial interests for or against a certain product (Coiro, p. 97; Clemitt p. 45-70).

A. Evaluating relevancy: reading search engine results

The **question** for the students is: "Which link is the most useful?"

The **learningobjective**: Evaluating search results

Classroom **activity**: A possible activity involves designing a hand-out with some questioning strategies and then check to see how they transfer their new skills when reading online for information related to the given study theme. A possible study theme is "**You are what you eat''.**

Question/Answer	How do you know?	Why is it important to know?
1. Which site features information about healthy eating habits?		
2. How many websites were found using this search?		
3. Are the results in any special order?		
4. What's missing from the list?		
5. Who sponsors the site?		
6. What's the biggest disadvantage of visiting only these websites related to your study theme?		

B. Evaluating relevancy: previewing a website

The **question** for the students is: "Where do I read first?"
The **learningobjective**: previewing a website.

The teacher provides the class with the strategies for previewing a website:

1. Read the title of the page and the title of the website in the margin at the top of the window.

2. Scan menu choices. Hold your mouse over the navigational menus on the left frame or across the top of the window, but don't click yet. Get a big picture of the information available within the site.

3. Make predictions about where each of the major links may lead and anticipate a link's path through multiple levels of a website.

4. Explore interactive mouse over features that may reveal additional levels of information contained within the site.

5. Identify the author/webmaster/sponsor and consider what this information indicates about the site.

6. Notice and try out any internal search features like an organizational site map or an internal search engine.

7. Make a judgment about whether to explore the site further. If the site looks worthwhile, decide which areas of the site to explore first. If the site does not look worthwhile, return to a search engine to refocus, revisit your reading goals, and refine your search (Coiro, p. 112).

Classroom activity: A possible activityinvolves telling the students we want them to get more involved with volunteering efforts and to network with other youth volunteers around the country. They will have one minute to preview each of the websites using the strategies above and circle the rank of each website according to its relevancy to their needs (0=lowest, 3=highest). Then, identify two parts of the "best" website that they believe would be most relevant for the task.

Site 1: (Rank)	0	1	2	3	**Site 2:** (Rank)	0	1	2	3
Site 3: (Rank)	0	1	2	3	**Site 4:** (Rank)	0	1	2	3

The two parts of the most relevant website are:
1.....
2.....

C. Evaluating accuracy: reading to verify online information

The question for the students is: How do I verify or refute the author's claims with another reliable source?

The learning objective: Cross-checking factual data

The teacher provides the students with the strategies for reading to verify online information:

1. Ask probing questions:

(a) What claims is the author making?

(b) What evidence do I find elsewhere to support these claims?

(c) What evidence do I find elsewhere to refute these claims?

2. Cross-check factual data with at least three other reliable sources;

3. Consider the context of where you found the evidence (primary/secondary source; variety of online genres) and how that context might influence the information

4. Consider the unique ways to search for information on the Internet to confirm or refute claims (e.g., refined search terms, link to: search commands, www.snopes.com) (Coiro, p. 115)

Classroom **activity**:A possible class activity involves telling the students they are going to select websites to use as part of their online research for their reports on ***"Strange animals"***. They are going to provide evidence for their decisions and fill in the table:

Website & Author Claims	Evidence to verify claims	Evidence to refute claims

Possible example: Pacific Northwest Tree Octopus http://zapatopi.net/treeoctopus/Website& Author Claims: The number of tree octopus is at a critically low level for its breeding needs and the species is in danger of becoming extinct.Evidence to verify claims: CafePress (Cafépress.com)

D. Evaluating reliability: investigating author credibility

The **question** for my students is: Who created the information at this website and what is his/her level of expertise?

The **learningobjective**: Investigating the author's credentials

Classroom **activity**:

Locate the "About Us" link on each website below. Complete the activity in your hand out by following these steps:

(a) identify the name of hyperlink that led you to information about the website's creator;

(b) tell one thing you learned about the author's background and level of expertise;

(c) search off the website for the author's name and tell one other thing you learned about the author;

(d) is there anything about the site that appears to increase or decrease the reliability of the information found there? (Please explain)

(e) Rate each author's level of expertise from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest) and be prepared to justify your decision with evidence (Coiro p. 117-123).

The Tim Ferris Show Hyperlink label: Relevant info about the author: Search off website and find another piece of relevant author information: Anything that enhances or detracts from potential reliability of the information:	**ProBlogger** Hyperlink label: Relevant info about the author: Search off website and find another piece of relevant author information: Anything that enhances or detracts from potential reliability of the information:
Copyblogger: Hyperlink label: Relevant info about the author: Search off website and find another piece of relevant author information: Anything that enhances or detracts from potential reliability of the information:	**Brain Gym International** Hyperlink label: Relevant info about the author: Search off website and find another piece of relevant author information: Anything that enhances or detracts from potential reliability of the information:

E. Evaluating bias: separating fact from opinion

The **question** for the students is: How does the author shape the information at this website?

The **learningobjective**: Exploring varying perspectives on a topic

Website 1: Team Redington

Website 2: Scholastic's Is the Iditarod for the Dogs?

Website 3: Iditarod - The Last Great Race

Classroom **activity**: Take a few minutes to explore each of the above websites. Then answer the questions below.

a. Detecting/separating fact vs. opinion:

Tell which website you think has the strongest opinions about the use of sled dogs in the Iditarod.

Tell whether you think the author of the website you chose is for or against racing sled dogs for competition.

Select a quote from the website you chose and explain why you think it is an example of the author sharing strong opinions.

b. Detecting bias and considering the author's affiliation:

Tell which website (Site A, B, or C) gives opinions from more than one side of the issue.

Who are the two people whose opinions are given in the website you chose?

What factors might make these two people feel the way they do about the treatment of sled dogs?

c. Detecting and determining author's purpose:

Answer each question about each website with yes, no, or don't know. Be prepared to provide evidence from the website to support each "yes" answer.

Does the website provide factual information?

…try to persuade you to think or feel a certain way?

…try to sell you something?

…try to raise money or collect donations?

In your opinion, what is the specific purpose (stated or unstated) of the site? Provide at least two reasons to support your answer (Coiro, p. 140).

F. Evaluating the quality of online information: developing an overall healthy scepticism.

The **question** for the students is: How can I judge the overall quality of information I have located on the Internet?

The **learningObjective**: Integrating strategies for verifying the accuracy of the author's claims and evaluating the author's level of expertise to make those claims determining author's purpose and its influence on stated claims.

Classroom **activity**:Investigate each website while considering the answers to the following questions:

- Who created the information on this site?
- What is the purpose of this site?
- When was the information at this site updated?
- Where can I go to check the accuracy of this information?
- Why did this person, or group, put this information on the Internet?
- Is there anyone that might be offended by the information at this site?
- Does the website present only one side of the issue, or are multiple perspectives provided?
- How is the information on this site shaped by the creator of the site? (Coiro, p. 212)

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